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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

INCLUDING

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND PAPERS READ

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF 1887.

VOL. XI.

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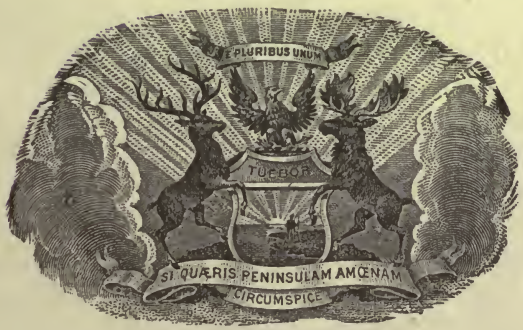

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PREFACE.

It is with satisfaction that the Committee of Historians of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society presents to that Society and the public generally the eleventh volume of Historical Collections, believing that it will be found of unusual interest. It comprises, first, the address of the president, and the reports of the other officers of the Society, given at the Annual Meeting of 1887, from which may be learned the origin, the objects and the progress of the Society. Following these are the memorial reports, which embody much of interest in the lives of early pioneers. The papers which succeed these were nearly all read at the same meeting, and such articles as "The Ordinance of 1787," "The Constitution of the United States," "Recollections of Early Explorations" and the articles on the boundary disputes, together with the sketches of men who contributed much towards making our commonwealth all that it is at the present time, cannot fail to be of great value as well to all who are interested in "the greatest study of mankind" as to the future historian.

The latter half of the volume is occupied by another installment of the "Haldimand Papers," which contains a wealth of information relative to the very early history of localities now embraced within the boundaries of Michigan and other portions of the Northwest. These papers are already attracting considerable attention from litterateurs in different parts of the country, and those published in Vol. 9, were frequently referred to by William Frederick Poole, L. L. D., librarian of Newberry Library, Chicago, in his article on "The West" in Vol. 6, of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University. They are for the most part arranged chronologically, and reference to any given period is thereby made easy. A part of the papers published under this head, those comprised in the series "Q," belong strictly to the "Colonial Office Records," but for convenience in arrangement have been classified with the Haldimand Papers proper.

Much important material is still on hand awaiting publication, which the Committee hopes to issue at no distant day. To all who have in any way contributed to the interest and value of Vol. 11, grateful acknowledgment is hereby tendered.

MICHAEL SHOEMAKER, *Chairman.*
OLIVER C. COMSTOCK,
RILEY C. CRAWFORD,
WYLLYS C. RANSOM,
HARRIET A. TENNEY,
Committee of Historians.

LANSING, Michigan, May 1, 1888.

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OFFICERS OF THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ELECTED JUNE 2, 1887.

PRESIDENT.

Talcott E. Wing.....Monroe.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Allegan	Don C. Henderson	Allegan.
Barry	David G. Robinson	Hastings.
Bay	Wm. R. McCormick	Bay City.
Berrien	Thomas Mars	Berrien Center.
Branch	Harvey Haynes	Coldwater.
Calhoun	John F. Hinman	Battle Creek.
Clare	Henry Woodruff	Farwell.
Clinton	Samuel S. Walker	St. Johns.
Crawford	Melvin D. Osband	Fredericville.
Eaton	David B. Hale	Eaton Rapids.
Emmet	Isaac D. Toll	Petoskey.
Genesee	Josiah W. Begole	Flint.
Grand Traverse	J. G. Ramsdell	Traverse City.
Hillsdale	E. O. Grosvenor	Jonesville.
Houghton	J. A. Hubbell	Houghton.
Ingham	C. B. Stebbins	Lansing.
Ionia	Hampton Rich	Ionia.
Iosco	Otis E. M. Cutcheon	Oscoda.
Jackson	Hiram H. Smith	Jackson.
Kalamazoo	Henry Bishop	Kalamazoo.
Kent	Wright L. Coffinbury	Grand Rapids.
Lapeer	Joshua Manwaring	Lapeer.
Lenawee	Francis A. Dewey	Cambridge.
Livingston	Chas. M. Wood	Anderson.
Macomb	Harvey Mellon	Romeo.
Manistee	S. W. Fowler	Manistee.
Marquette	Peter White	Marquette.
Monroe	J. M. Sterling	Monroe.
Montcalm	Joseph P. Shoemaker	Amsden.
Menominee	James A. Crozier	Menominee.

Muskegon	Henry H. Holt	Muskegon.
Oakland	O. Poppleton	Birmingham.
Oceana	Oliver K. White	New Era.
Ottawa	A. S. Kedzie	Grand Haven.
Saginaw	Chas. N. Grant	East Saginaw.
Shiawassee	Alonzo H. Owens	Venice.
St. Clair	Mrs. Helen N. Farrand	Port Huron.
St. Joseph	‡H. H. Riley	Constantine.
Tuscola	Townsend North	Vassar.
VanBuren	C. J. Monroe	South Haven.
Washtenaw	Ezra D. Lay	Ypsilanti.
Wayne	Philo Parsons	Detroit.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Harriet A. Tenney ..... Lansing.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Geo. H. Greene ..... Lansing.

TREASURER.

Ephraim Longyear ..... Lansing.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

*John C. Holmes ..... Detroit.
Albert Miller ..... Bay City.
Stephen D. Bingham ..... Lansing.

COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

Michael Shoemaker ..... Jackson.
†Witter J. Baxter ..... Jonesville.
Oliver C. Comstock ..... Marshall.
Riley C. Crawford ..... Grand Rapids.
Wyllys C. Ransom ..... Lansing.
Harriet A. Tenney ..... Lansing.

* Died December 16, 1887.
† Died February 6, 1888.
‡ Died February 8, 1888.

PIONEER

AND

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN.

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 1 AND 2, 1887.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

HON. M. H. GOODRICH, OF ANN ARBOR.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan:

What I have written for this occasion pursuant to a wholesome and highly beneficial precedent, perforce of unyielding and tyrannical circumstances, I have been forced to write in a too perfunctory manner to be properly adapted to and befitting the occasion. I am fully aware of its too many defects and that I have subjected myself to just criticism, therefore feel myself compelled to implore you to temper with mercy and forbearance any criticisms you may

make, assuring you that my failure will occasion me more sad thoughts and reflections than it possibly can you.

After thirteen years of active and vigorous life, the question is frequently asked, "What is the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan, what has it done and what are its purposes and objects?" This question is asked not only by those whom some may term the non-reading, non-reflecting, plodding portion of our people, but by persons who are considered well up to mediocrity in general intelligence and current events, and occupy and hold influential and commanding positions both in the social compact and body politic.

At first blush it may seem strange and unaccountable that such a question should emanate from such a source—be propounded by such intelligent people at this date of the society's life. But I think it will not seem so strange when we reflect that the people constituting our commonwealth, in common with the people of all other commonwealths which go to make up this republic, are so intently absorbed in the pursuit of their peculiar and individual callings and avocations, that a large proportion of them cannot find time to inquire the name of their next door neighbor, much less his peculiar profession or avocation.

Having been asked the above question on my last trip to Lansing, a few days prior to this meeting, by a person of acknowledged intelligence, it suggested the thought that I could not better redeem the time allotted for the president's address on this occasion than by substituting for any address I might be capable of writing, a few rambling reflections and considerations concerning the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan and topics germain to it.

In 1868 or '69 some considerable thought was bestowed, by a certain class of thinking men, upon the subject of inaugurating or formulating some system or plan by which the materials and essential elements of a true and faithful early history of the state, hitherto uncollected and stored away in unsafe and rapidly failing and perishing storehouses—the memories of the surviving pioneers—might be gathered and put in shape for permanent preservation for the use of the future historian. This sentiment and feeling extended rapidly and soon crystallized into shape, and by 1871 or '72 a number of city and county pioneer societies were organized, and through pure pioneer energy achieved marvelous success. But it soon became apparent, however, that this system, in many essential particulars, was defective and inadequate to accomplish the objects and purposes sought, and the workers in this field, being unaccustomed to the use of the word *failure*, applied themselves to the task of remedying these defects. The result of their efforts and labors in this behalf resulted in the formation or organization of the Pioneer Society

of the State of Michigan, and subsequent events have demonstrated the wisdom of their action.

The Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan was organized in representative hall of the old capitol at Lansing, on the 22d day of April, 1874, under and in pursuance of an act of the legislature approved April 25th, 1873, its aims, objects and purposes being to "collect and preserve historical, biographical and other information relative to the State of Michigan," to establish and preserve a museum of relics, to collect and preserve a library of books, maps, charts, manuscripts, etc., and last, but not least, to rescue from the dark, dismal and gloomy charnel house of wreck and oblivion the noble deeds and achievements of the pioneer men and women of Michigan, who were and are as noble and brave an army as ever fought the battle of life, and as gallant and as heroic mariners as ever made a voyage on life's turbulent and tempestuous ocean, and transmit them to posterity as a precious legacy. This is the Pioneer Society of Michigan; such its aims, purposes and objects.

The first board or committee of historians was elected February 2d, 1876, and immediately after its election entered upon the discharge of the duties assigned to it, since which time, under its and the board of directors' supervision and direction, the Society has published ten octavo volumes of Collections, averaging six hundred and fifty nine pages each, with one edition of each volume, of one thousand and eight hundred copies, making an aggregate of eighteen thousand copies and eleven million eight hundred and sixty two thousand octavo pages, requiring the writing of forty four thousand and twenty folios, or four millions four hundred and two thousand words of manuscript. In addition to this work the Society has made reasonable progress in collecting relics not only curious but illustrative of the early life and manners of the pioneer settlers of Michigan. Also a valuable collection of manuscripts, books, maps, pamphlets, periodicals etc., etc.

This, in brief, is what the Pioneer Society of Michigan has accomplished in the brief period of its existence.

We venture to say without much fear of being convicted of the offense of boasting or self laudation, that every intelligent person who shall carefully and critically examine the work of the Society, will acknowledge that as historical material, it will be of essential and real benefit to the future historian, the philosophers of history, the politician and the ethnologist. We do not claim that our work is perfect, but we venture to assert that it is as free from fatal, mischievous, misleading and damaging errors as works of similar nature, and as could reasonably be expected, taking into consideration the peculiar situation and circumstances under which the Society has been placed and forced to work. Since almost every work of the human mind and hands

has its imperfections; every landscape, however luxuriant, gorgeous, dazzling and brilliant its appointments may have been made by extravagant nature, its arid spots; our every hope and anticipation is shadowed by the clouds and chilled by the dews of disappointment; our every pleasure and joy by its handmaid, sorrow, may we not reasonably expect a pardon for the imperfections of our work and labor?

We have not essayed to write history, but have confined our labors to collecting materials and putting them in shape for permanent preservation for future use; acting as it were as logographers, preparing the way for some future Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon or Tacitus. In prosecuting the objects and purposes for which the Society was organized, the Society has received that support and assistance which was absolutely necessary and requisite to achieve success. The legislature in its wisdom and sagacity has, from an early period in the life of the Society, adopted and continued to the present time a liberal financial policy toward it, for which every intelligent and thinking citizen of the commonwealth is under permanent and lasting obligation and will ever hold it in kind, grateful and appreciative remembrance.

When the Society called for contributions of historical materials, biographical sketches and material illustrative of the early history of Michigan, the call was responded to with an alacrity and to an extent far beyond the anticipations and expectations of the most sanguine of the sanguine members of the Society, and the ten volumes of Pioneer Collections published by the Society, attest the inestimable and incalculable value of the service, and will ever remain an imperishable monument of the wisdom and patriotism of those who so generously and disinterestedly performed it.

The work is not yet finished. The harvest is not all garnered yet. The gleaning is not yet reached. Much valuable historical and biographical material still remains stored away in the shadowy and faded memories of the noble little band of pioneer men and women still permitted to tread the paths of life among us. If this valuable material is ever to be collected, it must be collected quickly. Our annual necrological reports show that this noble little band is rapidly being transferred to the great majority on the other side of "that bourne from whence no traveler ever returns." As each pioneer is laid to rest to take that dreamless sleep that knows no waking, it closes a chapter in the early history of the state never to be reöpened.

The literature which goes current for history is so mixed, intermixed and interlaced with novel, mere speculation, essay and ambiguous narrative, and too many accredited historians are, may be unconsciously, such strict partisans, zealots, enthusiasts, egotists, who "cast their facts in the mold of

their hypothesis," that both the student and philosophers of history are constantly beset with stubborn perplexities, difficulties and uncertainties, and are called upon for the expenditure of a prodigious amount of mental labor and toil to separate the true from the false. So constant and invariable are these perils and dangers encountered in the domain of history that many are almost persuaded to assert that the study of history is but a school for teaching skepticism.

True history—the biographies of nations—is the stern light that illumines the rough and rugged path of mankind. Extinguish this light and it is a problem of easy solution to determine how soon the civilized world would return to a night of intellectual darkness as black, dismal and gloomy as Erebus.

With the accumulated experience of the past and the needs and requirements of our advanced civilization it is a primal, fundamental duty of every civilized nation to inaugurate some system or plan by which its daily history, its daily life, free from legend, inferences, bias, speculation and theory, can be recorded and preserved. The acts and deeds of the executive, legislative, judicial and ministerial officers of a nation do not constitute or make up its full and complete history.

The history of a commonwealth or nation is not complete and will be wanting in a most essential element unless it includes full and unreserved the domestic social life—the life around the home hearth-stone—of its citizens, those acts and deeds which unmistakably and unerringly discover and bring to light the principles which govern the life of its citizens, the inner life of the nation.

Of what assistance in the advancement of the material interests and the higher and more perfect civilization of the human race is the knowledge that this or that nation is prosperous, happy and contented, that this or that empire or dynasty conquered and exercised hegemonic power, and in the plentitude of its power and splendor dazzled and bewildered the nations of the earth, or that this or that nation or people once proud, prosperous and happy, went to decay and disappeared from the family of nations, leaving nothing behind except wreck and desolation, unless we know the processes and methods by which these events were produced and the principles governing the domestic, civil and political life of these peoples?

The thirteen years' experience of this Society is but cumulative evidence in support of the long since realized paramount importance of collecting and preserving the historical material daily furnished by every department of the commonwealth—social, civil, religious and political.

In the interest of science and civilization, the archæologist, the antiqua-

rian, the ethnologist, the anthropologist, the philosopher, the historian and the scientist traverse oceans and continents and perform herculean labors, suffer untold hardships and deprivations in search of faint, feeble and shadowy evidences of the life, customs and manners of nations and peoples which have, centuries ago, passed away and been buried in the wreck and debris of time. If a pebble from the path of Hannibal over the Alps, a few grains of sand from the pass of Thermopylæ—a sliver from a stone in the Parthenon or the old Acropolis or the old Coliseum—a twig from the plains of Marathon —a piece of broken pottery or tablet from the ruins of Pompeii—a few ideographs and phonograms from the towering obelisks of Egypt, have a value and afford us bright visions and happy memories, shall not the noble lives, deeds and achievements of those who made us the favored people among the nations of the earth, have a greater value, and bring to us brighter visions and more sacred, happier and holier memories?

In view of the present defective, I might say more correctly, in the absence of any, system for collecting and preserving, in anything like an authentic or reliable manner, historical material, the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan has been and is directing its attention to perfecting an effective system whereby the historical material daily produced by the state may be collected and preserved. When this shall transpire it will impose new duties and obligations upon the Society, for the efficient and faithful discharge of which the Society will require not only the sympathies but the active assistance and coöperation of every one who places a proper and true value on genuine history.

The rounding out of another little cycle of a year has brought the pioneers together again. Many pioneers whom it was ever our pleasure and joy to meet upon the occasion of our annual gatherings, have the past year traveled the well beaten road to the tomb. When they took a last, lingering look on things of earth, it was with a consolation that they had fought the battle of life nobly—had rounded out life with all its work finished and finished well —and that they and their work will not be forgotten.

The Pioneer Society is a source of real, solid solace to the pioneer. He knows that his life's work has a lasting, permanent place in the records of the deeds and achievements of mankind. Yes, it is a pleasure and joy beyond measure to him as he sits in life's gloaming waiting and watching for the curtain to drop in the last scene of life's drama, to know that those whom he leaves behind have not drank of the waters of Ardenne to hate him nor of the waters of the river Lethe to forget him, and that his lifeless body, once the lucky tenement of the soul, will be carefully and gently handed down to the tomb, the common storehouse of mankind, and the sod that covers it moistened with the tears of true friendship and affection.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

OFFICE OF THE
PIONEER SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,
Lansing, June 1, 1887.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the "Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan," I herewith present my thirteenth annual report.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1886.

The twelfth annual meeting of the society was held in Representative Hall commencing Tuesday afternoon, June 8, 1886, at 2 o'clock.

Officers Present.

President—Henry Fralick.

Vice Presidents—C. B. Stebbins, Hampton Rich, J. W. Begole, F. A. Dewey, Nelson B. Green, O. Poppleton, E. D. Fay, H. H. Holt, J. P. Shoemaker, J. M. Sterling.

Recording Secretary—Harriet A. Tenney.

Corresponding Secretary—George H. Greene.

Treasurer—E. Longyear.

Committee of Historians—M. Shoemaker, O. C. Comstock, T. E. Wing, W. J. Baxter, M. H. Goodrich.

Executive Committee—John C. Holmes, Albert Miller, Francis A. Dewey.

The president, Henry Fralick, called the Society to order. The exercises of the first session were opened with prayer by Rev. E. H. E. Jameson. "Old Hundred" was sung by the audience, led by Rev. Mr. Jameson, Miss Addie Berridge acting as musical director.

The reports of the Recording and Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurer were read and approved.

A solo, "That Old Arm Chair," was sung by Rev. E. H. E. Jameson, with piano accompaniment by Gertrude Jameson.

The report of the Committee of Historians was read by Col. M. Shoemaker, and, on motion of O. Poppleton, was adopted.

Memorial reports were presented by Geo. H. Greene, Corresponding Secretary, and by the Vice Presidents and others from the following counties:

Allegan, by D. C. Henderson; Berrien, by A. B. Leeds; Branch, by C. D. Randall; Clinton, by S. S. Walker; Crawford, by M. D. Osband; Eaton, by D. B. Hale; Genesee, by J. W. Begole; Hillsdale, by E. O. Grosvenor; Ingham, by C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, by H. Rich; Jackson, by C. Taylor; Kent, by the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River Valley; Lenawee, by F. A. Dewey; Marquette, by Peter White; Oakland, by O. Poppleton; Saginaw, by C. W. Grant; St. Joseph, by H. H. Riley; Tuscola, by J. Baker; Van Buren, by Eaton Branch; Washtenaw, by E. D. Lay; Wayne, by Philo Parsons.

J. M. Sterling promised to send a report from Monroe county.

Many interesting remarks were made by the pioneers about many of the respected deceased pioneers of the state. Fine tributes were paid to the memory of Geo. C. Bates, a member of the Society at the time of his death, by E. S. Woodman, O. Poppleton and others.

A sketch of the life of Dr. Geo. M. Fish was read by G. Townsend, of Davison. Mr. E. Longyear read a letter of regret, received from Elijah Woodworth, a member of the Society then 95 years of age, a resident of Mason. Many kind remarks were made relative to the aged pioneers by Dr. H. B. Shank, S. D. Bingham, Wm. H. Brockway, M. H. Goodrich, O. Poppleton and others.

A solo, "Dream Faces," was sung by Nora Towne.

On motion the President appointed the following members as a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year: J. C. Holmes, W. J. Baxter, S. D. Bingham, H. H. Riley and O. Poppleton.

"Early Life in Detroit and Saginaw," by Joseph Busby, was read by W. J. Baxter.

Impromptu speeches and social talks being called for, W. H. Brockway, Albert Miller, ex-Gov. J. W. Begole, Mrs. E. Pratt, Miss Sally Foster, Mr. S. D. Bingham, O. Poppleton, H. H. Smith, and Rev. S. R. Cook, responded with many happy remarks and anecdotes.

A duet, "A Shelter in Time of Storm," was sung by Rev. E. H. E. Jameson and Gertrude Jameson.

The Society then adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock in the evening.

Tuesday Evening.

The Society met according to adjournment, the president in the chair. The session was opened with prayer by Rev. Geo. Taylor.

An anthem was sung by the Misses Brown, Messrs. Brown and Thompson.

The president, Hon. Henry Fralick, read his address.

A paper on "The Life and Times of L. L. Brent" was read by Judge Albert Miller.

Music—a march, was rendered by the orchestra, consisting of six young gentlemen and six young ladies, conducted by Mrs. Ella Shank.

"The Diocese of Detroit—What it was, What it is," was read by Rev. Frank A. O'Brien.

A vocal solo, "Waiting," was sung by Mrs. Homer Thayer.

The last letter of Col. T. Broadhead to his wife was presented to the Society by E. S. Williams and read by Elias S. Woodman.

Music—a medley, was rendered by the orchestra, and, on motion, the Society adjourned to meet again at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Wednesday Morning.

The Society met according to adjournment, the president in the chair. The exercises were opened by the audience singing the hymn, "America," led by Mr. Charles Thompson.

"A few Incidents of Early Days in Michigan," by E. S. Williams, was read by W. J. Baxter. Many anecdotes were related by ex-Gov. J. W. Begole and others, brought to mind by Mr. Williams' paper. Mr. Begole said that he was the first and the last person to run the logs down the Flint river to his saw mills. Mr. Enos Goodrich also related some pleasant reminiscences of those early days.

A solo, "Dreamland," was sung by Miss Lena Berridge.

Rev. W. H. Brockway made a few interesting remarks on the paper previously read by Judge Miller. T. E. Wing also related some amusing anecdotes on the same subject.

"History of the Town of Green, Branch County," by C. D. Randall, was read by F. H. Conant.

"A Trip from Buffalo to Lenawee County in 1829," was read by F. A. Dewey.

Impromptu speeches were made by Rev. R. C. Crawford, Rev. W. H. Brockway, and by ex-Gov. J. W. Begole.

Mr. Crawford, being called on for a song, sang "Michigan, my Michigan."

A vocal solo, "Remembrances of Home," was sung by Mr. L. A. Baker, and the Society adjourned till 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Wednesday Afternoon.

The president called the Society to order according to adjournment Prayer was offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford. A solo was sung by L. A. Baker.

A continuation of his "Recollections of the Early Ministers of Washtenaw County," by Rev. Lorenzo Davis, was read by Col. M. Shoemaker.

The report of the committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year was presented by Prof. J. C. Holmes, chairman. On motion of O. Poppleton, the report was accepted, and on motion of W. J. Baxter, the secretary was directed to cast the ballot for the Society. The president declared the officers elected as reported by the committee.

On motion of W. J. Baxter the executive committee was authorized to fill any vacancy that might occur during the year in the office of any vice president.

The officers elected are as follows:

President—M. H. Goodrich.

Recording Secretary—Harriet A. Tenney.

Corresponding Secretary—Geo. H. Greene.

Executive Committee—J. C. Holmes, Albert Miller, F. A. Dewey, S. D. Bingham.

Committee of Historians—M. Shoemaker, Harriet A. Tenney, T. E. Wing, W. J. Baxter, O. C. Comstock, T. M. Cooley.

Vice presidents—Allegan county, D. C. Henderson; Barry, D. G. Robinson; Bay, Wm. R. McCormick; Berrien, A. B. Leeds; Branch, C. D. Randall; Calhoun, B. F. Hinman; Clare, H. Woodruff; Clinton, S. S. Walker; Crawford, M. D. Osband; Eaton, D. B. Hale; Emmet, I. D. Toll; Genesee, J. W. Begole; Grand Traverse, J. G. Ramsdell; Hillsdale, E. O. Grosvenor; Houghton, J. A. Hubbell; Ingham, C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, H. Rich; Jackson, H. H. Smith; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, W. L. Coffinbury; Lapeer, J. B. Wilson; Lenawee, F. A. Dewey; Livingston, I. W. Bush; Macomb, J. E. Day; Manistee, T. J. Ramsdell; Marquette, Peter White; Monroe, J. M. Sterling; Montcalm, J. P. Shoemaker; Menominee, J. A. Crozier; Muskegon, H. H. Holt; Oakland, O. Poppleton; Oceana, O. K. White; Ottawa, ————; Saginaw, C. W. Grant; Shiawassee, A. H. Owens; St. Clair, W. T. Mitchell; St. Joseph, H. H. Riley; Tuscola, T. North; Van Buren, C. J. Monroe; Washtenaw, E. D. Lay; Wayne, Philo Parsons.

"A Trip to Lake Superior Thirty five Years Ago" was read by Francis A. Stebbins.

Music—trio, "Fantasie," Swiss air, was rendered by Mrs. Ella Shank, Misses Sipley and Berridge on the violin and piano.

A paper on "The Goodrich Family in Michigan," was read by Enos Goodrich.

"Uncle Tom's Bond," a paper furnished by E. S. Williams, was read by J. C. Holmes.

A vocal solo, selected, was sung by Miss Ella Baker.

A sketch of Andrew Nowland, the old pioneer mail carrier and teamster, was read by A. D. P. Van Buren. The reading of this paper called forth remarks from E. S. Woodman.

W. J. Baxter read a letter written to Judge Albert Miller, who was first probate judge of Saginaw county. The letter was from Ostius W. Seymour and related to early probate matter. On motion the letter was directed placed on file with the records of the Society.

A song, "Beautiful May," was rendered by a High School class of children, directed by Mrs. Flora Rarrick.

Five minute speeches were called for and were responded to by Hon. C. T. Gorham, Rev. W. M. Johnson, Rev. R. C. Crawford, A. F. Morehouse and ex-Gov. J. W. Begole. Many interesting and amusing anecdotes were related. The statement was made that in October, 1836, the first cars started from Toledo to Adrian and it was an all day's ride.

A vocal solo was rendered by Miss Ella Baker.

The audience sang "All Hail the Power of Jesus' name," led by Rev. W. M. Johnson.

On motion the Society adjourned till evening.

Wednesday Evening.

The Society met according to adjournment, the president in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Benjamin Franklin.

A quartette, "Home to Our Mountains," was sung by Mrs. Flora Rarrick, Miss Ella Baker, Messrs. C. O. Pratt and L. A. Baker.

Col. M. Shoemaker offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That Article I. of the Constitution of this Society be and the same is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

ARTICLE I. The name of this Society shall be the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The resolution was laid over for one year, to be voted upon at the annual meeting in 1887.

"The Life of Judge Charles Upson," by Hon. T. M. Cooley, was read by E. Longyear.

A solo and chorus, "The Old Oaken Bucket," was sung by Mrs. Flora Rarrick, Miss Ella Baker, Messrs. C. O. Pratt and L. A. Baker, Miss Emily Barnard, pianist.

"Reminiscences of Surveys of the Northwestern Lakes," was read by John H. Forster.

Two solos, "The Kerry Dance," and "No, Sir," were sung by Mrs. Flora Rarrick.

Five minute speeches being called for, were responded to by Hon. T. M. Palmer, of Detroit, and Hon. Byron G. Stout, of Pontiac.

C. B. Stebbins, of Lansing, offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be and hereby are requested to take measures, if they shall find the same practicable, to engage a stenographer at the next annual meeting (1887) to report in full the extempore remarks and speeches; the same, or so much as the Committee of Historians shall deem advisable, to be published, with the papers read, in the Pioneer Collections.

Hon. Cyrus G. Luce being present, was called upon, and responded with a short talk on "Early Pioneer Days."

Song of the Old Folks, ("Auld Lang Syne"), was sung by the audience. Benediction was pronounced by Dr. Wm. H. Haze. The meeting was then declared adjourned.

MEMBERSHIP.

There are now six hundred and eighty names upon the membership book of the Society. Since the last annual meeting forty seven names have been added, as follows:

Thomas M. Wilson, Edward W. Peck, Dr. Henry M. Hurd, John S. Huston, Alonzo H. Owens, George N. Dewey, Mrs. Ellen C. Dewey, Mrs. Clarissa Van Enery, Enos Goodrich, John C. Patterson, Edward M. Keightley, Benjamin F. Hinman, Frank A. O'Brien, George A. Smith, L. D. Watkins, Henry B. Baker, Wolcott B. Williams, F. H. Conant, M. K. North, Martin Hudson, Sarah T. Merrifield, Mrs. Jerome Walton, Alice J. Watson, Mrs. H. R. Pratt, Daniel Clark, Mrs. Laura C. Burr, Chas. Baldwin, James Gould, William Drake, Cyrus G. Luce, Albert G. Dorrance, Frederick Fowler, Otis E. M. Cutcheon, J. G. Wait, S. F. Brown, Ira Peake, Mrs. Caroline B. Peake, Benjamin Pierson, Wm. Hull, Chas. N. Wood, W. L. Bancroft, J. H. Arnold, S. M. Fowler, D. P. Clay, Wm. H. Brearley, A. S. Kedzie, Albert A. Luce.

There are one hundred and fifty deaths of members recorded on the membership book of the Society. A complete record would probably somewhat increase this number.

DONATIONS.

The list of donations of books, pamphlets and newspapers made to the Society during the past year, though not large, are valuable, and add much to the interesting collections of the Society gathered together since its organization and placed in the office of the Society. The most valuable of all are the historical papers presented and collected for publication in the volumes of "Pioneer Collections," issued by the Society.

List of Donations June 1, 1886, to June 1, 1887.

J. W. BABBITT, M. D.:
Genealogy and Chronology of the Sovereign Families of Europe.
W. H. BREARLEY, Detroit:
The Dardanelle Post (Ark.), June 3, 1886. A Bit of History.
F. A. DEWEY, Cambridge:
Tecumseh Herald, March 3, 1887. Mr. Dewey's 76th Birthday.
HENRY FRALICK, Grand Rapids:
Address of President, Henry Fralick, June, 1886.
ENOS GOODRICH, Fostoria:
Fiftieth Reunion of the Settlement of the Goodrich Family at Goodrich, May 20, 1886.
DANIEL GOODWIN:
The Dearborns; Commemorative Discourse of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Occupation of Fort Dearborn and the First Settlement at Chicago, by Daniel Goodwin, Jr.
GEORGE H. GREENE.
History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of United States, 1884.
NELSON HASKINS, Imlay City:
A Business History of Imlay City, Michigan.
J. C. HOLMES, Detroit:
Detroit Gazette, July 25, 1817.
Two One Dollar Bills. Three Dollar Bill issued by Monroe Bank, 1836.
Two Dollar Bill, Auburn, N. Y. Bank, 1841.
Three Dollar Bill, Augusta, Ga., 1861.
Twenty five Dollar Bill, Adrian, 1850. Also design for Die, Agricultural Society, March 24, 1849.
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
Acquisition of Louisiana, by Judge Thomas M. Cooley.
Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories, by Daniel Waite Howe.
Life and Services of John B. Dillon, by Gen. Coburn and Judge Biddle.
O. A. JENISON.
Poster for Twenty first Fall Fair held in Lansing, September 27-30, 1886.
KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
Transactions of, 1883-1885.
LACKAWANNA INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE, Scranton, Penn.:
Powdered Anthracite and Gas Fuel, Manufacturer's Report.
CHARLES LAUMAN, Author:
Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces, 2 Vols.
Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States during its first century.
Directory of Congress.—A Book of Reference.
Leading Men of Japan.
Octavius Perinchief; His Life of Trial and Superior Faith.
Recollections of Curious Characters and Places.
Red Book of Michigan. A Civil, Military and Biographical History.
ALEX. B. LEEDS.
Berrien County Journal, June 5, 1886.—Old Settlers.
GOV. C. G. LUCE.
Official Notice of the death of Adj. Gen. Robertson.
General Orders, Military Department, March 21, 1887.
Semi-Centennial of the Admission of Michigan into Union.
MISCELLANEOUS:
History of the Grand Traverse Region, by Dr. M. L. Leach, 1883.
Legislative Proceedings; Memorial of Hon. Ovid N. Case.
Official Programme with Words and Music of Semi-Centennial Anniversary at Lansing, June 15, 1886.
Programme Mich. Legislative Association Reunion at Lansing, June 10 and 11, 1886.
Remarks of Hon. H. W. Seymour, before Mich. Senate, April 3, 1887.
The Old Moravian Colony at Mt. Clemens, by Henry Ford.
NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY:
New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April and July, 1886.

NEWSPAPERS:
Bay City Tribune, Jan 24, 1886—General Grant at Hague.
Bristol County Republican (extra), Jan. 22, 1886—Old Colony Historical Society.
Detroit Free Press, Mar. 21, 1884—Adj. Gen. Robertson responds to the last roll call.
Detroit Sunday Tribune, Feb. 7, 1886.
Coldwater Courier, Jan 29, 1887—Pioneer meeting.
Flint Daily News, Feb. 6, 1886.
Flint Democrat, Jan. 2, 1886—New Year's Letter, by Enos Goodrich.
Lansing Republican, June 7-11, 14, 16, 1886—Semi-Centennial and Legislative Reunion.
Lansing Republican—Semi-centennial edition, June 14, 15, 1886.
Owosso Weekly Press, Jan. 13, 1886—A. L. Williams, one of the Founders of Owosso.
Owosso Times, Jan. 15, 1886—Sermon by Rev. Geo. H. Wilson commemorative of A. L. Williams.
Poster for first issue of State Republican, Jan. 1. 1886.

REV. FRANK A. O'BRIEN, Kalamazoo:
The Diocese of Detroit, by Rev. F. A. O'Brien—Pam.

STEPHEN D. PEET:
History of Early Missions in Wisconsin. American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Vol. VIII, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 1886; Vol. IX, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1887.

RAILROAD COMMISSIONER:
Photograph of the first locomotive and passenger train in Mich., Jan. 1837.

DR. GEO. E. RANNEY.
Transactions of State Medical Society of Michigan for years 1873 to 1885.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
Transactions of, Vol. III, Parts III and IV.

ISAAC D. TOLL:
Chicago Inter-Ocean, Aug. 12, 1886—Peerless Petoskey.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:
Thirty fourth annual meeting of, held Jan. 6, 1887.

WASHINGTON COUNTY PIONEER ASSOCIATION, Marietta, Ohio:
The coming Centennial, April 7, 1887, at Marietta—Pam. The ordinance of July 13, 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the River Ohio, by Hon. Wm. P. Cutler—Pam. Centennial circular and programme.

CONCLUSION.

The Executive Committee and Committee of Historians have held their usual meetings during the past year for the transacting of such business as the affairs of the Society required, and have published two volumes of collections.

The records show a continued and increased interest in the collecting and preservation of historical matter pertaining to the early history of our beloved state.

The various centennial and monument associations of Marietta, Ohio, send greetings to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and request the hearty coöperation of the members of this Society in the effort of the societies at Marietta to get up a centennial celebration at Marietta in commemoration of the "First authorized settlement in the Territory of the Northwest under the Ordinance of 1787." The celebration is to be held on the 7th of April, 1888. It also proposes to erect at Marietta a "Centennial monumental structure that will suitably commemorate the acquisition of the Northwest

Territory, and its permanent settlement under the laws and direction of the United States."

Respectfully submitted,

HARRIET A. TENNEY,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

LANSING, June 1, 1887.

To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

How rapidly the years roll by: It seems but a day since we last met to exchange our annual greetings and report the year's progress of the Society's doings. But another year has passed into history, and it again becomes my duty to report so much of the work of the Society as has been entrusted to me. The file of letters and communications received during the year is herewith submitted, all of which have received prompt attention.

A copy of the State Republican containing the proceedings of last meeting was mailed, soon after the close of the meeting, to each member of the committees and also to each vice president. About the same time a notice was sent to each vice president, informing him of his election, and requesting him to secure memorials of prominent pioneers of his county who should die within the year, and a further notice about four weeks ago, reminding them of their duties and requesting from them a memorial report for this meeting.

Notices of this meeting, containing a list of papers to be read, were on May 21st forwarded to each member of the Society, also to the leading newspapers throughout the state, state officers and their deputies, members of the legislature, judges of the supreme court, etc.

I have to report the death of twenty five members of the Society who have died within the past year, the greatest number of any previous year. They are as follows:

List of Deaths.

Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Mich.
William W. Murphy	Jonesville	April 3, 1816	June 8, 1886	70.	1835.
Alonzo Sessions	Ionia	August 4, 1810	July 3, 1886	76.	1835.
D. Johnson	Jackson	October 30, 1809	July 28, 1886	77.	1838.
H. Crawford	Lansing	August 11, 1818	August 11, 1886	68.	1839.
James M. Williams	Williamston	September 25, 1816	September 18, 1886	70.	1839.
Wm. H. Cross	Centreville	March 6, 1807	September 29, 1886	79.	1826.
Henry M. Joy	Grand Rapids	July 20, 1836	September 30, 1886	50.	1857.
John J. Bush	Lansing	August 10, 1833	October 11, 1886	53.	1836.
Sullivan R. Kelsey	Corunna	August 16, 1805	November 23, 1886	81.	1833.
Chas. M. Croswell	Adrian	October 31, 1825	December 13, 1886	71.	1837.
Elijah Woodworth	Leslie	January 26, 1792	December 23, 1886	95.	1835.
Chas. A. Chapin	Ann Arbor	August 1, 1830	December 28, 1886	56.	1833.
Nathan Knight	Hampton	July 14, 1817	December 30, 1886	69.	1829.
Levi C. Dolson	Detroit	January 1, 1813	January 23, 1887	74.	1813.
Ezra F. Blood	Tecumseh	October 28, 1797	February 15, 1887	89.	1824.
Ira Peake	Richland	October 11, 1811	March 8, 1887	75.	1832.
Stephen Searles	St. Joseph	July 21, 1792	March 11, 1887	95.	1838.
Lewis C. Risdon	Ann Arbor	April 25, 1824	March 15, 1887	63.	1829.
Josiah R. Holden	Grand Rapids	February 22, 1797	March 18, 1887	90.	1845.
Benj. O. Williams	Owosso	November 18, 1810	March 22, 1887	76.	1815.
Nathan M. Thomas	Kalamazoo	January 2, 1803	April 7, 1887	84.	1830.
Helen N. Estabrook	East Saginaw	August 26, 1831	April 17, 1887	55.	1831.
James Bailey	Birmingham	July 7, 1802	May 1, 1887	85.	1824.
Smith Tooker	Lansing	October 14, 1819	May 11, 1887	67.	1834.
Chas. E. Stuart	Kalamazoo	November 25, 1810	May 19, 1887	76.	1835.

Also deaths of the following named members which have not been mentioned in my former reports have come to my notice within the past year:

Henry Parks	Pontiac	April 14, 1790	September 3, 1879	89.	1821.
John Baker	Kalamazoo	November 20, 1814	July 3, 1883	69.	1839.
Wm. Hatch	Homer	August 27, 1789	April 20, 1885	95.	1850.

Of these Elijah Woodworth of Leslie, and Stephen Searles of St. Joseph, were each 95 years old, and were in the war of 1812. D. Johnson of Jackson, and Smith Tooker of Lansing, were of the twenty two original members of this Society who participated in its organization. Levi C. Dolson of Detroit, and Benj. O. Williams of Owosso, were the earliest to come to Michigan. They came in 1813 and 1815 respectively, followed by Ezra F. Blood of Tecumseh, and James Bailey in 1824, Wm. H. Cross in 1826, and Nathan

Knight of Bay City, and Lewis C. Risdon of Ann Arbor, in 1829. Helen Norris Estabrook, wife of Hon. John S. Estabrook of East Saginaw, is the only one who was a native of this State, born August 26, 1831, in Ypsilanti. A biographical sketch of most of these will be found in the memorial reports from their respective counties.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. H. GREENE,
Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

LANSING, Mich., June 1, 1887.

To the State Pioneer Society of Michigan:

Your Treasurer submits the following report:

E Longyear, Treasurer, in account with the Society from June 7, 1886, to June 1, 1887.

RESOURCES.

To balance on hand June 7, 1886		$536 40
Receipts for membership fees	$87 00	
Pioneer Collections, Vols. 1 and 2	14 25	
Old Folks' Song Book	32	
from Donations	50	
Publication Fund, 1883	1,000 00	
1885	2,000 00	
1886	1,000 00	
Total		$4,102 07
		4,638 47

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid from General Fund:		
for expenses of Executive Committee	$229 34	
Annual Meeting, 1886	43 90	
Postage and express charges	14 30	
Collecting, filing and recording papers	527 65	
		$815 19
Paid from Publication Fund:		
for expenses Committee of Historians	$ 181 05	
translating and copying	407 63	
State Printers	2,865 87	
Proof reading	164 10	
		$3,618 65
Total disbursements		$4,433 84
Balance on hand June 1, 1887		204 63
		$4,638 47

All of which is respectfully submitted.

E. LONGYEAR, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

To the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan:

The Committee of Historians would respectfully report that the result of the labors of the committee, seconded, as they have been, by the pioneers of the state, have been attended by more successful results than in any previous year. The interest taken by the first settlers, in the counties most recently settled, will enable the Society to collect and preserve an authentic account of the rapid development of the state in all its varied interests.

The success of the Society in procuring and publishing historical matter relating to Michigan when under the government of France or Great Britain, has attracted the attention of historical societies in other states and of persons interested in historical studies and has added greatly to the reputation of our Society and to the interest taken in its advancement by very many of our own citizens.

The committee succeeded in procuring the publication of volumes 8 and 9 previous to the first of January of this year, snd had good reason to believe that it would be able to have volume 10 ready for delivery at this meeting, but in this it has been disappointed.

The material for volume 10 was selected and ready for publication when volume 9 was delivered, but the state printers have been required to do so large an amount of work for the legislature, now in session, that they have not been able to publish volume 10. However much this is to be regretted the delay has been unavoidable.

Volumes 8 and 9 can now be procured of Mrs. H. A. Tenney, the recording secretary, at seventy five cents each.

Volume 8 is a book of 728 pages, and contains the proceedings of the annual meeting of 1885, the historical papers read at that meeting, of which particular attention is called to that on the "Lake Superior Country," by John H. Forster, that on the "Iron Region of Lake Superior," by Peter White, and to those relating to the "Personal Reminiscences" of that venerable pioneer of the Saginaw Valley—Ephraim S. Williams.

These, with other papers, occupy 146 pages. The memorial reports of 21 counties take up 104 pages, and the "Copies and translation of papers in the possession of the Historical Society at Detroit," cover 403 pages.

These papers are as interesting as they are important. Among them will be found a translation of the "Pontiac Manuscript," being the "Journal or History of a conspiracy by the Indians against the English, and the siege of Detroit by four different nations, beginning on the 7th of May, 1763."

The "Conspiracy of Pontiac" and the "Siege of Detroit" include the "statements of Mrs. Melroche, Charles Gouin, Gabriel St. Aubin, Jacques Parent and Mr. Pettier, who were eye witnesses of the siege of Ft. Detroit in 1763, made in 1824 to Charles C. Trowbridge, sub-agent of Indian affairs at Detroit, and written by him at that time." This volume also contains "Pontiac's Incursions, the Macinaw Massacre and the Battle of Bloody Bridge," being "Major Thompson Maxwell's account of the incursion of the Chieftan Pontiac, including the massacre of the Mackinaw garrison, the Battle of Bloody Bridge, together with some observations of the general appearance of the territory when these occurrences took place."

The papers relating to these times and transactions, as interesting and as important as any in the history of Michigan, cover over 100 pages.

The other 300 pages include miscellaneous matters that date from a proclamation of King Charles 2d, in 1672, prohibiting the use of salt, to that of Col. Henry Proctor, "dated Aug. 21st, 1812, for the regulation of the Civil Government of the Territory of Michigan after the surrender of General Hull;" and many of the papers of Judge A. B. Woodward and Major James May. Also Election Rolls for Wayne County for 1799; Tax Roll for 1802; "Proclamation of Gen. William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Indiana Territory," issued at "Vincennes, January 14th, 1803, laying off and establishing the boundaries of the County of Wayne;" Address of the Chiefs of the Chippewa Nation, Detroit, September 8th, 1797; "Father Marquette and the Early Jesuits," by C. I. Walker; "Early Detroit," by C. I. Walker; "Account of a plot for obtaining the Lower Peninsula of Michigan from the United States in 1795," by J. V. Campbell; "Date of the Detroit Settlement," by J. V. Campbell; Gov. Wm. Hull's speech to the Ottawa and Chippewa nations of Indians at Michilimackinac, August 28th, 1809, and many military orders and papers relating to the war of 1812.

Volume 9 has 707 pages, and contains the "Proceedings of the annual meeting for 1886," the papers read at that meeting, which include with others, "Reminiscences of the Survey of Northwestern Lakes," by John H. Forster; "The Diocese of Michigan, What it was, What it is," by Rev. Frank A. O'Brien; "History of St. Andrews' Church at Ann Arbor," by Rt. Rev. G. D. Gillespie; "Recollections of Early Ministers of Washtenaw County," by Rev. Lorenzo Davis; and papers by Judge Albert Miller, of Bay

City, Ephraim S. Williams, of Flint, and Judge F. A. Dewey, of Lenawee county; also memorial reports from 22 counties.

These papers conclude on the 221st page, and the succeeding 120 pages are devoted to the History of Ottawa County as given in "papers read at the semi-centennial celebration of its settlement held at Grand Haven, Dec. 2d, 1884."

"The Haldimand Papers" occupy 316 pages and are "Copies of papers on file in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, Canada."

These are the first of a large number of documents which the committee has procured from the Archives of the Dominion, through the courtesy of its officials, and the committee wishes to note that it has been under particular obligations to Mr. Douglass Brymner, Archivist for the Dominion of Canada for the efficient aid which he has given it, in procuring from that source, matter relating to the history of Michigan while a part of the French or British Dominion.

The committee cannot too highly commend these papers to the attention of the members of the Society and to all others who feel the least interest in the history of Michigan or in historical studies.

They will be found to include the correspondence of the commanding officers at Detroit, Mackinaw and St. Joseph, with Gov. Guy Carleton and Gov. Frederick Haldimand, "Captain Generals and Governors-in-Chief in and over the province of Quebec and territories depending thereon in America," from 1776 to 1784, also an "account of the expedition of Lieutenant Gov. Hamilton," in Oct., 1778, from Detroit to Vincennes; of the capture, Dec. 17th, 1778, of the fort at that place, called Fort Sackville, by Gov. Hamilton, and of its recapture by Col. George Clark, Feb. 24th, 1779; prices current in February and April 1778; "Council held at Detroit, June 14th, 1778, with the Ottowas, Chippeways, Hurons, Poutconattamies, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Mingoes, Mohawks, and the tribes of Ouashtanou, Saginaw, Delewares and Senecas."

The proceedings of the council will be found to be of great interest, giving the names and speeches of the chiefs of each nation. This volume also gives "the state of the settlement, taken by order of the Lieutenant Governor, Detroit, April 26th, 1778." It includes the number and kind of inhabitants and all kinds of live stock, with prices current, and a "council held by Lieutenant Gov. Hamilton with Ottawas, Chippewas, Poutwattamies and fifty of their warriors, Detroit, Sept. 24th, 1778;" also "a general return of all the inhabitants of Detroit, their possessions, cattle, houses, servants, and slaves, taken by Philip Dejian, Justice of the Peace for the said place, the 22nd of September, 1773."

Every member of this Society should avail himself of the present opportunity to procure these volumes.

The legislature having appropriated $2,500 each for the years 1887 and 1888, the committee feels justified in saying that, with the balance now on hand, of the appropriation for 1886, there can be published five volumes of Collections. These will contain the proceedings of 1887 and 1888, the papers read at the annual meetings of the Society for these years, with such other original matter as is now in the archives of the Society or as may be acquired in the meantime.

"The Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan" is now established on a basis that must insure its continuance.

It has already accomplished, during its brief existence, results of greater importance, in securing original historical material, than many other state societies that were organized before Michigan was admitted into the Union.

It is the intention of the Society to be unremitting in its efforts to secure an authentic history of the settlement of every county in the more recently settled parts of the state. These, though now lacking in interest, with many readers, will, with the passage of time, come to be looked upon as being of as much or more importance than is now the history of the occupation of the state by the French and English. The degree of interest manifested in these, our annual gatherings, is a most certain guarantee of the continuance of the prosperity of the Society.

Repectfully submitted,

MICHAEL SHOEMAKER, *Chairman.*

LANSING, Mich., June 1, 1887.

REPORT OF THE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

ALLEGAN COUNTY.

BY DON C. HENDERSON.

MRS. ALMIRA HART, died in Otsego Sept. 21, 1886, aged 72 years and 14 days; came to Otsego in Nov. 1839, and was resident of the county nearly 48 years.

ABRAM HOAG, died in Otsego Oct. 31, 1886, aged 73 years; came to Otsego in 1836, and was a resident of the county about 51 years.

SHERMAN P. STANLEY, died in Allegan Nov. 24, 1886, aged 59 years and 4 months; came to Allegan in July, 1847, and was a resident of the county 39 years.

STEPHEN D. NICHOLS, died in Saugatuck Feb. 2, 1887, aged 80 years, 7 months and 28 days; came to Saugatuck Sept. 29, 1834, and was a resident of the county over 52 years.

WILLIAM FINN, died in Muskegon March 3, 1887, aged 80 years and 7 months; came to Allegan May 25, 1836, and resided in Allegan county most of the 50 years since coming here.

MRS. HARRIET D. MANKIN, died in the township of Hopkins, on the 5th of March, 1887, aged 61 years, 9 months, and 17 days; came to Hopkins April 5, 1854, and was a resident of the county 32 years and 11 months.

JOSEPH W. DREW, died in Otsego April 27, 1887, aged 67 years, 7 months and 14 days; came to Otsego in Sept. 1836, and was a resident of the county over 50 years.

MRS. RHODA M. BLISS, died in Allegan April 29, 1887, aged 58 years, 6 months and 12 days; came to Gun Plain in 1835, and was a resident of the county about 52 years.

WILLIAM H. WOODHAMS, died in Plainwell May 20, 1887, aged 85 years, 7 months and 8 days; came to Gun Plain, Oct. 12, 1846, and was a resident of the county about 40 years.

MRS. SABRA R. ALLEN, died in Otsego June 30, 1887, aged 68 years, 8 months and 4 days; came to Otsego in 1852, and was a resident of the county 35 years.

BAY COUNTY.

BY WM. R. MCCORMICK.

Mrs. George Lord died June 12, 1886, aged 66 years.
Mrs. Joseph Eddy died November 27, 1886, aged 83 years.
Mrs. John Drake died December 10, 1886, aged 62 years.
Nathan Knight died December 30, 1886, aged 70 years.

Dr. George E. Smith died February 15, 1887, aged 62 years.
Wm. McEuan died March 10, 1887, aged 64 years.
Susan J. Munger died May 7, 1887, aged 59 years.

MRS. GEORGE LORD.

Mrs. George Lord, whose maiden name was Calphurnia D. Fay, died in Bay City, June 12, 1886. Mrs. Lord was born in Hamilton, Madison county, N. Y., February 1820; was married to George Lord in 1840; came to Lower Saginaw, now Bay City, in 1854, and had resided there 32 years. She lived to see the place increase from a few inhabitants to a population of 40,000. She was always noted for her charity to the poor. She leaves a husband and three children, two boys and one girl. She was a lady who will be greatly missed for her many acts of charity. She was a sister of Hon. Wm. L. Fay, whose memorial is published in vol. 7, page 344.

MRS. SUSAN EDDY.

Mrs. Susan Eddy, wife of Joseph Eddy, died November 27, 1886, at the old home in the township of Hampton, Bay county. Mrs. Eddy was born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, August 13, 1804, and was consequently 82 at the time of her death. She was married to Joseph Eddy at Onlyville, Rhode Island, June 4, 1826. Her maiden name was Susan Salsbury.

Mr. and Mrs. Eddy emigrated to the state of New York in 1836, and in 1855 came to Bay City, Michigan. In 1858 they bought a farm in the township of Hampton, where this good woman died. She had seven children, six sons and one daughter. During the war of the Rebellion she sent three of her boys to save their country; they all distinguished themselves and returned safe to their noble mother to cheer her declining days.

Mrs. Eldy was one of the noblest of women, her charity and noble qualities endeared her to all. She was a strict member of the Baptist church. She will long be remembered by the old pioneers of Bay county.

MRS. JOHN DRAKE.

Mrs. John Drake died at the family residence, 1001 Center Avenue, Bay City, on the morning of December 10, 1886, after an illness of a few weeks, aged 62 years and 11 months.

Mrs. Drake's maiden name was Emma Dixon. She was born at Appleby, Westmoreland, England, January 3, 1824; removing to Canada with her parents in 1832, where she was married in 1844 to John Drake, a successful merchant of the Province of Upper Canada. Here he carried on his business till 1852, when, with his wife, he removed to Lower Saginaw, becoming pioneers

of what is now the thriving town of Bay City, where they have since resided, with the exception of two years passed in Detroit. For a number of years Mrs. Drake was an invalid, resulting from a fall, but recovering, she renewed her social connections with her many warm friends and acquaintances whom her kindness of heart, affability and true Christian character had won for her.

Mr. and Mrs. Drake had four children; two infants, a boy and a girl, died in Canada; a daughter aged seven years died at Lower Saginaw in November, 1858, and another daughter aged seven years and three months died in August, 1860. After the last of her own offspring had passed away, Mrs. Drake's motherly instincts were exercised in caring for others who required her sympathy and attention; during the latter period of her life she took to her heart and home two orphaned grandnieces, who are now bereft of a second mother.

Mrs. Drake was one of the original members of Trinity Church, and her exertions in its behalf and in promoting the cause of Christ generally, and her true Christian graces have tended greatly to promote the growth and interests of that church.

HON. NATHAN KNIGHT.

Hon. Nathan Knight, one of the old pioneers of the township of Hampton, Bay county, Michigan, died at the old homestead December 30, 1886. Mr. Knight was born in Otisfield, Maine, July 14, 1817. His father came to Michigan in 1826, and settled in the township of Avon, Oakland county, and was followed by his son, Nathan, in June, 1829. Nathan was educated at Austinburg Institute, Ohio. He afterwards taught school and clerked for ten years.

He came to the township of Hampton, Bay county, in 1856, and commenced farming. He was a representative in the state legislature from Bay county for two terms, 1877 to 1880 inclusive. He held the office of justice of the peace for ten years, and school commissioner. He also held the office of supervisor of the township of Hampton for twelve consecutive years. He was married Oct. 12, 1850, to Miss Harriet Stevens, of Avon, Oakland county, Mich. He had three children, but only one, a son, survives him.

Mr. Knight was a man universally respected by all classes of people, and especially by the old pioneers. He was a member of this Society for a number of years.

DR. GEORGE EDWARD SMITH.

Dr. George Edward Smith died February 15, 1887, at his home In Bay City. Dr. Smith was born in Troy, Oakland county, Michigan, October 2,

1825. He came to Saginaw in 1837, where he learned the trade of a printer, when his health failed. To improve it he accompanied his brother, Capt. David Smith, on a trip or two on the schooner, Coneaut Packet, and was shipwrecked on Lake Huron, above Goderich, on the Canada shore. They were given up for lost, and it was some six weeks before they were heard from, it being late in the fall when they put in an appearance, nearly naked and with scarcely any shoes on their feet. There was great rejoicing among their friends when they arrived.

He then commenced the study of medicine with Dr. George Davis, of Saginaw City, and graduated at the Cleveland Medical College of Ohio, in 1851. He removed to Lower Saginaw, now Bay City, the same year. He was married about this time to Miss Abbie Hart, of Lapeer, by whom he had four children. Dr. Smith was the first physician in the lower end of the Saginaw Valley. In 1861 he went into the mercantile business which he followed up to 1878, when he again assumed his profession. Dr. Smith was postmaster of Bay City for many years previous to 1861.

He was an elder in the Presbyterian church from its organization until his death.

WILLIAM MCEUAN.

William McEuan, one of the pioneers and business men who have helped to make Bay City, died at Ontario, California, where he had gone for his health, on March 10, 1887.

Mr. McEuan was born in Glasgow, Scotland, March 5, 1823. He came to America in 1848, stopping first in New York, and then coming to Detroit and Chicago, at each place working as a machinist. He had learned his trade at Napier's famous works in Glasgow, and brought with him papers of recommendation from them, which, however, he never needed to use, his work recommending itself.

In 1850, he with his brother, Alexander, came to Bay City, then Lower Saginaw, and built the mill at "Woodside," still known as the "McEuan Bros.' mill." Alexander died in 1853 and the business was continued by William and his brother John.

February 4, 1858, he married Annie, the eldest daughter of the late James Fraser, the founder of Bay City, by whom he had six children, five of whom survive. The eldest son, James F., died in 1877, at the age of eighteen years.

Mr. McEuan had been much of the time, for the last fourteen years, out of health and of active business, but still attending to many interests, and in all that concerned the growth and progress of Bay City he was always ready to do a full share.

He was of a kindly nature, and ready always to lend a helping hand to those in distress. He did not accumulate great wealth, but he left behind him an unstained name.

He was a man of scientific tastes and of wide reading. He was strongly attached to the land of his birth, and, although a resident of this country for almost forty years, was never naturalized. He was obliged to take many journeys in search of health, twice crossing the Atlantic to his old home, and spending several winters in California, where the end came at last. His death is a loss, not only to Bay City, but to the lessening company of "The Pioneers."

SUSAN J. MUNGER.

Susan J. Munger died on the 7th of May, 1887, at her home in Bay City. She was born in Monroe county, New York, August 13, 1828. She was married to Algeron S. Munger in St. Joseph county, Michigan, in 1853. Mr. and Mrs. Munger emigrated to Lower Saginaw, now Bay City, in 1854. She had only one child, a boy, who died in childhood. Mrs. Munger was a lady much respected by all who knew her.

BERRIEN COUNTY—1886-1887.

1886.	Pioneers Died.	Age.
May 27	Edson Wood, Niles	80
June 5	Sarah Brunson, Benton Harbor	78
" 8	Elizabeth E. Babcock, Niles	76
" 15	Mrs. John B. Bostwick, Three Oaks	60
" 18	Nicholas Simons, Oronoko	80
July 4	Wm. J. Nott, Benton Harbor	79
" 17	Lorinda Nason, " "	54
" 20	Mrs. Lottie Stone, " "	50
June 16	Mrs. Sarah Griffin, Niles	70
July 15	Ruth A. Tevierne, Buchanan	79
" 19	Ezra Abel, Berrien	76
" 25	John B. Bostwick, Lake	67
" 29	Elizabeth Abeal, Bertrand	72
" "	Mrs. A. W. Harris, Niles	54
August 2	Wm. Church, St. Joseph	65
" "	Geo. Schrackenhast, Pipestone	78
" 14	Craine Valentine, Watervliet	89

BERRIEN COUNTY.—*Continued.*

1886.	Pioneers Died.	Age.
August 21	..... Pond, Oronoko	86
" 27	Henry J. Hall, Buchanan	66
" 25	Electa Lewis, Pipestone	78
Sept. 28	Mrs. ..... Hobart, Buchanan	86
" 26	Jason Alden, Benton Harbor	86
" 4	James Pender, " "	66
Oct. 11	Mrs. Gideon Smith, "	75
Nov. 18	Sarah A. Jenkins, Berrien	54
1887.		
Jan'y 4	Mrs. Abigail Knight, Buchanan	78
" "	Cornelia Lauer, Oronoko	56
" 12	Geo. Patterson, Hagar	80
" 14	Jas. Essick, Berrien Springs	67
" 22	Clara F. Howe, " "	72
" 30	Mrs. David Rough, Buchanan	85
Feb'y 1	Patrick Murphy, Benton Harbor	80
" 8	Geo. W. Platt, Niles	70
" 9	John Williams, "	80
" "	Chas. H. Walker, "	52
" 6	John Morrison, St. Joseph	61
" 8	Fanny Snow, Berrien	76
" 5	Thos. McTague, Royalton	67
" 8	James Flood, Hagar	70
" 21	Tenos Sharai, Sodus	71
March 2	Mrs. Oliver Eastman, Benton Harbor	60
" "	John Lockey, Oronoko	73
" 3	Sarah Rich, Niles	56
" 7	Mrs. Peter Shanahan, Niles	56
" 9	Katherine Kibbler, Berrien	70
" 11	Wm. Dougherty, Berrien Springs	85
" 16	Geo. S. B. Vail, St. Joseph	64
" 19	Stephen Searles, " "	95
" 20	Mary B. Defield, Berrien Springs	81
" "	Elizabeth Phillips, St. Joseph	65
" 26	Amy R. Hendricks, Hagar	73
" 16	Geo. Price, Watervliet	70
" 10	Worthy Putman, Berrien Springs	75
" 31	Sophronia Kountzmann, Watervliet	72
April 1	James Redding, Niles	63
" 18	Moses D. Burke, Buchanan	74

BERRIEN COUNTY.—*Continued.*

1887.	Pioneers Died.	Age.
" 21	Sarah Bell, Niles	81
May 4	Chas. Weber, Sr., Bainbridge	85
" 6	Henry Sanders, Three Oaks	92
" 18	William Williams, Royalton	80

The names of the following pioneers appear without date of death or age: Orrin D. Snow, Mrs. Alonzo Sherwood, Wm. B. Davis, Michael Hess, Chas. Evans.

A VETERAN OF 1812—STEPHEN SEARLES.

The subject of this sketch, whose death was announced last week, was the third son of Samuel Searles. He was born July 21, 1792, near New York City, on the north side of the Hudson river. When about 4 years old he removed with his father to Broadalbin, 40 miles northwest of Albany, and when he was 12 years old they left Broadalbin and settled at Aurora, N. Y., where he worked at farming until the breaking out of the war of 1812, when he went into the army and served until it close. He was at Buffalo when it was burned, and when the order was given for our forces to retreat and every man to look out for himself, he, with several others, volunteered to save a quantity of arms and ammunition which would have fallen into the hands of the enemy; which act they accomplished by taking a circuitous route through woods at the great risk of being captured. After the war he returned to the business of farming. In the year 1830 he married Mrs. Polly Carpenter, who lived only six years, leaving only two daughters, Mrs. D. A. Winslow, of Saugatuck, and Mrs. R. D. Parker, of St. Joseph; together with Mrs. L. C. Stinson, of St. Joseph, and Wm. Carpenter, of Charlotte, Mich., a step daughter and step-son, to mourn his loss. In the year 1838 heremoved with his family to Charlotte, Eaton county, Mich., and with his three brothers settled on what is still known as Searles street, near Charlotte, where he remained engaged in the business of farming and building mills until the year 1852 when he removed to St. Joseph, and here closed his lifework. He was a member of the State Pioneer Society. Mr. Searles was able to be about and was down to the postoffice only a few days before his death. His funeral was held from the residence of Dr. Parker, his home, his remains being escorted to the cemetery by A. W. Chapman Post, No. 21, G. A. R. Rev. G. L. Cole officiated at the services.—*St. Joseph Hérald.*

CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY DR. O. C. COMSTOCK.

HON. GEORGE WOODRUFF.

Hon. George Woodruff, late judge of the 5th judicial district of this state, died at his residence in Marshall, Calhoun county, in the 79th year of his age, May 15, 1887. He was probably the most scholarly man in Calhoun county, and few men surpassed him in this particular. He was a sound lawyer, an incorruptible judge and a courteous, Christian gentleman.

SKETCHES OF PIONEERS OF CALHOUN COUNTY.

COMPILED BY A. D. P. VAN BUREN.

ELIZA P. FORD.

Another of the early residents of Battle Creek is numbered with the dead. Mrs. Eliza P. Ford, wife of C. Ford, Esq., died Tuesday morning, Oct. 7, 1875, at her husband's residence, after an illness of many years, aggravated within the past few days by an attack of dysentery, which proved fatal, notwithstanding the most diligent efforts were made for her relief. This comparatively sudden termination of her earthly career was unexpected by all, save by a few friends who knew of her condition, and the announcement of her death generally took the community by surprise.

Eliza P. Ford was the oldest daughter of the late G. F. Smith, one of our most prominent and influential citizens, and was born in Leroy, Genesee county, N. Y., on the 20th of October, 1822, having consequently nearly ended her 53d year at the time of her decease. At the age of sixteen, in the year 1838, she emigrated with her father's family to Battle Creek, having previously received the advantages of a course of study in Miss Ingham's Seminary at Leroy. Early in the summer of 1843 she was married to Mr. Ford and has resided nearly the entire time since in this community, thus acquiring a large and extensive acquaintance.

Of our early Battle Creek society Mrs. Ford was in her youth and for many years afterward—until sickness confined her within the circle of home—one of the most conspicuous members, and foremost in social as well as benevolent enterprises. Possessed of a remarkably cheerful disposition, a vivacious and clear intellect, sound practical judgment, she commanded

universal esteem, and held a leading position in society. For several years a lingering and unyielding disease gradually withdrew her more and more from an active participation in social duties and activities, but her intimate friends and acquaintances have been permitted to witness no abatement of those noble and generous qualities of head and heart which cause her memory to be highly prized.

PETER PUTNAM

Died in Athens, April 23, 1875, of erysipelas, Mr. Peter Putnam, in the 73d year of his age. He had a stubborn attack, which did not yield to the best medical treatment that could be procured. I cannot speak too highly of the unceasing care and attention of the entire community. "Uncle Peter," as he was familiarly called, was highly esteemed by all who knew the good qualities of his heart. He was a native of Vermont, but came to Rochester, N. Y., in the spring of 1825, where he married and resided untill 1842, when he came to Michigan, where, by industry, economy and integrity, he had secured a comfortable home, and where he has ever contributed to the wants of the suffering and oppressed. In earlier years he was skeptical on the subject of religion, but several years since a great change came over his mind on the subject, and he has been prominent in trying to promote the principles of pure and undefiled religion. He has been truly a father to the fatherless and the widow's friend, as it has fallen to his lot to provide a home for several relatives of his wife; also a number of his own. Providence seemed to have qualified him for this responsible duty, which always seemed a pleasure rather than a burden to him. At the time of his death he was the guardian of some minor children, and the attorney of parties in California having an interest here. He leaves a wife, and three children, survive him; one son and two daughters.

MRS. CELIA FISH.

Mrs. Fish, whose death occurred at the residence of her son-in-law, A. J. Quick, of Leroy, on Friday, the 13th of May, 1887, had reached the advanced age of 83 years, and retained to a remarkable degree her vigor of mind and body up to a short period before her demise. She, with her husband, was one of the early pioneers of Leroy township, which was named after her son, Leroy, the first male child born in the township. She was a woman of rare originality of thought, earnest conviction, strong practical judgment and fine social qualities, a combination which fitted her for the part she has borne in developing our community from the pioneer condition of half a century ago.

The deceased leaves nine children, six of whom were at the funeral; three sons, William, Leroy and Washington, and three daughters, Mrs. Copeland, wife of the Rev. Wm. Copeland, of the M. E. church, Mrs. A. J. Quick, and Mrs. Cordelia Johnson.

Mrs. Fish possessed a wide acquaintance in this section of the state by whom her memory will be affectionately cherished.

We here present the concluding portion of the funeral discourse by Rev. James Berry:

"We halt to-day for a few moments in the journey of life to say the last farewell over one of our number. The skeleton foot of death, which enters the loftiest as well as the humblest stations of life, has invaded our circle. But a week ago a commanding presence moved in our midst, whom we shall see no more, a cheerful companion who will no more make glad our hearts by her happy life and encouraging words, a kind neighbor who will no more be ready with willing hands to minister to the wants of those about her, a loving mother whose labor of love for her children is ended, a witness to the power of Jesus Christ to save on earth has gone to join that innumerable company of the redeemed on the other shore.

Celia Seamans was born February 2, 1804, in the state of Rhode Island. She moved with her parents to Connecticut, then to Vermont, and then to New York.

In 1822 she was married to Mr. David Fish, with whom she shared the joys and sorrows, successes and privations incident to life in a new country, until four years ago, when he was taken from her side.

In 1832 with her family she came to Michigan. She lived in Washtenaw county for two years, and then moved to Leroy in 1834.

This was then a wilderness, but she has been spared to see the forest give place to the cultivated fields, the log houses to beautiful dwellings, the wilderness to blossom as the rose. For over fifty years she has lived here and was well known to all. Said one of her neighbors, 'I don't think Aunt Celia had an enemy in the world. Everybody was glad to see her cheerful face and no one was more welcome to the social circle, or more sadly missed if she was absent.'

Long has she been spared, but that summons to which every ear shall hearken and all mortality obey, reached her at last, and without a murmur or a fear she received it, and, folding her hands, she quietly fell asleep as an infant in its mother's arms.

Eternity beckoned to one whose labors here were ended, and she sank down to rest with resignation to the decrees as they were written."

EATON COUNTY.

BY DAVID B. HALE.

OLIVER CHASE BUCK died in the city of Charlotte April 3, 1887, aged 69 years. He was born in Rallstown, Saratoga county, N. Y., October 18, 1818. He settled in Eaton Rapids in 1852 and removed to Charlotte in 1865.

AARON B. MUNN died in the township of Hamlin April 6, 1887, aged 81 years, 3 months and 6 days. He was born in the city of Newark, New Jersey, January 1, 1806. At the age of 17 years he, with his father's family, moved to Benton, Yates county, N. Y. In 1830 he was married to Nancy McFarren, and in the year 1838 he removed to Michigan and settled on the land where he has lived for nearly fifty years.

HENRY POTTS died at the residence of his daughter in Chicago, February 14, 1887, aged 93 years. He was born in Columbia county, N. Y., June 2, 1793. He moved to Monroe county, Michigan, in 1834, and to Brookfield, Eaton county, in 1837, when it was a dense forest, where he resided more than forty years.

GIRZY SEELYE died in Eaton Rapids township, March 4, 1887, aged 63 years. She was born at York Mills, N. Y., and came to Eaton Rapids with her parents when a girl, more than 45 years ago.

HIRAM NORTON died in Eaton Rapids April 8, 1887, aged 77 years. He was one of the very early settlers of the township.

JOHN REED died in Delta, September 30, 1886, aged 78 years. He had resided in that township 47 years.

JEREMIAH K. HARDY died in the city of Eaton Rapids, November 29, 1886. He had resided in Okemos, Ingham county, about 30 years, and removed to this place about a year before his death.

REBECCA MILLER, the widow of John G. Miller, died at her home in Eaton Rapids, November 26, 1886, aged 56 years. She had been a resident of Michigan about 40 years.

MRS. MAHALA JARBOE died at Dimondale in the township of Windsor, June 19, 1886, aged 40 years. She was born in Monroe county, Michigan.

BENJAMIN NASH LONG died in the township of Hamlin, May 6, 1887,

aged 76 years. He was born in Shelburn, Franklin county, Massachusetts, February 5, 1811. He settled in Porter, Cass county, Michigan, in 1837. He has resided in Eaton county since 1870.

MRS. L. A. WRIGHT, wife of Deacon Victor M. Wright, died at her home in Hamlin, January 4, 1887, aged 71 years and 9 months. She was born in Massachusetts. She, with her husband, settled in this place in 1853.

P. G. HOUGH died in Benton, 1886, aged 77 years. He had resided in the township 43 years.

ABEL BRIGGS died in Kalamo, Jan. 9, 1887. He was born in Shaftsbury, Vt., April 2, 1822, and settled in Eaton county in 1849.

ALMIRA L. FORD died in Hamlin, January 21, 1887. She was born in Benson, Vermont, November 8, 1814. She moved with her parents to Genesee county, New York, and from there to Eaton Rapids, where she has resided more than 40 years.

BENJAMIN F. BISEL died in Bellevue, January 6, 1887. He was born in Bedford county, Pennsylvania, July 11, 1828, and moved to Eaton county in 1853.

ISAAC FRENCH died at his home in Eaton township, November 18, 1886, at the age of 73 years. He was born in Caubit, Lincolnshire, England, and came to this country in 1849. He settled in Eaton in 1856, where he resided until his death.

DAVID WALLING died at Brookfield, November 15, 1886, at the age of 78 years. He had been a resident of that township for over 40 years.

MRS. L. W. DUNTON died at her home in Charlotte, October 17, 1886, aged 69 years. She with her parents settled in Eaton county when it was an unbroken forest.

SOLOMON RUSSELL died at his home in Grand Ledge, aged 78 years. He was one of the pioneers of Oneida.

GIDEON COGSDILL died at Kalamo, October 11, 1886, aged 52 years. He was born in Smithfield, Oakland county, October 11, 1834, and came to Eaton county in 1868.

ALFRED ALLEN died in Walton, November 6, 1886, aged 68 years. He was born in West Springfield, Mass., June 3, 1818. He came to Michigan when a young man and purchased a tract of land of the government, which he improved and occupied until his death.

Deacon Hiram Burroughs died in Walton, December 23, 1886, aged nearly 70 years. He had been a resident of Walton 40 years.

Ezekiel A. Hull died in Dimondale, in the township of Windsor, December 19, 1886. He was born in New Jersey, February 14, 1809. He came to Michigan in 1845, and in 1850 settled in Windsor, on an unimproved farm, where he lived until 1880, when he removed to Dimondale.

Barney Polhemus died in Chester, March 7, 1887, aged 67 years. He had been a resident of Chester nearly 40 years.

Salmon Cahoon died in Carmel, April 8, 1887, aged 64 years. He was born in Delaware county, N. Y., and had been a resident of Eaton county more than 50 years.

Truman H. Perkins died in Eaton township, April 13, 1887, aged 73 years. He was one of the early settlers of the county.

GENESEE COUNTY.

BY J. W. BEGOLE.

MRS. E. H. THOMSON.

Mrs. E. H. Thomson died suddenly at 4:30 o'clock p. m., Sunday April, 10, 1887. She had contracted a cold early in the previous week and had been confined to her room a few days under the care of Dr. Buckham, the family physician. But she was apparently better late in the week and the physician had pronounced her so far recovered as not to need his services further. Sunday, however, some fever had developed and he had been called again. While holding a tester in her mouth to determine the amount of fever, she suddenly uttered a cry of pain, threw up her hands and was dead.

Mrs. Thomson was born in Brighton, N. Y., in July, 1819, and was educated at LeRoy, N. Y. In 1840 she came to Flint, then a little village in the wilderness, and opened a select school which was attended by many young people who have since become prominent in business and social circles. In the year 1842 she married the late Col. E. H. Thomson. Two children were born to them, only one of whom, Edward H. Thomson, grew up, however. She went to Europe twice with her husband and also spent much time with him in Washington and other important places. In this city she was

always among the most prominent, influential and beloved of women. For many years she was a member of St. Paul's choir. Intellectually she was more than ordinarily brilliant and her knowledge was both critical and extensive. She was a brilliant conversationalist. All that she had learned by study, reading, reflection, travel and observation was ready at hand to enrich her conversation. She came of an educated family. One brother, the late Rev. Charles P. Bush, was for many years secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Another brother, the Rev. George Bush, a Presbyterian clergyman at Brooklyn in this state, is a man noted for the extent of his learning in philosophy and theology. Another brother is Mr. B. F. Bush, a well known citizen of Grand Blanc.

Mrs. Thomson's death will be the cause of general sorrow in this community, where she has been intimately known for so many years.

MR. NAHUM N. WILSON.

Mr. Nahum N. Wilson, one of the pioneers of this county, passed to his final rest at the house of his son, Nahum T. Wilson, in the first ward, at four o'clock Saturday morning, May 7, 1887, at the age of 82 years.

Mr. Wilson was born in 1805 in Newport, N. H., but most of his boyhood was spent in Norwich, Vt. At an early age he evinced a great desire for knowledge, but like most farmers' sons in those early days, he had only meagre facilities for acquiring it. He went to the district school winters only, working on the farm in the summer. But he used all his spare time in study by himself, and at the age of nineteen became a teacher. He mastered the art of surveying and later in life he made this knowledge available in this county, having done most of the surveying in the northern half of the county for many years.

Mr. Wilson married Miss Phalle R. Slafter in Vermont, in 1828. Soon after he removed to Canada, bought a farm and divided his time between its improvement and teaching school. In 1834 he removed to what was then Thread village, now the city of Flint, and worked at bridge building, millwright work and lumbering. He built the first bridge across the Flint river, the first store and the first sawmill, known as the Stage & Wright mill, and cut the first lumber in it.

In 1838 he leased a farm in Vienna township and was soon elected supervisor. Soon after this he bought eighty acres of land on section 25, Thetford, which was the nucleus of what afterwards became the magnificent farm of 650 acres, with large and commodious buildings, orchards and other improvements. When the township was set off, Mr. Wilson himself gave it the name of

"Thetford" from a town in his beloved Vermont. He was clerk of the town for many years and also held the office of justice of the peace and had much to do with the public affairs of the town—was postmaster at East Thetford many years. During all his life he was accustomed to read a great deal on scientific and economic subjects, and few men had a larger fund of solid, useful information than Mr. Wilson. In later years he suffered several severe strokes of paralysis, but his mind remained clear to the last. He had risen from his bed and was dressed not more than twenty minutes before he died.

The funeral was held at the house and the remains were taken to Thetford for burial, beside those of his first wife who died in 1863. He married his second wife in Vermont in 1867.

Mr. Wilson was the father of eight children, all of whom are living. The first was a daughter, born in 1830, now residing with her husband in Tuscola county. The first son, Charles E., residing at Bay City, is a clergyman, as is also John N., living in Ohio. Wm. H. and Farwell A. are lumbermen at Harrison, Clare county, the former being a member of the present legislature. The second daughter is the wife of Wm. H. Long of this city. Samuel J. and Nahum T. are the active members of the Flint Cabinet Creamery Company. All the children are persons of excellent character and bright intellects, as their father was, and, like him, are all highly esteemed.

GILES BISHOP.

A dispatch received by Russell Bishop announced the death of his brother, Giles Bishop, which took place at Griffin, Ga., May 24, 1887. The sad event was not unexpected, for previous announcement of his precarious condition had been made by telegraph, through the columns of the Journal.

More than forty five years of Mr. Bishop's life had been spent in Flint, and he only changed his residence when ill health compelled him to seek the more salubrious climate of the south. With this end in view, about four years ago he left his beautiful home, corner Fourth and Beach streets, and located on a large plantation at Griffin, Ga., where he purchased a plantation for each of his two sons.

Mr. Bishop was for more than a quarter of a century engaged in the grocery and drug business in the city, and had a large circle of friends and acquaintances who will be pained to hear that death has claimed him for a victim. Mr. Bishop was 64 years of age. He leaves four children, Henry and John Bishop, of Griffin, Mrs. W. C. Rosevelt, of Chicago, who was at his bedside during his last illness, and Mrs. W. H. Gibson, of Jacksonville, Fla. The remains were interred at Griffin, Ga.

MRS. HOVEY.

Mrs. Hovey, wife of George Hovey, one of the oldest and best known citizens of Genesee township, died at her home May 24, 1887. Mrs. Hovey was sick a long time in the early spring and got better, but a relapse came and she did not rally. She was a most estimable lady and will be sadly missed in the community where she had resided so many years, while her loss to her husband and children will be irreparable.

Mrs. Hovey leaves besides her husband two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, C. M., resides in Detroit, and the younger, Fred, lives with his family at the old homestead. One daughter resides at Vassar, Tuscola county, and the other's home is in Indiana.

HILLSDALE COUNTY.

BY E. O. GROSVENOR.

We give below names, ages, township residence and date of death of pioneers who have passed away during the year since your last annual meeting.

Some of these have been prominent in business, literary, professional and political circles, and have done much towards the development of the resources, moulding the character and establishing the institutions of our beloved state, and merit at our hands a more extended notice, but the large number who during the year have been laid to rest precludes the possibility in most cases of more than the simple record of name, age, residence and date of death. In some cases we have not been able to get the exact age. These are indicated by "q" after age given.

List of Deaths.

1886.	Name.	Residence.	Age.
June 1	Mrs. Rumslie	Osseo	70
" 5	Samuel Baker	Jonesville	83
" 8	Wm. Walter Murphy	Heidelberg, Germany	70
" 9	John T. Blois	Jonesville	76
" 9	N. D. Jones	Osseo	60
" 10	Mrs. Hiram Davis	Ransom	70
" 10	Mrs. Mary A. Chase	Moscow	62
" 11	R. E. Ferguson	Wheatland	73
" 14	George Devoe	Litchfield	69
" 16	Vesta C. Hebage	Hillsdale	78
" 22	William Weaver	Somersett	86
July 3	Mrs. Margaret Moore	Moscow	62
" 3	Mrs. Ann M A. Marks	Moscow	64
" 4	Mrs. Sarah McCowen	Moscow	66
" 11	Mrs. C. T. Fowler	Litchfield	71
" 16	Israel Buck	Moscow	78
" 22	David Cowan	Litchfield	94
" 23	Mrs. Emily A. Bentz	Jonesville	74
" 24	Mrs. Annis Valentine	Litchfield	82
" 27	Mrs. Harriet Casey	Adams	74
August 2	Mrs. Youngs	Woodbridge	75
" 14	O. H. Gillam	Jonesville	55
" 14	Ira Harrington	Adams	82
" 20	Leodis Emery	Hillsdale	80
" 21	Mrs. Catherine Berbeck	Jonesville	63
Sept. 6	Mrs. Rachael Couch	Litchfield	75
" 23	Stephen Huff	Jefferson	57
" 30	G. W. Cole	Adams	75
Oct. 1	Mrs. Rachael Wells	Allen	67
" 1	Nathan C. Gavitt	Woodbridge	75
" 8	Mrs. Rachael Nichols	Ransom	58
" 21	John Gatchell	Litchfield	78
" 23	Moses Perry	Hillsdale	64
" 26	David Chaney	Jerome	81
" 31	Warden C. Barrett	Cambria	53
Nov. 3	Adam Hauer	Jefferson	77
" 8	Mrs. Martha D. Avery	Hillsdale	87
" 18	Mrs. John Corey	Adams	70
" 19	Walter Buel	Litchfield	74

List of Deaths—Continued.

1886.		Name.	Residence.	Age.
Nov.	24	Andrew Cadmus, fomerly of	Jonesville	92
"	24	Mrs. Rogers	Cambria	72
"	28	Wm. W. Brewster	Wright	67
Dec.	2	Mrs. Amelia E. Burger	Osseo	67
"	2	Adna H. Smith, fomerly of	Jonesville	71
"	7	John Barbangle	Ransom	75
"	8	Reuben M. Waite	Jonesville	75
"	10	Edward W. Kelley	Jonesville	57
"	14	Mrs. Mary Porter	Jonesville	62
"	22	Freeman Huff	Adams	77
"	23	M. Chamberlain	Hillsdale	75
1887.				
Jan.	4	John Dow	Cambria	72
"	7	Mrs. Anna Cook	Litchfield	86
"	8	Abram Cousins	Fayette	79
"	9	Mrs. Abigail Woodward	Jefferson	80
"	11	Fred Curtis	Wheatland	54
"	12	Samuel Fowler	Reading	81
"	16	Mrs. John Derby	Litchfield	61
"	24	Mrs. Mary A. Silvernail	Wheatland	67
Feb.	2	James Phillips	Jonesville	75
"	2	Augusta Comstock	Pittsford	64
"	3	Mrs. Mary J. Hazen	Litchfield	58
"	4	Mrs. Eliza Glasgow	Jonesville	72
"	5	Mrs. Amelia Murphy	Hillsdale	84
"	6	Thos. Caapple	Litchfield	74
"	8	John Fitzsimmons	Reading	68
"	8	Mrs. Mary McAllister	Hillsdale	55
"	10	Mrs. Betsy Rice	Jonesville	86
"	17	Birdsey Woodruff	Jefferson	91
"	18	Mrs. Rachael Alley	Somersett	80
"	20	Thomas Harding	Allen	69
"	23	Mrs. Priscilla C. Richards	Jonesville	64
March	8	Maria H. Canniff	Litchfield	66
"	10	Wm. S. Leonard	Jefferson	70
"	11	James Patterson	Pittsfield	q75
"	13	Dell Brown	Moscow	88
"	22	Mrs. Mary Richards	Jonesville	47
"	31	Mrs. Jane H. White	Jonesville	71

List of Deaths—Continued.

1887.	Name.	Residence.	Age.
April 7	Mrs. L. F. Douglass	Wheatland	80
" 9	Chas. A. Shattuck	Litchfield	q85
" 10	Lavina H. Sackett	Woodbridge	77
" 12	Peter Bruno	Jonesville	52
" 13	Zimri Densmore	Jonesville	72
" 13	Peter Risedorph	Hillsdale	70
" 14	Hosea C. Aldrich	Jerome	50
" 17	James Orr	Reading	q70
" 18	Wells Whitney	Cambria	63
" 18	Lorenzo L. Dow	Hillsdale	63
" 23	Andrew McDougal	Somersett	70
May 8	Thomas Hutchins	Jefferson	67
" 16	John Greening	Ransom	75
" 19	Mrs. John Brainslie	Jonesville	78
" 19	Geo. H. Bottsford	Hillsdale	70
" 20	Mrs. Priscilla Doty	Ransom	64

Whole number of deaths	93
Total age	6,640 yrs.
Average age (a little over $71\frac{1}{2}$)	$71\frac{19}{31}$ "
Youngest named	47 "
Oldest	94 "
Under 50 at death	1
Between 50 and 60	10
" 60 and 70	23
" 70 and 80	40
" 80 and 90	16
Over 90	3

Among those named above are two members of this society, both residents of Jonesville, and who, by reason of unusual prominence and public service, should receive special notice.

No man for many years was better known throughout the state, more actively useful, or more highly esteemed and respected, than William Walton Murphy, who died at Heidelberg, Germany, June 8, 1886, at the age of 70 years. His long residence at Frankfort-on-the-Main as consul general of the United States during the entire period covered by our civil war, and after its close, during the Prussian war, which resulted in the annexation of the free

cities of Germany, and the establishment of the German Empire, made him nearly as well known and as highly respected in Germany as he was in Michigan. He rendered valuable service to the United States during the trying period of the civil war in maintaining the financial credit and placing the bank of the United States at Frankfort—one of the great centers of wealth in Europe—and during the Prussian war his position as United States consul general enabled him to render great service and to afford protection to many of the citizens of the city of Frankfort, which greatly endeared him to them, and which were subsequently publicly recognized and acknowledged.

WM. WALTON MURPHY.

Died of pneumonia at Hamburg, Prussia, on Tuesday, June 8, 1886. W. W. Murphy, aged 70 years.

Mr. Murphy was born in Ernestown, Canada West, April 3, 1816, removing to Seneca county, N. Y., at an early age. He came to Monroe, Michigan, in 1835, where he entered the United States land office as clerk. While there he began the study of law, and in the fall of 1837 removed to Jonesville, forming a partnership with William T. Howell and opening the first law office in Hillsdale county. He practiced law here until 1861, from 1848 being associated with Hon. W. J. Baxter. He served one term as prosecutor of this county, and in 1844 he was elected representative in the Michigan legislature.

In 1861 he was appointed by President Lincoln to the position of consul general at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which position he held for nine years, and has since resided there the greater portion of the time, acting as the financial representative of several American railroad companies. The first bonds of the United States placed at Frankfort were sold through his influence.

He was a partner in the Exchange Bank of Grosvenor & Co., and in company ot one or two others was the founder of this paper, it first being published by W. W. Murphy & Co., under the name of The Jonesville Telegraph. Since then he has always manifested a warm interest in the Independent, subscribing and paying for five or six copies every year, and in many ways manifesting his interest and good will.

He was one of the members of Grace Episcopal church, this place, at the time of its organization in 1838, was one of the first vestrymen, and has been a vestryman of that church for 39 years, and during 13 years of this time served as warden. He regularly contributed to the support of the church from the time of its organization to the day of his death.

For many years prior to the war Mr. Murphy was an active, prominent anti-slavery man, aiding at all times the slaves in their efforts to escape from

bondage with counsel and with money, volunteering his services as a lawyer whenever occasion required. He was formerly a democrat but joined the free soil party in 1848, and the republican party at its formation. He was prominent in county and state politics, and never failed to attend a political convention when it was possible for him to do so.

In 1849 he was married to Ellen Beaumont, of Monroe, who survives him.

The news of Mr. Murphy's death is no surprise to his many friends. For many years he has been in failing health, and lately private advices have been very discouraging. He has long been afflicted with a bronchial affection which was undoubtedly the cause of his death.

Mr. Murphy, or as he was better known, "Walt," was a man of unusual kindness of heart and disposition. He was constantly doing acts of kindness to the poor and those in trouble, which acts were never divulged by himself. Although absent from Jonesville since 1861 and undoubtedly having formed new and strong ties in his German home, he always wanted to be counted in all charitable matters here, and was ever ready to respond to a proper demand. He was widely known throughout the state, everybody liked him, and we believe of him can it be truly said he leaves not a single enemy.—[Jonesville Independent.]

SAMUEL S. BAKER.

Died at his home in Jonesville, on Saturday, June 5, 1886, Samuel S. Baker, aged 83 years, one month and fourteen days.

The deceased was born at Palmira, Trumble county, Ohio, April 21, 1803. At the age of 10 years he moved with his parents to Groveling, Livingston county, N. Y. Was married at the age of 22 years to Rachel Putney by whom he has had 12 children, but two of whom survive him. He came to Jonesville in 1840, and has since been a respected citizen of the place. He was a man of strong convictions, conscientious and high sentiment for humanity. His aged wife (also 83 years old) and two children, Mrs. T. Harding and Geo. W. Baker survive him.

JOHN T. BLOIS.

In Jonesville, at his residence, Wednesday morning, June 9th, 1886, John T. Blois, aged 76 years.

Mr. Blois was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in September, 1809, and resided in that state until 1833, when he made a change of residence in the hope of benefiting his health, which was then poor. He entered the popular military academy at Middletown, Conn., in 1826, and graduated in a course of civil engineering. This was at the time when there was but one railroad

in the United States, a tram railway at Quincy, Mass. He was at the academy three years, but his health being unequal to the rough life of a civil engineer, he continued his classical studies with Rev. Luther Hart, of Plymouth, Conn. In 1832 he entered the law office of Geo. N. Briggs, of Lanesborough, Mass., who was then a representative in Congress, and was afterwards governor of Massachusetts. From here he went to Lenox in Berkshire Co., continuing his law studies, and having as a fellow student the Hon. David Davis, of Ill.

He resided for a short time in South Carolina, Tennessee and Ohio, coming to Michigan in 1836.

He first located in Detroit. Here he taught in the Detroit Academy and collected memoranda for a statistical, topographical and political history of the state and territory of Michigan, which he afterwards published under the patronage of the state legislature as a Gazetteer of the state of Michigan. While preparing this work for the press he found the archives barren and it was only owing to memoranda furnished by him to the secretary of state that enabled the governor to negotiate what was then called the $5,000,000 loan, for internal inprovement purposes.

He came to Jonesville, which place has since been his home, in 1839, and in connection with Salem T. King opened the second law office in this village, the firm being King & Blois.

In 1840 he was elected register of deeds for this county, serving two years, and was circuit court commissioner for eight years. He was elected one of the justices of the peace for Fayette township in 1840 and served until 1844, was again elected in 1865, and has filled that position continuously since—twenty one years. He was for a number of years engaged in the nursery business here, finally relinquishing it on account of ill health.

Mr. Blois was a scientist and a man of high literary attainments. He was married and raised his family of three children here. Edwin T. of Chicago, Miss Ida and W. S. of this place survive him.

INGHAM COUNTY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

June 16, 1886.—Mrs. Louise L. Woodworth, aged 80 years. She had been a resident of Lansing 31 years.

June 21, 1886.—Henry Eckstein, aged 33 years. He was born in this country of German parents, and came with them to Lansing when a few months old.

August 9, 1886.—Henderson Crawford, of Lansing, died at Traverse City, aged 68 years, and was buried at Lansing. He was a member of the State Pioneer Society.

March 14, 1887.—Andrew Silverhorn, aged 54 years. He was a native of Bavaria, Germany, came to this country when 18 years of age, to Lenawee county soon after, and to Lansing in 1874. He enlisted with the First Michigan Engineers, and was sergeant in his company.

March 29, 1887.—Eugene Newbro of Lansing, aged 64 years.

March 31, 1887.—Mrs. Mary A. Sanford, wife of Col. Geo. P. Sanford, aged 48 years.

April 4, 1887.—Elihu Peck, of Lansing, aged 61 years.

May 11, 1887.—Smith J. Tooker, aged 68 years. He came to Lansing immediately after the location of the capital. He brought his wife with him, and she is said to be the first white woman to make a residence in the city.

May 16, 1887.—Wm. H. Hunter, aged 60 years. He had been a resident of Lansing over 30 years.

May—. 1887.—Mrs. Elizabeth Cole, of Lansing, aged 84 years. She came to Michigan twentytwo years ago from New York state.

James M. Williams died in Williamston, Saturday, Sept. 18, 1886, aged 70 years.

James M. Williams, familiarly known as "Miles," came to this place in company with his two brothers, O. B. and H. B., and settled near the spot occupied by the present homestead, from Batavia, New York, in 1839. In 1840 they built the first dam and saw mill in this section. In 1842 they built the first grist mill, known as the Red Cedar Mill, which is still standing, a small part of the present Williamston Mills. It contained one run of stone, which were hauled from Detroit by oxen, a part of the way on wagons and the rest on sleds, the roads not permitting heavily loaded wagons. It was however a great convenience to a large extent of territory. He was our first postmaster, receiving his appointment in 1842, which he held till 1850.

In 1843, at the organization of the township, he was elected its first supervisor, which position he also filled in 1844–5–6–7, '66 and '74. He was also township treasurer on two or three different occasions.

In 1846 he mined the first coal in this region which was used for blacksmithing.

In 1871, at the organization of the village, he was elected its first president, which position he also held in 1873–4–5. He was almost continually a member of the school board and much of its success is due to his efforts.

He accumulated a fine property, reared a family of seven children, six of

whom survive him and who are useful citizens and an honor to him and his memory.

He was firm in his convictions, strong in his likes and dislikes, and naturally made some enemies and many friends, but all will unite in this, that he lived an honorable and useful life. He was the possessor of a very retentive memory and could tell the "why, where and by whom" of every transaction of importance in the history of the whole community with unerring accuracy.—[Williamston Enterprise, Sept, 22, 1886.

ELIJAH WOODWORTH.

Elijah Woodworth died at the home of his grandson, in Wheatfield, Thursday, Dec. 23, 1886, aged 94 years.

To the many who have known this pioneer all their lives this news will not be surprising. He came to Leslie in 1835, and built the first house of the town, and soon afterward put up the first saw mill. For several years he teamed between Ann Arbor and Leslie, fording streams wherever there was one. He practiced some as a physician, but did not like the profession. Once he preached the Presbyterian faith, after which he published some of his works on the Old and New Testament. In 1884 he wrote a poem dedicated to the State Pioneer Society, which was published in the Local, since which time he has been confined to the house most of the time. In the winter of '83–4 he ordered his own tombstone, and wrote the inscription which reads as follows: "In memory of Elijah Woodworth, born 1792, who now resides in spirit life, a real personal being in progression eternally, served in the war of 1812. A sectarian minister, an atheist lecturer up to 1852, first resident of Leslie, Ingham county. A surveyor and Thompsonian doctor, the first itinerant lecturer in the field of modern spiritualism, and controlled to write ancient languages in the form of hieroglyphical characters. A modern seer and sage in natural and spiritual civilization, whose sunlight shall never close. Vilely persecuted by bigots, although living in temperance and good morality. Who filled a mortal body with vigorous health and memory nearly one century, traveling in seven states of the union." He drew a pension of $8 a month for his services in the Mexican war. His last request was that he be buried in Leslie but without any ceremony whatever, and designating his pall bearers. Mr. Woodworth made his home for years with his son, Solomon, and after his death he lived with his granddaughter, where he died. He has a daughter living somewhere in Ohio or Indiana. Although he entertained ideas that seemed strange to others, he was a candid, honest gentleman, and his regular chats with his many friends were a ray of

light in their lives that will never be forgotten.—[Leslie Local, Dec 24, 1886.

SMITH TOOKER.

Smith J. Tooker, one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Lansing, died at his home at 410 Wall street, May 11, 1887, of paralysis. He had been gradually declining in health during the last seven years and became entirely helpless nine weeks before his death.

Mr. Tooker, who was born in North Hector, New York, Oct. 14, 1819, came to Lansing with his brother, V. W. Tooker, 40 years ago. The site of the town was then a heavy forest, and Mr. Tooker witnessed all its transitions from a wilderness into the handsomest and one of the most prosperous cities in Michigan. As soon as a rude semblance of a home could be arranged, Mr. Tooker sent for his wife, who was the first white woman to locate in Lansing. His memory was an exceedingly accurate volume of local history from the beginning, and he always felt a keen interest in everything relating to the old pioneer days. He was one of the twelve original members of the State Pioneer Society, and also an active member of the County Pioneer organization. On the morning after the recent spring election he said to his brother sadly: "Yesterday was the first time my legs ever refused to take me to the polls to vote a democratic ticket."

His wife survives him, as do also five brothers and three sisters. These are V. W. and O. G. Tooker of Lansing, John S. Tooker of Montana, Steven Tooker of Portland, Mich., S. A. Tooker of Tennessee, Mrs. Ira Welch of Lansing, Mrs. Stephen Rogers of Acme, Mich., and Mrs. Frank Rush of Denver.—[Lansing Journal, Thursday, May 12, 1887.

IONIA COUNTY.

BY HAMPTON RICH.

The following named pioneers of Ionia county have died during the past year:

David Dodge—Born Dec. 21, 1797, in Herkimer Co., N. Y.; moved to Ionia county in 1843; died in Ionia, June 13, 1886.

Valentine Bretz—Born Sept. 5, 1830, and died in Odessa, Ionia county, June 11, 1886.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bell, wife of Hon. A. F. Bell—Born in Philadelphia, Aug. 19, 1823; died at Ionia, July 11, 1886.

Hon. Alonzo Sessions—Born August 4, 1810; moved to Berlin, Ionia Co., in 1835; died July 3, 1886.

Benjamin R. Tupper—Born in Monroe Co., N. Y., Nov. 30, 1818; died Augt. 27, 1886.

Mrs. Cordelia W. Cook, widow of the late R. R. Cook of Otisco, Ionia county—Born Oct. 2, 1811; died Dec. 11, 1886.

Hon. Osmond Tower—Born in Cummington, Mass., Feb. 16, 1811; came to Ionia March 25, 1836; died Augt. 4, 1886.

Edward Stevenson—Born in England in 1819; came to Ionia, Michigan, in 1837; died at Stanton, Montcalm county (where he was temporarily residing), Jan. 4, 1887, and was buried at Ionia.

Mrs Jane Dinsmore, widow of the late William Dinsmore—Born in 1812, moved to Portland, Ionia county, in 1836; died in that town April 30, 1887.

Thomas J. Marsh—Born in Tyre, Seneca Co., N. Y., Feb. 7, 1812; came to Orange, Ionia county, March 4, 1837; died May 6, 1887.

Jeremiah Stannard—Moved to Boston, Ionia county, in 1837; died in that township at the home of his son, Hon. A. S. Stannard, November 25, 1886, at the age of 88 years.

Leonard Goodrich—Born in Rutland county, Vermont, December 29, 1805; moved to Ionia county in 1852; died in Ionia city, May 16, 1887.

VALENTINE BRETZ.

Valentine Bretz was born in Fairfield county, Ohio, Sept. 5, 1830, and died in Odessa, Ionia county, Mich., June 11, 1886. He was the son of David and Fannie Bretz, and was one of a family of ten children, of whom four are still living.

His early life was spent on his father's farm in Ohio. In 1855 he was married to Miss Sarah A. Telford, of Ohio, who survives him. There have been seven children born to them, of whom five are still living.

Two years after his marriage he removed to Ionia county, Mich., and settled on the farm where he died.

He enlisted in the 21st Michigan infantry, August 6, 1862, and served with his regiment until the close of the war.

Comrade Bretz was a good, true soldier, always at his post of duty and with

no spirit of complaining at the hardships endured. At the battle of Stone River he received a wound in the face, a ball of buckshot entering his nose and remaining lodged in his face until last winter, when sneezing violently the ball was discharged from his nose. This wound was the primary cause of his sickness and death. He has never been in good health since he came home from the army.

There were six of his comrades, members of his company, who accompanied the corpse as bearers, all that remain of a band of nineteen that went out together.

As a citizen and neighbor, Bro. Bretz was held in great esteem, and was loved and respected by all who knew him.

He had filled the office of supervisor and clerk of his township with fidelity and honor to his constituents. He was a stirring and ardent republican in principle, yet in action he was very considerate and was of the conservative order of men. He was always a strong advocate of temperance.

As a christian man his influence was felt in his pure and exemplary life. He was a faithful and respected member of the M. E. church.

DAVID DODGE.

David Dodge, whose sickness was of long standing, died at the residence of his son, Alex. W. Dodge, in Ionia, on Sunday, June 13, 1886, in the 89th year of his age. He was born Dec. 21, 1797, in Herkimer county N. Y., whence his father had emigrated from Massachusetts that same year. In the following year, 1798, when David was only six weeks old, his father returned to his native state, living on a farm in Worcester county until David was 21 years of age, when the family removed to Oxford, Mass. In 1826 they removed to Rochester, N. Y. The subject of this sketch lived in Rochester till 1843, when he came to Ionia county and bought a farm on "Long plain" in the township of Ronald, and built a house. In 1844 he removed his family to his new home. Several years afterward he exchanged his Ronald farm for one in North Plains, where he resided till 1857, when he came to Ionia and has resided here since. While in Rochester Mr. Dodge was a mason and master builder; he constructed three churches, and the great flouring mill on the Genesee river. He with his partner excavated the great races below the first fall in the Genesee through the solid rock. The work was a failure, the parties projecting it went into bankruptcy and the contractors lost their pay. Mr Dodge then closed up his business and emigrated to Michigan. He cleared up three new farms in Ionia county. In 1855 his health failed and since 1859 he had lived in the

family of his son, Alex. W. Dodge. Deceased was twice married. His first wife, Lucina Fitts, died a year after marriage, leaving one son, who died in Rochester at the age of 29. Subsequently he married Ruth, sister of the late Joseph L. Freeman and of Mrs. P. C. Hutchins. By her he had ten children. She died Oct. 2, 1872. Mr. Dodge lived to seen born in his family eleven children, 45 grandchildren and 9 great grandchildren, of whom 33 were boys. He was converted to the christian religion in 1831, under the preaching of Charles G. Finney, at Rochester, N. Y., and joined the Presbyterian church, of which he was a member until the hour of death. Three sons and four daughters survive him.

ALONZO SESSIONS.

Hon. Alonzo Sessions died at his residence in Berlin on Saturday morning, July 3, 1886, after a lingering illness, in the 76th year of his age. The funeral was held on the following Tuesday, from the residence, and he was buried in a grave on the farm, the spot being selected by himself. For nearly fifty years Mr. Sessions has been one of the most prominent citizens and politicians of Ionia county, and in his death a striking and picturesque figure is removed from local and state affairs.

Alonzo Sessions was born August 4, 1810, in Marcellus, Onondaga county, New York. He was of New England stock, his grandfather having lived on a rough farm in the state of Connecticut. Amasa, the eldest of eleven children, was the father of Alonzo. At the age of nineteen he made his way on foot to the wilds of central New York, where he taught school and cleared land alternately, till he earned enough to pay for a farm on the east side of Skeneateles lake, where he died in 1838. His wife, Phœbe Smith, was a daughter of Job Smith, an officer of the Revolutionary army. Her brother was sheriff of the county and member of the legislature. Alonzo was one of nine children and was trained in habits of frugality and industry and in the strictest of religious tenets, his parents being members of the Baptist church. Being a diligent student he early acquired a good education and taught school. In 1831 he went to Bennington and engaged as clerk in a store for two years, receiving as compensation for his services, board and ten dollars a month. In 1833 he left his native state for Michigan, traveling from Detroit on foot, most of the way, via Mt. Clemens, Romeo and Pontiac to Farmington, where he struck the Grand river trail and followed it through Shiawassee, Clinton and Ionia counties to the present site of the city of Ionia, where he found five families, part of them living in unfinished log cabins, and others in Indian wigwams. He then embarked on a *batteau* to Grand Rapids, and thence went on foot, by way of Kalamazoo, to White Pigeon, where the U.

S. land office was, and entered his land. The next winter he spent in Ohio, teaching school in Dayton till 1835, when he bought a team and came through to his land on the south side of Grand river. The journey consumed sixteen days and from Marshall was through an unbroken wilderness. He built the first log cabin in the township of Berlin and the first bridges across the small streams between Ionia and Saranac. In 1837 he married Celia, daughter of Samuel Dexter, the pioneer of Ionia, and sister of the late John C. Dexter and Stephen F. Dexter, now of Evart, Mrs. Don Jones and Mrs. Tibbetts. By her he has had 13 children, seven of whom with Mrs. Sessions survive him.

The farm, which at first consisted of 360 acres, increased to 800 and, though hewn out of the wilderness, has come to be one of the most valuable in Ionia county. Mr. Sessions has been greatly honored by his fellow citizens in the matter of official positions. He was the first supervisor of Berlin and chairman of the first board of supervisors for Ionia county, and held the office, at intervals, 18 years in all. He was justice of the peace for several years; was sheriff in 1841–2; member of the legislature in the lower house in 1856-58-60; during his last term in the legislature he was appointed assessor of internal revenue for the fourth Michigan district and held this position four years. In 1872 he was a presidential elector on the republican ticket and chosen president of the electoral college. In 1876 he was elected lieutenant governor and re-elected in 1878. When the national banking law passed he, with others, started the First National Bank of Ionia, of which he has been a director since its foundation and president since 1866. In politics he was a republican. He never united with any religious denomination. He was of a stern, unyielding disposition, direct and inflexible of purpose himself and intolerant of the opinions of those who differed with him. In his business relations he was the soul of honor and he had no sympathy for the weaknesses, or charity for the failings of others, and had a hearty contempt for dishonesty in any of its forms. His austere and cold bearing toward others repelled many who would have liked to be his friends, but if he encouraged close intimacy it must have been with a limited circle. The rugged virtues of his character commanded the respect of his fellow citizens, while he did not win their affection like men of a more sympathetic mold and with more of the milk of human kindness in their composition. Yet in spite of all this few men have wielded a greater influence in the community, or done more to set an example of sturdy manhood and honest endeavor than Alonzo Sessions. He was certainly an exemplar of personal honesty and unflagging industry, and, viewed from almost any light, his life must be pronounced a success. If he appeared to take too morose and des-

ponding a view of human nature and the motives that govern men, it was perhaps because he, in a long life devoted to the study and observation of public affairs and political questions, had detected so much that was unworthy, selfish and ignoble, that his mental vision was obscured to the good that is in men. He was inclined to be a pessimist in his measure of men's characters and motives. He had a lofty ideal to which few can attain and indeed of which he himself fell short. But if we could all come as near it, taken for all in all, as he did, it would be cause for profound thankfulness. A large number of the citizens of Ionia attended his funeral.

MRS. ELIZABETH BELL.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bell, wife of Hon. A. F. Bell, who died at her home in Ionia on Sunday night, July 11, 1886, was born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1823. She was a daughter of Joshua and Rebecca (Coleman) Boyer. From an early age her home was in Reading, Pa., at which place she graduated at the age of fourteen from the Bethlehem seminary. Her parents came to Michigan with Gov. Porter and settled in Detroit. The children were sent back to Reading to live with an aunt to complete their education. Her mother died in Detroit in 1834. In 1838 Mr. Boyer removed to Portland, in Ionia county, where Elizabeth was married a year later, at the age of 16, to Alexander F. Bell, then a rising young lawyer. Mr. and Mrs. Bell lived in Lyons one year, and came to Ionia in 1840, where their home has been most of the time since. In 1856 she had a partial stroke of paralysis which affected one side, and from the effects of which she never entirely recovered. For many years she has suffered at times from its recurrence. For nearly a year she has been confined to the house, a great sufferer, helpless, but receiving the tender care of a devoted family. The last time she was out of the house was in August. At last she passed away peacefully and without pain, as though falling asleep. Mrs. Bell was a kind neighbor and friend, and by many acts of generosity and disinterested benevolence attracted to herself a large circle of friends. She had seven children, of whom five with her husband survive her. She was a member of the Episcopal church.

HON. OSMOND TOWER.

Hon. Osmond Tower died at his residence in Ionia at 11 o'clock Wednesday night, August 4, 1886. He was out riding during the day and no special premonition of speedy dissolution was felt by him so far as known. He retired at ten o'clock, and an hour later Mrs. Tower was awakened and found him sitting up in bed. This occasioned no surprise, as, for a year or more, he has been troubled with insomnia and difficulty of breathing,

superinduced by heart disease, and was in the habit of sitting up for relief. Mrs. Tower arose to give hin a spoonful of stimulant, but on returning to the bedside an instant later found him unconscious. She aroused the household, but he died almost instantly, and was beyond succor before anybody else could reach him. His death was quiet and painless. Physicians were summoned but the patient had passed away before their arrival.

By the death of Osmond Tower Ionia loses one more of that hardy race of pioneers who settled this county, and whose sturdy blows did so much to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. He was born at Cummington, Mass., Feb. 16, 1811. He was sixth in direct descent from John Tower, who emigrated in the year 1639, from Hingham, England, to Hingham, New England. He acquired a good education in the schools of his native town, learned the carpenter's trade and worked for ten dollars a month, teaching school in the winter until the age of twenty three, when he had accumulated $170 and decided to try his fortune in the West. Before leaving he married Sept. 1, 1834, Miss Martha Gallagher, of Albany, N. Y., adopted daughter of Dr. James Wade, brother of Hon. Ben. F. Wade. Dr. Wade had adopted her on the death of her mother soon after her arrival from Ireland, her native land. They arrived in Detroit in November. Mr. Tower worked at his trade in Detroit until stopped by cold weather, and removed to Farmington for the winter, where he engaged board for himself and wife at $1.50 a week. In the spring he returned to Detroit, and worked till fall, when he rode on horseback to Ionia, which consisted of two log houses. He went to the land office at Kalamazoo and located one hundred and twenty acres of land near Ionia. In the spring with his wife he removed to Ionia, arriving here March 25, 1836, with 75 cents in his pocket. He worked at his trade, securing work on the first school-house built in the valley. He soon built a house for himself which he sold, and built another, the old homestead on the site of the present insurance buildings, in which he lived thirty four years. The present residence, in which he died, was built in 1870. Aside from clearing his land, Mr. Tower worked at his trade until 1844, when he engaged in the manufacture of fanning mills, a business that he followed for twenty years. He was seven years a member of the firm of G. S. Cooper & Co.; six years with Tower & Chubb, foundrymen; for several years of the hardware firm of O. & O. S. Tower, and for many years the financial representative of the firm of Baker & Tower, makers of hot-air furnaces. In 1850 he went overland to California, returning by way of Panama in 1851.

In politics he was a whig until the organization of the republican party and was an active member of both parties. In recent years, however, he has taken comparatively little interest in politics. He attended the first meeting held

in Detroit to form the whig party; in 1840 he was elected county clerk, but in 1842 was defeated with the rest of the ticket. He was supervisor several terms and from 1858 to 1862 a member of the upper house in the state legislature. He was stockholder and treasurer of the Ionia & Lansing railroad company; director and president of the Ionia & Stanton railroad company, both of which were merged in the Detroit, Lansing & Northern. In March, 1863, President Lincoln appointed him U. S. marshal for the western district, a position he held until the Johnson régime in 1867, when he resigned. For most of the time since coming to Ionia he was officially connected with the public schools, and had held various other positions. He was at one time a prominent candidate for member of congress from this district, but was defeated for the nomination by the Hon. Thomas White Ferry.

Mr. Tower was a man of extraordinary will, strong prejudices, positive character and unyielding disposition. He was a most devoted husband, an indulgent, kind father, an exemplary citizen. He was pugnacious, however, and always ready to fight for his rights, or for what he believed to be his rights, and he was generally able to defend himself, right or wrong. In religion he was a Universalist, and positive in matters of dogma as he was in his political opinions. He was straightforward, direct, open and aggressive in everything. People always knew where to find him. It was his nature to take sides and avow his position fearlessly. The caustic letter he wrote when he resigned his position as marshal in 1867 was a type of the utterances of the man on all subjects. Its bold and defiant tone was characteristic. But the powerful will and extraordinary physical vigor had to succumb to the inexorable call of disease and death, and there is no doubt, that if he had a moment of consciousness to realize the presence of the grim monster, he met him with the same fortitude and intrepid front that he was able to present to the difficulties that beset him at every step of a long, laborious and useful life.

BENJAMIN R. TUPPER.

Benjamin R. Tupper, one of the pioneers of Ionia county, died on Friday at 5 p. m. and was buried on Sunday from his residence in Bonanza. He was born in Monroe county, N. Y., Nov. 30, 1818; died Aug. 27, 1886, aged 68 years, 9 months and 27 days. He had been a resident of Ionia county 46 years.

JEREMIAH STANNARD.

Died Nov. 25, 1886, at his residence in Boston, Ionia county, Jeremiah Stannard, in the 88th year of his age. Mr. Stannard was a pioneer of Boston,

having settled on the place where he died in 1837. Four families and three young men were the only ones who preceded him in the settlement. Mr. Stannard was elected one of the assessors at the first township meeting in 1838, and was elected treasurer in 1842. He has been an invalid for a long time, and has required much care and attention. He died at the house of his son, Hon. A. S. Stannard.

MRS. CORDELIA W. COOK.

Mrs. Cordelia W. Cook, widow of the late R. R. Cook, died at Otisco, Mich., on Sunday, Dec. 11, 1886.

Mrs. Cook was born in Sullivan, Madison county, N. Y., on the 2d day of Oct., 1811. Her father, Alvin Cowles, died on the 27th day of Sept., 1815, leaving her mother, Mrs. Roxana Cowles, a widow with two children, the subject of this notice and a sister. In the year 1817 her mother married Joseph Davis who, with her and her children, settled in the township of Chili, Monroe county, N. Y., where they lived until the year 1826, when they removed to Michigan and settled in the town of Avon, Oakland county. On the 2d day of Jan., 1834, she was married at the residence of her step-father to Rufus R. Cook, and in the spring of 1838 they removed to the township of Otisco, Ionia county, Mich., and settled upon a farm in a place now known as Cook's Corners, where they both resided until the time of their deaths. In June of the year 1870 Mrs. Cook united with the Baptist church of Otisco of which she remained an exemplary and consistent member up to the time of her death. Sister Cook was a woman of strong personalities and had a peculiar faculty of winning the affections of all with whom she came in contact. She was a devout christain and an efficient helper in every good work. Her charity was remarkable. She could never hear a person censured or their faults spoken of but she was always ready to bring forward every palliating circumstance that the case admitted of to tone down the asperity of the accuser. She died at the ripe age of seventy five years.

EDWARD STEVENSON.

Edward Stevenson was born in England nearly 68 years ago, and with his father and several brothers and sisters he settled in Ionia about 44 years ago, where he has chiefly resided. He became active in business life and one of the foremost among its honest, public spirited citizens. He was active and influential in all political movements and one of the first in Ionia to help organize the republican party. As the party became strong, and the democratic party grew weak under the storm of the prevailing anti-slavery agitation, internal conflicts arose within the republican ranks, mainly caused by

the distribution of official favors within the gift of the party. In these contests Mr. Stevenson always took a bold and aggressive position, either for or against the men of his choice. He fought a great many political battles, not only against the common enemy, but against those whom he deemed the unworthy pretenders within the republican ranks. These partisans, whom he regarded as the hay and stubble rubbish of party politics, he opposed openly and manfully. He was always a magnanimous political manager, never resorting to acrimonious personal invective to down a political opponent. He was a steadfast friend to those who had his confidence in all social and political stations in life, and was more anxious to grant a favor to a friend than to receive one. But his earthly labors are finished and he has gone to his reward. Whatever of good he has accomplished will long be remembered in his favor, while his mistakes, if any, will be set down as among the inevitable to the common humanity in the struggles and perplexities of human life, where none are perfect. He was an active business man, acquired considerable property, and was generous to a fault, and was honored with many distinguished official positions. He held the office of justice of the peace, postmaster of Ionia, and register of the land office at Ionia and at Reed City, and against his integrity and efficiency in his official or business career there never was a breath of suspicion. We have been intimately acquainted with him during the past 40 years, and have ever been proud to claim him as one of our most valued personal friends. As one of the pioneers of Ionia county, he will long live in the memory of a host of personal friends who enjoyed his familiar acquaintance during his busy and somewhat eventful life. He died at Stanton, Jan. 4, 1887.

MRS. JANE DINSMORE.

Mrs. Jane Dinsmore, widow of the late William Dinsmore, died at Portland on Saturday, Apr. 30, 1887, aged 75 years. Mrs. Dinsmore, with her husband, came to Portland from the state of New York in 1836, and consequently had resided here more than half a century. Their former home was in Caryville, near Batavia, N. Y., where Mrs. Dinsmore made a profession of religion and united with the M. E. church. When they came to Portland not a tree had been cut where the village now is, and for years after it was not unusual for deer and other game to pass among the trees standing where our residences now are. All old residents remember the enfeebling sickness that followed clearing the land, and from which no settler was exempt, nor can they ever forget that hunger from scarcity of provisions in the earlier years was not unknown. Mr. Dinsmore bought of the government 76 acres of land on section 34, at the head of the mill pond on the Looking Glass

river, but at first made his home in a log house, where is now one of our principal streets. Mr. Dinsmore was the shoemaker of the village; dividing the time between working at his trade and clearing his land. In the privations of those years Mrs. Dinsmore was like a ministering angel to the sick in the neighborhood. When not prostrated by sickness herself, she went among her less fortunate neighbors, tidying up their sick rooms, and in a thousand nameless ways relieving the despondency of those nearly or quite discouraged. She possessed a very cheerful disposition, and always maintained a hopeful exterior, sympathizing with the distressed, bearing the burdens of those weighed down with grief, and pointing to a bright prospect when the clearings in the woods should be made larger, and the air should be purified from the miasma of decaying vegetation. When the Universalist church was organized in June, 1852, she was a constituent member and maintained her membership there while she lived.

THOMAS J. MARSH.

Thomas J. Marsh, late of the town of Orange, Ionia county, was born in Tyre, Seneca county, New York, February 7, 1812. He came to Michigan in the fall of 1835 to Calhoun county, leaving that section with his brother James and arriving at their new location March 4, 1837. Their choice was on section five, town 6, range 6, Ionia county. On this a shanty about 12x16 was built which sufficed for a shelter till the summer of 1838, when quite a commodious log house was built large enough to have two rooms. In the spring of '38 a sister came on and kept house for the Marsh brothers. James, being a surveyor, left for the west in 1840.

Thomas was married about this time, 1841, to Miss Nancy Crawford, of Seneca county, New York. Several children were born, only one of whom was a son.

Thomas J. Marsh died Friday, May 6, 1887. His education was obtained at the district school.

LEONARD GOODRICH.

Leonard Goodrich was stricken with paralysis while visiting at the residence of F. Sloan on East Main street, Ionia, for a few days before going, as was his intention, to spend the summer with his son in Dakota. He grew gradually worse, and May 16, 1887, passed peacefully away.

Deceased was born in Rutland county, Vermont, December 29, 1805, and when about 21 years of age moved with his father to Ohio. December 23, 1827, he was married to Jane Standish, sister of the late Hon. J. D. Standish, of Detroit. She died September 17, 1852, leaving, besides her husband,

two sons and three daughters; one son, N. S. Goodrich, of Dakota, and two daughters, Mrs. Henry Taylor, of Minneapolis, Minn., and Mrs. Wm. Butman, of Illinois, still being alive. Mr. Goodrich afterward married Mrs. Henrietta Andrews, of Plymouth, England, who also survives him.

He had resided in Ionia about thirty five years, twenty five years of that period being engaged in the grocery business, in the pursuit of which he made many friends by his uprightness as a man of business, and his daily walk as a man among men. He was for many years a consistent member of the Baptist church, and a kind and indulgent husband and father.

MEMORIAL.

BY A. F. MOREHOUSE.

David A. Simmons died at his residence in the village of Portland on Saturday evening, October 6, 1883, aged 79 years. Mr. Simmons, with his family, came from the state of New York to Michigan in 1836, and bought land lying on both sides of the Looking Glass river, on sections 9 and 10 in the township of Eagle, Clinton county. By his own labor he soon had a large clearing and a comfortable log house and barn. In those early days every house on a traveled road was a house of entertainment, and there are yet many among us who remember the Simmons house on the east bank of the Looking Glass river, about five miles east of Portland, on the direct road from Detroit to Ionia. In 1849 he removed to Portland because of its educational advantages to his children. For a few years he was proprietor of the hotel, where the Welch house now stands. After he disposed of this, he was temporarily absent in California for a couple of years, and on his return he opened a jewelry store on the corner of Kent and Bridge streets. Some years afterward he bought his late residence on the west side of Grand river, which he prepared for his home for the remainder of his days.

Mr. Simmons was no politician, and though often importuned to accept local office, would never consent, preferring the enjoyment of private life to the vexations of official position; yet he was tenacious of his opinions of men and measures, his preferences being with the republican party. In his views he was firm and but seldom changed. In his early years he was connected with the Christian denomination, but about four years prior to his death, during the series of meetings held by Rev. Mr. Rowland, his opinions of scriptural teachings were revised, and he accepted in all its fullnes the divinity of Christ, and while his preferences were with the M. E. church, yet as Mrs. Simmons was a member of the Congregational church, he desired to be free to go with her to public service, and did not therefore openly unite with any

denomination. His social qualities were of the first order, and his genial smile was as well known as was his countenance for the past forty years and upwards. He also possessed a fine taste for the beautiful in art and nature and never tired of his examination of them; in this respect his taste was a proverb to all who knew him. For several years past his health had been declining, but on the day before his death he was seen on the streets as usual. On the day of his decease he arose and made a fire in the stove and soon after was seized with a congestive chill, from the effects of which he rapidly sank and expired about 8 o'clock in the evening. Thus as the years roll on, one by one of those first settlers who came here in their early life are, with their locks silvered with age, and revered by their fellow citizens, passing to the endless future beyond, where age knows no years and infirmities are unknown.

JACKSON COUNTY.

H. H. SMITH.

JACKSON, Mich., June 1, 1887.

To the Corresponding Secretary of the Michigan State Pioneer Society:

DEAR SIR—As vice president of the State Pioneer Society for Jackson county, I herewith submit to the society a report of the deaths of pioneers of this county for the year last past.

Names.	Age.	Date of Death.	Residence.
Daniel Fellows		August 30, 1886	Henrietta.
Chas. L. Mitchell	71	November 30, 1886	Jackson.
Harrison Larrabee	68	August 29, 1886	Jackson.
Warren Green	82	February 27, 1887	Summit.
Mrs. Charity Coykendall	86	July 8, 1886	Napoleon.
Thomas McGuire	75	July 10, 1886	Blackman.
Mrs. Elizabeth Brown	69	August 4, 1886	Jackson.
Mrs. Geo. Tibbits	79	August 11, 1886	Napoleon.
Caleb Nichols	90	August 28, 1886	Sandstone.
William Capron	69	June 13, 1886	Grass Lake.
Betsey M. Case	75	August 4, 1886	Napoleon.
Milo K. Crafts	63	July 18, 1886	Grass Lake.

List of Deaths—Continued.

Name.	Age.	Date of Death.	Residence.
Mrs. Mary Turney	73	December 25, 1886	Liberty.
Mrs. Amelia H. Warner	73	May 18, 1887	Jackson.
Mark S. Hitchcock	65	October 18, 1886	Jackson.
Frank L. Smith	56	December 5, 1886	Jackson.
Chester Warriner	66	October 7, 1886	Jackson.
David Johnson	77	July 28, 1886	Jackson.
Douglass Gibson	59	June 6, 1886	Jackson.
Thos. E. Lusk	61	September 29, 1886	Jackson.
Jonathan King	71	October 11, 1886	Spring Arbor.
Jno. Curtis	86	November 18, 1886	Jackson.
Alfred Draper	76	October 31, 1886	Jackson.
Edward Sellers	63	September 19, 1886	Jackson.
Mrs. Jane Holcomb	82	February 10, 1887	Spring Arbor.
Mathew W. Hatch	72	July 28, 1886	Hanover.
Mrs. Bathsheba Orr	59	June 11, 1886	Concord.
Jacob Hutchins	86	September 23, 1886	Summit.
Jas. A. Schretter	76	June 1, 1886	Jackson.
Robert Alward	76	June 5, 1886	Jackson.
John M. Underwood	81	November 1, 1886	Sandstone.
Charles Harrington	76	March 4, 1887	Spring Arbor.
Mrs. Catherine Hunsecker	67	March 4, 1887	Spring Arbor.
Norman Allen	82	August 16, 1886	Jackson.

JAMES A. SCHRETTER.

James A. Schretter, for the past thirty years a resident of Jackson, died at his residence, June 1, 1886, of a spinal complaint, aged 76 years. Mr. Schretter passed his youth in Poland, but subsequently went to France, thence to America. He was a man of rare intellectual abilities, and for many years gave instructions in the French and German languages. Deceased leaves a wife and five children.

ROBERT ALWARD.

Robert Alward died at 7:30 Saturday night, June 5, 1886, at his residence on Backus street, of old age. The remains were taken to Grand Rapids for interment. Deceased was 76 years old.

DOUGLAS GIBSON.

Mr. Walter Carver and Mr. Irwin, business men of New York, on their way to Chicago, arrived in the city Saturday, bringing some beautiful floral

decorations for the grave of the late Bert Gibson, their old time friend and traveling companion. Yesterday afternoon, June 6, 1886, about 1:30 o'clock, Douglas Gibson, father of the young man mentioned above, and Mr. Irwin called upon Mr. C. R. Knickerbocker, and before coming back, Mr. Gibson attempted to show his friend some of the attractive parts of Jackson, and in doing so, overtaxed himself. As they were going home they met Mr. M. Harmon, and stopped to talk with him in front of B. S. Chapin's residence. Mr. Gibson suddenly took a long breath and dropped on his knees. He was caught in this position by the two gentlemen, who attempted to lift him on his feet again, but he gave only one or two gasps and died. They carried him to W. T. Gibson's residence, 501 South Jackson street.

Mr. Gibson was born at Crown Point, N. Y., 1827, and came to Michigan in 1830 with his father, Amase Gibson, and married a daughter of Albert Howe, who survives him. He was one of the unfortunate firm of Gibson & Western, "interest and deposit" bankers, and, since the failure, has been broken down in health. For some time past his health has seemed better, and only yesterday he was heard to remark that he felt better than for a long time before.—Jackson Citizen.

MRS. BATHSHEBA ORR.

Died at her residence in the village of Concord, of Bright's disease, June 11, 1886, Mrs. Bathsheba Orr, aged 59 years. The deceased was born in England, and, when three years of age came to this country in company with her parents, and first settled in Pennsylvania. At the age of seven years she came to this state, and has since resided in Hillsdale and Jackson counties. At the age of 24 she was married to Lovell Bullock, with whom she lived until his death, which occurred in 1870. In 1875 she was married to Adam Orr, who still survives her. The deceased leaves one child, Mrs. Frances A. Stiles, who deeply mourns her loss.

WILLIAM CAPRON.

William Capron, an old resident and respected citizen of Grass Lake, died very suddenly at his residence in that place on Sunday, June 13, 1886, aged 69 years.

MRS. CHARITY COYKENDALL.

Mrs. Charity Coykendall, of Napoleon, aged 86 years, came to her death Thurday night, July 8, 1886, by falling down cellar. She intended to open her bedroom door to retire for the night, but by mistake opened the cellar door and fell, dislocating her neck. She was an old resident of the town and

received a pension from the government for services rendered by her husband in the war of 1812. She leaves one son, Marcus W., living in Dakota, and one daughter, wife of M. L. Hess.

THOMAS MCGUIRE.

Thomas McGuire, who had been an inmate of the county house for several years, died July 10, 1886, from the effects of a cancer in the face. The deceased was an old resident, having moved here 40 years ago, and has many relatives in and about the city. His age was about 75 years.

MILO K. CRAFTS.

The death of Milo K. Crafts, of Grass Lake, July 18, 1886, is announced. Mr. Crafts was a pioneer of this county, having lived on his farm near Grass Lake for thirty five years. His age was 63 years.

MATTHEW W. HATCH.

Matthew W. Hatch, known among his many friends for years past as "Elder" Hatch, died Tuesday, July 27, 1886, aged 72 years. He had been sick many months, in fact he had never recovered from a shock of paralysis which occurred last summer. The "Elder" was a plain spoken man, honest, sober and industrious, never hesitating to speak the truth. Beneath his rough exterior there lay a heart of unusual kindness. Everyone respected him and his words were always accorded an honest hearing. He leaves a widow and three children, all grown.

JUDGE DAVID JOHNSON.

At 3:30 Wednesday afternoon, July 28, 1886, Judge David Johnson died at his residence, No. 321 West Main street, after a long illness. His death had been expected for some time, as he was unconscious and the physicians were powerless to revive him. The immediate origin of his fatal illness was blood poisoning, resulting from a slight wound in one of the fingers of his left hand, hastened by the infirmities of age, as he had nearly completed his 77th year. David Johnson was born in Genesee county, New York, October 20, 1809, and for almost half a century practiced law in this city, coming to Jackson in 1837, when it was an insignificant looking and unpromising village. He served as school inspector in 1839 in connection with his law practice, and in 1843 was elected prosecuting attorney, performing his duties with a degree of ability that attracted attention throughout the state. While serving in this capacity he was elected to the state legislature in 1845, when Detroit was the capital, and Mr. Johnson took an active part in the fight over

the removal of the capital to Lansing. He favored Jackson as the more central location, but the lobby was against him and Lansing was selected. In 1851 he was elected circuit judge, and filled the position with recognized ability for six years, acting meanwhile, by virtue of his office, as one of the judges of the supreme court. When his term expired he returned to the practice of law with his former partner, Samuel Higby, until the latter was elected circuit judge, when Judge Johnson formed a partnership with Isaac M. Crane and subsequently with M. V. Montgomery, now commissioner of patents in Washington. He was also a senior member of the firm of Johnson & Hawley and prior to that was a partner of the late Phineas Farrand. Of late years he maintained an office alone except when assisted by his son Walter, who is now in Washington officiating as a legal examiner of patents under Commissioner Montgomery. In 1864 Judge Johnson was the democratic candidate for congress from this district, but was defeated by the late Judge Longyear, of Lansing. In 1848 he built the residence where he lived and died. His first wife died the same year, and a few years afterward he went to Rochester and married Mrs. Adelia A. Chipman, widow of Judge Chipman, who died in this city in the winter of 1884. A few months ago he married again, thus leaving a widow and two sons. One son, Capt. Franklin Johnson, served with distinction in the civil war, and subsequently settled in New Orleans, where he died of yellow fever. His surviving sons are Dr. Henry Johnson, of Caseville, Mich., and Walter Johnson, of Washington. Judge David Johnson was an eloquent and vigorous speaker and ranked high among the strongest advocates in the state. He was a fine scholar, a diligent reader and always thoroughly posted on current events. He had a remarkably fine mind and might easily have taken rank among the foremost men in the state.

BETSEY M. CASE.

Betsey M., widow of the late Morgan Case, died of general debility, at her residence in Napoleon, August 4, 1886, in the 75th year of her age. She was a native of Washington county, N. Y., and came to Napoleon, in the fall of 1832. In the spring of the same year the first settlement was made and of the settlers of that year only two survived. She leaves one son, Warren, residing on the old farm in Columbia.

MRS. ELIZABETH BROWN.

Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, relict of Andrew Brown, died Aug. 4, 1886, of enlargement of the heart, at her residence, 502 Detroit street, aged 69 years. Mrs. Brown was an old resident of the city, and her husband before his death was proprietor and landlord of the old Grand River house, which stood on the site of the present Stowell house. He also operated flouring mills.

MRS. GEORGE TIBBITTS.

Mrs. George Tibbits, of Napoleon, died at her home Wednesday afternoon, Aug. 11, 1886, after a protracted illness, aged 79 years, 5 months and 4 days. Mrs. Tibbitts came to Jackson county in 1846 with her husband, who survives her.

NORMAN ALLEN.

Norman Allen, whose funeral was held Aug. 16, 1886, at the Baptist church, was born at Whiting, Vermont, Dec. 4, 1804, and was nearly 82 years years of age. He moved to Leoni in May, 1833, where he kept a hostelry. His nearest neighbors were two and one half miles distant, and so desolate was the location that in 1837 he resolved to return to the village of Jackson, and for over forty years he has been an active citizen. He leaves two sons, Charles Allen, of Chicago, and Norman Allen, of Leslie, and a daughter, Mrs. Judge Reeves, of Little Rock, Ark.

CALEB NICHOLS.

Caleb Nichols, of Sandstone, died Saturday, August 28, 1886, at the residence of his son, John Nichols, aged 90 years. Mr. Nichols had been a resident of Jackson county fifty years.

HARRISON LARRABEE.

Harrison Larrabee died Sunday morning, August 29, 1886, at his residence No. 708 Greenwood avenue. Deceased was one of the early settlers of Jackson county.

DANIEL FELLOWS.

In the death of Daniel Fellows, August 30, 1886, Jackson county loses one of her oldest pioneers and Henrietta an esteemed citizen. Mr. Fellows was noted for his great industry, strict integaity and exemplary christian life. He was emphatically an old school gentlemen—a man of few words, and who always said "yes" and "no." He retained till the last those fine notions of honor formed in his youth, when this county was almost a wilderness, and neighbors were few and far between, who depended largely upon one another for companionship and help, and who esteemed a favor. Mr. Fellows was a lifelong democrat, and never swerved from his first choice. For the last twenty two years he resided on the west bank of Pleasant Lake, where he leaves a good property to his two grown-up children, Andrew and Ann. His wife died several years ago.

EDWARD SELLERS.

On Sunday afternoon, September 19, 1886, our citizens were shocked at the announcement of the death of Edward Sellers, Esq., who died at his home on Cortland street on Saturday night. On Saturday Mr. Sellers was in the enjoyment of good health, and spoke of feeling well. Saturday night he retired to his room, and on Sunday morning he was not called, as it was his custom to rest on that day, and his family did not arouse him. After noon he was called, and not answering, it was discovered that he was dead. Physicians were summoned, and an examination revealed that he had died of paralysis of the heart, and probably passed away on Saturday night, soon after retiring.

Mr. Sellers had many warm friends, and the intelligence of his death was received with sorrow by a large circle of acquaintances. He was a genial, upright man, a warm friend, and a good citizen. His age was 63. He was born in New York City, and removed to Dexter, in this state. He had been engaged in railroad work for thirty five years. He ran the first sleeper on the M. C. R. R., and was the first passenger conductor on the J., L. & S., and has retained that position ever since. His urbanity, devotion to duty and faithfulness won him many friends. Fourteen years ago he was badly injured in an accident that occurred just below this city, but after being extricated from his perilous position, he did not stop to attend to his own injuries, but at once looked after the welfare of his passengers.

Mr. Sellers leaves a wife and four children: Mrs. H. E. Southworth, of Chicago; Mrs. W. C. Heyser, of this city; Mrs. W. B. Knickerbocker, who is in Colorado, and Miss Minnie Sellers.

Mr. Sellers served as alderman of the First ward for a time very acceptably, but refused a re-election. He also declined other offices of trust. He was a member of Jackson Commandery, K. T.

A good citizen, a kind husband and a loving father is taken away by the death of Edward Sellers.

JACOB HUTCHINS.

Jacob Hutchins, a pioneer of Jackson county, and one of the best known men within its borders, died Sept. 23, 1886, at his residence in Summit, aged 82 years. The disease from which he died was dropsy, with which he suffered acutely the past three months, although for years past he has been afflicted with kidney trouble.

Jacob Hutchins came to Jackson county from the east about forty years ago and settled on land in Summit, now owned by Gilbert Wilson, removing some years later to the farm now known as the Hutchins place, midway

between the farms of Daniel S. Holcomb and Jacob Crouch, where he lived continuously until his death. His intimate knowledge of the Crouch family and his public expressions of animosity towards the Holcomb family made him a conspicuous witness in the examinations of the Crouch tragedy, and had he lived he would be a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Judd Crouch. In his later years he was regarded as eccentric, and his testimony at the trial of Daniel S. Holcomb created merriment hard to suppress in the court room. His rugged strength fitted him admirably for the hard life of a pioneer, and he prospered with the development of the country, leaving at his death a fine property for his children, valued at upwards of $20,000. His wife died nearly 20 years ago. The family consisted of three sons and six daughters. Of the sons Alonzo and George are living; John L. died some years ago. Of the daughters Diana married Peter Cranmore, of Summit; Anne married George Hatch, of Spring. Arbor, and is dead; Cordelia married Leroy Goldsmith and is dead; Laura married Abram S. Drake, of Hanover; Hannah married Orlin Parmeter, of Spring Arbor, and Viola, the youngest daughter, is also married, but our informant did not know her husband's name. All the living children reside in Jackson county.

THOMAS E. LUSK.

Thomas E. Lusk, of the machine company of Lusk & Co., died Sept. 29, 1886, at the residence, No. 516 East Main street, of pneumonia, after an illness of but four days. Mr. Lusk leaves a family, consisting of a wife and three children; a daughter, Mrs. N. H. Eckler, and two sons, all of whom reside in the city.

Mr. Lusk was born in Orange county, New York, in 1825, and came to Jackson in 1854, in company with Henry Vandercook, and together they established the machine and foundry firm which Mr. Lusk has continued since, the present firm being T. E. Lusk, Geo. Holton and A. J. Weatherwax. For twenty five years he was a member of the volunteer Jackson fire department, of which he was made chief in 1867, continuing in office fourteen years. He was an active member of Jackson Lodge, No. 17, F. & A. M.

CHESTER WARRINER.

Chester Warriner, a prominent resident of Jackson, where he has lived for 35 years, died at his residence, No. 402 First street, Thursday evening, Oct. 7, 1886, at 8 o'clock. The immediate cause of his death was lack of nervous force to rally from the shock occasioned by the amputation of his left leg below the knee on the Wednesday previous. The disease was of five years' growth, caused by failure of arterial circulation in the lower extremities,

resulting in necrosis of the bones of both feet. It originated in a callous on the right foot which penetrated to the bone, requiring the amputation of a portion of that foot three years ago. The amputation was successful and the disease was arrested, but it broke out again some months ago in the left foot and resisted all surgical attempts to check it. Several weeks ago Drs. Main and Williams removed two of the toes from the left foot, and again on September 26 amputated the foot, but without good results. The wasting of the bone continued and on Wednesday morning a third amputation was made by Drs. J. and F. W. Main, assisted by Dr. E. W. Kimball, who informed Mr. Warriner that the chances were against his recovery, but it was the only hope of saving his life. He accepted the chance and directed the surgeons to proceed. He never rallied from the shock but continued to sink until death intervened.

Chester Warriner was born in Genesee county, New York, Feb. 16, 1820, and came to Michigan in 1844, settling in Napoleon township and locating a farm, now occupied by his nephew. Jan. 1, 1845, he was married to Lucy J. Weeks, daughter of James Weeks, who had previously located in the same town. In 1850 Mr. Warriner came to Jackson to take the position of deputy sheriff, his brother-in-law, Amos Pickett, being then sheriff. He served two years in this capacity when he was appointed deputy warden at the prison. He remained at the prison two years, when he went to Chicago as lost baggage agent for the Chicago & Alton railroad, which position he resigned a few years later to accept that of customs examiner under Col. M Shoemaker, collector of the port of Detroit. He remained in Detroit three years, when he returned to Jackson and for a number of years was city marshal, previous to the organization of the police force. In 1863 he entered the grocery business with Job Hobart, under the firm name of Hobart & Warriner, doing business at the northeast corner of Main and Mechanic streets till 1869, when he retired from the firm and was out of business for a year. In 1870 he embarked in the drug business with E. J. Weeks, the firm name being E. J. Weeks & Co. They opened in the Merriman block and remained there till 1882, when they moved to the present location. R. F. Latimer was admitted to the firm in 1884, since which time the firm name has been Weeks, Latimer & Co.

Mr. Warriner held many official positions in the course of his active business career, and was noted for his sterling integrity and strong practical methods of dealing with public affairs. He was appointed a member of the board of public works in 1873, and occupied that position to the date of his death, having been several times president of the board. He helped organize the Coronet Corset Company, of which he was an active director and stock-

holder, as well as vice president of the European Featherbone Company, whose factory is located in Paris, France. He was also a member of the State Board of Pardons, under appointment of Gov. Alger, although he was known to be a very active and outspoken democrat. He never neglected a public duty and was invariably present at every meeting of the boards of which he was a member. Some years ago he served the people as an alderman from the Fourth ward. In March, 1853, he was admitted as a member of Michigan Lodge, No. 50, F. and A. M.; he was also a member of the Druggists' Association, and an honorary member of the Jackson Greys. His wife, two brothers and one sister, besides several nephews and nieces, survive to mourn the loss of an honest and upright man. He had no children. Wherever Mr. Warriner was known he was esteemed and admired for fearless integrity, straightforward honesty, business sagacity, and genial, companionable qualities. He will be missed by a very large circle of friends, chiefly among the older residents of Jackson.

JONATHAN KING.

News of a tragedy at Spring Arbor reached this city Monday. Jonathan King lived about five miles from the city in the above township, the homestead being about a mile west of the coal mines. On December 15th, last, he suffered a stroke of paralysis, rendering his right side useless and depriving him of the power of speech. Several days ago his physician informed him that he had done all he could for him, and the news left Mr. King very despondent. Friday afternoon, Oct. 11, 1886, his daughter, Mrs. H. A. Harrison, left him in the house for a few moments, about five o'clock. When crossing the yard in returning to the house she heard a report which she thought was a a screen door slam. On entering the house, her father, whom she had left in the sitting room, was lying prostrate on the kitchen floor. Mrs. Harrison attempted to lift him up, and not until she saw the blood and the gun did she realize what had happened. Her father was dead when she reached him, having been killed instantly.

Mr. King for some time past has been able to walk a little, and had gone to the kitchen, taken down his rifle, a 38 calibre, and, placing the muzzle at the back of his head, fired. The ball passed entirely through the skull, finding egress at the left temple, and was picked up on the floor, battered out of shape, by Mr. Harrison, whom Mrs. Harrison at once called into the house.

Deceased was a pioneer of Jackson county, having come here fifty years ago from New York state. He was 71 years of age, the father of twelve children, nine of whom are still living, as is also his wife. Seven of his children live in this county, as follows: May, now Mrs. O. J. Storms; Frances, now

Mrs. W. C. Borner; Harrison; Cynthia, now Mrs. M. G. Borner; Alice, unmarried; Jessie and George. His other two children are Leonard King, living in Emmet county, Michigan, and Melvina, now Mrs. O. S. McAllister, who has removed to the west with her husband. The deceased was a very energetic man, and noted as a hunter in this part of the state.

MARK S. HITCHCOCK.

After a long illness, Mark S. Hitchcock died at his residence, No. 506 West Main street, Oct. 18, 1886, in the 66th year of his age. Some weeks ago Mr. Hitchcock was stricken with typhoid fever, but had nearly recovered, when a severe cold developed a chronic urinary trouble which ended his life.

Mark S. Hitchcock was born in Ontario county, New York, in 1821, his parents, Manly and Chloe Hitchcock, being natives of Waterbury, Conn. They moved to Lorain county, Ohio, in 1824, and lived in Cleveland until their death. While a youth Mark Hitchcock worked on a farm summers and attended district school winters until he married Miss Polly Morgan, at the age of twenty years, and then engaged in buying and shipping live stock for several years, after which he embarked in the grocery business, which he followed in connection with farming until 1864, when he was elected sheriff of Lorain county and held the office for four years. He removed to Jackson county in 1868 and purchased the farm three miles north of this city, which he owned until last year, when he sold it to Charles R. Durand, and bought the store, No. 188, in the Durand block. In 1879 he bought the hardware stock of Rice & McConnel in this city and managed it one year in partnership with his son-in-law, Geo. W. Fifield, who then sold out and a new firm was organized January 1, 1880, with M. S. Hitchcock, Reuben E. Clark and Charles S. Hitchcock as partners. Three years later Mr. Hitchcock sold his interest in the business and the firm became Clark, Helmer & Houk, who conducted the business a year and then transferred it back to M. S. Hitchcock & Co., the present firm. In 1880 Mr. Hitchcock purchased an interest in the Eureka Coal Co. and was elected superintendent and treasurer the same year.

Mr. Hitchcock's first wife died in May, 1854, leaving five children, and two years later he married Mary A. Bush, of Lorain, Ohio, who survives him.

During his illness all of Mr. Hitchcock's children were at his bedside, but with the belief that he was recovering, his son Henry returned to his home in Nebraska some days ago, and his daughter, Mrs. Henry Kennedy, returned to her home at Tougaloo, Mississippi. The other children are Wallace W. Hitchcock, grocer, of 504 North Blackstone street; Mrs. George W. Fifield, 420 Williams street; Mrs. David Town, of Blackman; Charles S. Hitchcock,

No. 240 West Main Street, and Miss Clara, who resides with her parents.

Mr. Hitchcock was a prominent and active member of the First M. E. church, a man of good business ability and highly esteemed by a very wide circle of friends.

ALFRED DRAPER.

Alfred Draper, an esteemed member of the First Methodist Episcopal church, Jackson, was born in Otsego county, N. Y., in 1810, and died in Jackson, Mich., Oct. 31, 1886.

In 1814 his parents moved to Erie county, N. Y., where Alfred lived in the parental home until young manhood. In 1833 he sought and found the Lord, and to the end of life remained a faithful disciple and a diligent worker. He gave to the church of his choice both time and means, that its interests might be promoted. He was faithful in attendance upon public services, in storm and sunshine, in winter and summer, by day and by night. In an official capacity he served the church as class-leader, steward and trustee. In 1836 he married, and two years later came with his family to Michigan, and settled in the town of Rives, Jackson county. At that time the south central part of the state was very new. Sixty Indians camped within a few rods of Mr. Draper's house; wolves were nightly visitors, and by them he came near losing his life in going to the spring for a pail of water one night after dark. He continued to reside on his farm of nearly 300 acres until eight years ago, when he came to Jackson to reside, that he might have less care and enjoy better church privileges. He was the father of eleven children. Two died in infancy; Mary, a much loved daughter, wife of L. O. Beebe, died January 23, 1880; eight sons survive. Of these four live in California, one in Iowa, one in Illinois, one in Ohio, and one on the homestead in Michigan. I bless God that my life has been passed with such a good man, I am thankful that my children had so worthy a father. They can look with honorable pride on his life and character. He died in perfect peace and full of trust and hope of a blessed immortality. [Eliza O. Draper.]

JOHN M. UNDERWOOD.

Died, Nov. 1, 1886, at his residence in Sandstone, of old age, John M. Underwood, aged 81 years. Deceased had been a resident of the county thirty three years and was well known by the older residents. He leaves five daughters and two sons.

JOHN CURTISS.

John Curtiss died at his home, 610 East Main street, Nov. 18, 1886, after a severe illness, from the effects of a fall.

Mr. Curtiss was born in Onondaga county, N. Y., Aug. 19, 1800, and died at the age of 86 years, 2 months and 29 days. He resided in Onondaga county until the age of 21 years, when he was married to Phebe Gilson. He then moved to Hastings, Oswego county, N. Y., which was then a wilderness, improving a large farm of heavy timber land. In the spring of 1836 he removed with his wife and four children to Napoleon, Jackson county, Mich., where he located a farm. He joined St. John's Lodge, F. & A. M., and then located at the village of Brooklyn. After remaining there until the spring of 1844, Mr. Curtiss removed to Kalamazoo county, remaining there until the spring of 1846. He then settled in the city (then village) of Jackson, and rented the Eagle hotel, located where the Glass front now stands, which he kept one year, after which time he was engaged in the carpenter and building business. He purchased a lot, 610 East Main street, and erected a house thereon, where he resided until his death. For the last seventeen years he has been unable to labor, and has been living with his daughter, Mrs. O. R. Cole, at his own home. He leaves two sons and two daughters to mourn his loss; P. J. Curtiss and L. J. Curtiss; Mrs. O. R. Cole, of this city, and Mrs. Geo. B. Fuller, of Clyde, Ohio. Mr. Curtiss was always a good citizen and took an active part in public affairs. In 1863-4 he was elected overseer of the poor and served in that capacity.

CHARLES L. MITCHELL.

Charles L. Mitchell died at his residence on Clinton street at 3 p. m., Nov. 30, 1886, aged 71 years, of paralysis. Deceased was a well known resident of Jackson.

FRANK L. SMITH.

The death of Hon. Frank L. Smith, of Bright's disease, at the age of 56 years, occurred at the family residence, on Stewart avenue, Dec. 5, 1886. His death is universally lamented by our citizens, by whom Mr. Smith was highly respected as a representative business man.

Mr. Smith was one of the type usually termed "self-made men." His birth occurred at Stafford Springs, Conn., July 8, 1830, where he resided until 12 years of age. His parents, Calvin and Mary Smith, then removed to Michigan, settling on a farm at Armada, north of Detroit.

When a young man, Mr. Smith left his father's farm and went to Adrian, where his brother David was foreman of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railroad shops, and entered the shops, with the desire of becoming an engineer. In 1855 he came to Jackson, owing to the death of Cyrus Fenton Smith, his brother, and father of Dr. Cyrus Smith. Cyrus F. Smith was the

proprietor of the American hotel, afterwards the Marion house, and F. L. Smith managed the hotel property for his brother's family for a time, ultimately selling out to J. B. Pierce. The name of the hotel was changed to the Marion house just before the war. When D. B. Hibbard purchased the Hibbard house, Mr. Smith was engaged as clerk, which position he retained after Messrs. Gunnison & Spencer bought the property, until 1864. He then received his appointment as quartermaster of the 29th regiment Michigan infantry, and served two months, when the 29th regiment was consolidated with the 28th regiment, and Mr. Smith received his honorable discharge. He then returned to Jackson and kept the Marion house for a year. Then he purchased the old Tremont house property, on the site of the present Hurd house, assuming charge in 1865. On the 6th of October, 1868, the hotel was burned. In 1869 it was rebuilt and named the Hurd house, after John S. Hurd, father of his business partner, L C. Hurd, and also father of Mr. Smith's wife. Smith & Hurd conducted the Hurd house until September 1, 1886, when by the advice of Mr. Smith's physician, the hotel was leased and the furniture sold. Since that time (but for a short interval, when he held an interest in a grocery store) Mr. Smith has sought rest and recuperation, as his health had already given indications of becoming seriously impaired.

August 14, 1862, Mr. Smith married Miss Addie Hurd. In 1869 he was elected to the state legislature, and, there being a special session called, he served at Lansing two years. For a number of years he was supervisor from the old fourth ward, and after the change in the city charter served in like capacity from the seventh ward. In 1872 he was elected alderman of the seventh ward. For twenty years he has been a member of the Knights Templar, and was standard bearer at the time of his death. He was also a member of the Odd Fellows' organization. He leaves a family, consisting of a wife and two living daughters, Misses Irene and Georgianna Smith. His other immediate living relatives are his brother, C. L. Smith, of Armada, and sister, Mrs. Harley Bascom, of this city.

MRS. MARY TURNEY.

Mrs. Mary Turney died at the family home in Liberty township, Christmas day, 1886, of infirmities resulting from old age. She was upwards of 73 years old, and was a pioneer of Jackson county, coming here about fifty years ago with her husband, Thomas Turney. Mrs. Turney reared a large family of children, of whom Edward and John reside in this city, and Hugh, Harvey and Mrs. Samuel Kerr reside in Liberty.

MRS. JANE HOLCOMB.

Mrs. Jane Holcomb, mother of Daniel S. Holcomb and the other members of this well known family, who died at her home in Spring Arbor township, February 10, 1887, was nearly 82 years old and a genuine pioneer of Jackson county. She was born in Yates county, N. Y., April 12, 1805, her parents being Mr. and Mrs. John Slaughter. At the age of 16 years she married Henry S. Holcomb, and in the summer of 1832, nearly 55 years ago, moved to Spring Arbor, where her husband cleared the farm on which she has ever since resided. Henry S. Holcomb died July 14, 1854.

Mrs. Holcomb was the mother of fourteen children; John H., who was killed at the battle of Shiloh in 1862; Christian, Diana, Sally, Nancy, Daniel S., Ed. N., Margaret, Henry S., Wm. T., Jane, Gertrude and Florence A. The three last named daughters and Daniel S. and Ed. N. are still residents of this county. Mrs. Holcomb's father and grandfather were both soldiers in the revolutionary struggle, the latter serving the whole seven years of the war.

WARREN GREEN.

Warren Green, of Summit, died Sunday morning, February 27, 1887, at his residence, aged 82 years. The deceased had been a resident of Jackson county for about 40 years, and leaves three daughters and one son.

CHARLES HARRINGTON.

Charles Harrington, whose death occurred March 4, 1887, was born in Otsego county, N. Y., in 1810, and came to Jackson in 1831, removing shortly after to Summit, where he remained until 1849, when he went to Spring Arbor and settled on a farm, where he has since resided. He leaves a widow and five children, three sons and two daughters: Mrs. Aseneth Thompson, J. M., Porter S. and Frank A. Harrington and Mrs. Flora D. Darrah, all residing in Spring Arbor.

MRS. CATHARINE HUNSECKER.

Mrs. Catharine Hunsecker died at her residence in Spring Arbor, of Bright's disease, March 4, 1887, aged 67 years. Deceased was born in Cumberland county, Penn., and moved to this state 36 years ago in June. She was married 47 years, and was the mother of six children, three of whom are now living.

MRS. AMELIA H. WARNER.

Mrs. Amelia H. Warner died at her home May 18, 1887, after an illness of six weeks, aged 73 years. Mrs. Warner was one of the pioneers of Jackson,

locating here 50 years ago, and had been a resident of the city ever since. Her husband, William S. Warner, died 22 years since. Mrs. Warner came to Jackson from New York in 1837, and lived to see the small hamlet grow to its present large dimensions. When she came to this place it was an insignificant village, but she and her husband located here and aided in building up the town. She leaves one son, William H. Warner.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Names of pioneers deceased in Kalamazoo county from June 1st, 1886, to June 1st, 1887.

Name.	Died.	Age.	Occupation.
Uri Huntley	June 4, 1886	75	Farmer.
Mrs. Ira Smith	Aug. 25, 1886	67	
Joseph Whitford	Aug. 12, 1886	82	Farmer.
Abigail Anderson	Aug. 15, 1886	84	Farmer's widow.
Caroline Brown	Oct. 7, 1886	79	Farmer's widow.
Benjamin G. Deforest	Nov. 17, 1886	80	Farmer.
Walace Vickery	Jan. 29, 1887	49	Farmer.
Col. Delos Phillips	Feb. 15, 1887	48	Music dealer.
Godfrey Knight	Feb. 20, 1887	100	Farmer.
Geo. G. Crose	Feb. 23, 1887	63	Farmer.
Ocilla Frakes	Mar. 6, 1887	82	Farmer's widow.
Orra Bush	Mar. 7, 1887	96	Farmer.
Ira Peake	Mar. 8, 1887	75	Farmer.
Joseph Elkerton	Mar. 26, 1887	72	Farmer.
James P. Clapham	Mar. 25, 1887	76	Druggist.
Gilbert Stuart	April 7, 1887	57	Farmer.
Nathan M. Thomas	April 7, 1887	84	Doctor.
Isaac McLinn	April 12, 1887	76	Farmer.
William Harrison	April 27, 1887	97	Farmer.
Thos. Jefferson Fellows	May 8, 1887	70	Farmer.
Alonzo Imus	May 9, 1887	87	Farmer.
Mrs. Mary Burson	May 14, 1887	76	Farmer's widow.
Chas. E. Stuart	May 19, 1887	76	Lawyer.

THE LATE DR. N. M. THOMAS AND GILBERT STUART.

The funerals of the late Gilbert Stuart and Dr. N. M. Thomas took place at Schoolcraft on the same day. Both were largely attended.

Gilbert Stuart was a man in every sense of the word, and was made so from his early training by a good mother. When a boy he worked nine months on the farm and attended school three months in each year. He was the oldest of seven children, and until he married and left home he managed his mother's farm; he was a dutiful son, and a father to his younger brothers and sisters, but notwithstanding his limited chances of procuring an education, he made such good use of his time at school, that he acquired a good practical education, and has of late years officiated as one of the school board. He showed good judgment in the management of the school, and in the education of his own family. He knew but little about the laws of the country; he was a law unto himself; looked to nature and his own conscience to guide him in the right path, and this he conscientiously followed.

He resided on a beautiful prairie farm about one mile south of the village, and the teams in attendance at his funeral reached from the farm to the village, to the number of 105, and followed his remains to the cemetery.

DR. NATHAN M. THOMAS.

The funeral of Dr. Thomas who died April 7, 1887, took place in the afternoon and was largely attended, and mostly by old pioneers who had been intimately acquainted with him for 40 to over 50 years, and who entertained for him the highest respect. He was a man of postive convictions, a relative of the late Secretary Stanton, and partook largely of Mr. Stanton's determined will to never yield a position after he was satisfied he was in the right. But few men in Michigan did more to abolish slavery than Dr. Thomas; he talked about it, he wrote about it, he distributed documents pleading the black man's cause, he furnished those escaping from slavery food and shelter, and counseled them how best to proceed on their way to freedom; he was amongst the first to assist in organizing the republican party, which caused its final overthrow, and it has been one of the most gratifying episodes of his later years to not only live to see slavery abolished, but to know that those once in slavery are fast becoming self sustaining, intelligent citizens. He was of Mr. Lincoln's opinion that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent, and although his position in the early stage of the abolition discussions caused him to almost stand alone in that community, he lived to gain the friendship of all, and died very much respected by both young and old.—[Kalamazoo Telegraph, April 11, 1887.

WILLIAM HARRISON.

William Harrison was born in Frederick county, Virginia, January 17, 1790, and consequently was 97 years, three months and nine days old at his death.

The deceased was the oldest of 17 children. On the 27th day of August, 1820, he was married to Miss Sally Hampton, who died October 7, 1825. He was again married, March 20, 1828, to Miss America Harrison, who died Nov. 8, 1874. The first wife left him three children, Basil, Jeremiah and James, all of whom are dead. The second wife left him 11 children, Beersheba, Martha, Aaron, Sally, Joseph, Spencer, Olive, America, William, John and Hannah; of whom Sally, Joseph, Olive, America, John and Hannah are still living. The deceased moved onto the farm on which he died in Charleston, Kalamazoo county, in 1830, and held the plow to turn the first furrow in the township. He died, leaving 26 grandchildren and nine great grandchildren.

The name Harrison is suggestive. His lineage is traced away back to the time when General Harrison held a commission under Cromwell; Benjamin Harrison, father of President Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a warm friend of Washington, was his great uncle. His grandfather, who was also named William, was with Washington in Braddock's expedition and often referred to the terrible day at Monongahela and the charmed life Washington seemed to bear. His father was Judge Harrison, so well known in this county, who was its first white settler, and to whom its developments owe so much. The deceased, so familiarly known to everybody as "Uncle Billy," possessed a genial temper and a kind heart to a marked degree. He was kind to the poor, a good neighbor, scrupulously honest, proud of his integrity and honor, the first to spread his tent in Charleston, and the last to leave it by a road, the pathway of which bears no impression of passing feet. The most conspicuous of all landmarks is torn down. While we pay the last tribute of respect we carry to his last resting place one of few faults and many virtues. [Kalamazoo Telegraph, May 3, 1887.

The development of this county owes much to the above list of pioneers. Each and all performed well their part, and whilst we regret to lose so many familiar faces from among us, it is consoling to know that nearly all lived beyond the allotted age of man and were ready and willing to die.

SKETCHES OF PIONEERS OF KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. D. P. VAN BUREN.

GODFREY KNIGHT—A CENTENARIAN.

The widely known, greatly respected and esteemed pioneer and citizen of this county, Mr. Godfrey Knight, died Sunday, Feb. 23, 1887, at 2 o'clock A. M. at his home in Schoolcraft. Up to about Christmas time he had been in his usual vigor and good health, which were remarkable for one so old; he

became low spirited, which was also a marked change, for he was a man of unusual spirits. His daughter, Mrs. Wood, arranged a dinner party for him, and quite a number of his old friends were present and a very happy time was had, the good effects of which was apparent on the old veteran. But in a little while he became ill; pneumonia set in. He was sick with this about 40 days and on Saturday last he seemed to be free of it. But he was left in so weak a condition he could not survive and death came as above stated.

Godfrey Knight was born in Roscommon county, Ireland, May 26, 1786. He was raised a farmer, was superintendent of a large farm of 1,800 acres for his cousin, Wm. Knight, for eleven years, during which time, in June, 1822, he married Ann Kenny. In 1832 he came to this country and soon after settled in Schoolcraft. He purchased a school section in that town and afterwards a portion of the James Field farm, giving him 200 acres of as good farming land as there was in this county. He has resided on that farm ever since. Mr. Knight was a man of marked character and genial nature. In the early days of Schoolcraft he was among the first in all sports, was an athlete, and above all, a wit and story teller and the center always of an assembled crowd. His vivacity and ready repartee always made him popular, and, indeed, the last mentioned characteristic remained with him to the day of his illness. He has always enjoyed good health; his was a happy disposition, and it is thought that one reason for his remarkably prolonged life was this peculiarity. He was a temperate man, though not a total abstainer. His presence was that of a hale, vigorous, well made gentleman of the old school, with color, form and feature, step and action of a man of 70, rather than a man who claimed to be nearly one hundred and one years old. He was a noticeable figure at all the pioneer gatherings, which he enjoyed greatly; and others enjoyed to have him with them. By his labors and good business abilities he had amassed a comfortable fortune. His life has been an uneventful one save as above. He has never sought office or held official position. He has been a life long democrat. He leaves four sons and one daughter, William, John, Jerry and Godfrey, and Mrs. Mary Wood.

WILLIAM E. BELLOWS.

William E. Bellows, of Climax, died at his residence Monday, Feb. 14, 1887, after a long illness. Mr. Bellows was born at Saxton's River village, Vt., in 1806. He was a great grandson of Col. Benjamin Bellows, an army officer in early colonial times, to whom was granted large tracts of land in the vicinity of Bellows Falls, from whom the falls and the town take their name. At an early age Mr. Bellows removed with his parents to Charlestown, N. H., where he remained until 1837. At about the age of 18 he was

apprenticed to learn the cabinet-maker's trade and worked for some time at that business, but the labor proving too great for his constitution he abandoned it. Mr. A. T. Prouty, of Kalamazoo, was a fellow workman with Mr. Bellows in the cabinet shop. Subsequently he learned the butcher's trade, which he followed for about 10 years previous to his moving west. In 1837 he moved with his family to Michigan, where two of his sisters, Mrs. M. Hodgman and Mrs. W. E. Sawyer, had preceded him. He settled on a farm in sections 4 and 5 in the township where he has remained ever since. The farm is not what would be considered a good one for Climax, yet by good management and economy he amassed a good fortune from it, much of which in late years has been distributed among his children. He was married twice and leaves a widow and a son and five daughters, children of his first wife. They are: Prof. C. F. R. Bellows, of the State Normal School, Mrs. Annie E. Whitney, Mrs. Marion H. Adams, Mrs. Jennie M. Decker, and Susie H. Adams, all of Battle Creek, Mich., and Mrs. Agnes L. Ashby, of Lincoln, Neb.

THE LATE MRS. JOY AND EARLY REMINISCENCES OF MAJ. EDWARDS AND FAMILY.

Mrs. Julia S. Joy, who died Nov. 16, 1886, was a very early comer to western Michigan. In 1828 her father, who was a prominent resident of Detroit (an intimate friend of Gen. Lewis Cass, president of the territorial legislative council for the yearly sessions of 1828 and 1830 and a leader in social and political matters in that city), left Detroit with his wife and 10 children to secure a home in western Michigan. They set out with three covered wagons. After leaving Ypsilanti they struck the Chicago (Indian) trail and their first camp was at Dearborn, the second at Sheldon's, and from that point they left the settlements, except a few scattering squatters, and they were few and far between. Scarcely the face of a white man was seen, while often at night they would be disturbed by the noise of drunken Indians near their camp. After 18 days of travel they reached Beardsley's prairie, Cass county, now Edwardsburg, named after Maj. Edwards. There on the margin of a beautiful lake in view of the prairie, finding a log cabin vacant which had been vacated by some adventurer, this family took up their abode, and their first night's rest in that cabin, the major afterwards said, was one of the most agreeable of his life, after that long and tedious journey through that trackless wilderness. The next morning Father Edwards had one of the wagons brought up and took the children out to show them the prairie. It was then one vast flower garden and the children could not suppress their wonder and enthusiasm at such a profuse and lavish wealth of flowers. The land office was established at White Pigeon in June, 1831, and Maj. Edwards

was appointed register and Thomas C. Sheldon receiver, and the Edwards family removed to that place. In May, 1834, the land office was removed to Kalamazoo and Maj. Edwards and family and Mr. Sheldon and his family removed to this place. Mrs. Joy was not the youngest sister, as previously stated; her sister, now Mrs. Scott, of Detroit, being entitled to that place.

The Edwards family were very prominent in social and political circles of Kalamazoo for a long time, but after many years death and removal left but Mrs. Joy and Mrs. Walter here as the sole survivors of the family. Mrs. Walter died several years ago. Mrs. AtLee came here from Washington after the death of her husband. Mrs. Joy leaves a husband and two children, Mrs. George Davis and Mrs. Edward Dayton. When the Edwardses came here there were but a few scattered families and the place gave but little promise at that time of its present position among the cities of Michigan. The Edwards mansion, which formerly occupied the corner of Main and Edwards streets, is still standing on Edwards street just north of that corner.

MRS. THOS. S. ATLEE.

This lady died March, 1887, at the residence of M. N. Joy, Academy street, Kalamazoo, aged 70 years. Mrs. AtLee was a daughter of the late Major Abram Elwards, at one time one of the most prominent officials in Michigan, and one of the leading citizens of the territory as well as of this place. Mrs. AtLee and her sisters have resided here most of the time since 1834, and from the first have been highly esteemed and occupied a high position in society and the regard of a large circle of acquaintances. The death of Mrs. AtLee's husband was a crushing blow to her, their devotion to each other being of the strongest character. She is the last but one of the daughters of Maj. Elwards, Mrs. Jas. Scott, of Detroit, alone surviving. Oliver Edwards, of Chicago, and Alexander Edwards, of Cheboygan, are the only brothers living.

THE VENERABLE ORRA BUSH.

Orra Bush died at his home on north Church street, Kalamazoo, March 9, 1887. His age was 92 years and 11 months.

Deceased was born in Massachusetts, April 17, 1794. At an early age he removed to Skaneateles, N. Y., and afterwards to Oswego. Early in the thirties he removed to Calhoun county where he purchased a farm and worked it until about 1841, when he purchased the place in Charleston which he made famous as the postoffice and stage exchange from 1842 till the Central road was finished to Kalamazoo. Mr. Bush purchased the premises of the state in 1841, but previously it had been occupied as a tavern by H. P. Fletcher and Peter Fulton. Soon after Mr. Bush and his son Henry W. became

the owners of the premises they built a frame barn 35 by 45 feet, and in 1851 erected the first brick house in Charleston. This stage exchange, so prominent in all matters connected with the history of Charleston, was a landmark and a noted hostelry throughout the land, for few were the travelers by the stage coach who did not remember with pleasure and sound far and wide the praises of the table and the genial character of the host. It was a very large house and stood by the old territorial road on section 16, near the junction of the road east to the river and Augusta. It was the headquarters of the township, the postoffice, the place of holding township meetings and a general center. In connection with the house was a large farm and Orra Bush and Henry, his son, were as good farmers as they were hotel keepers.

Orra Bush was elected supervisor in 1856 and 1857. For years before, and after that time, he was a regular delegate to the whig and the republican conventions and was a staunch defender of his party.

It is now about twenty years since Mr. Bush removed to Kalamazoo. He has been well and able to be about and attend to business until the past winter. Gradually he has failed of late, and his death was the result of old age. He leaves a wife and one son, Supt. H. W. Bush, of this city. The deceased was a man of much independence of spirit and large capabilities, was a trusted friend and neighbor, outspoken in his opinions and a citizen whose efforts were always for the right. His life has been a long and eventful and useful one, and his record a good one. His birthplace was Cheshire, Mass., and he first settled in Michigan in Eckford, Calhoun county. A few years ago there were but few if any men better known throughout the county than Orra Bush.

MRS. W. H. COLEMAN.

The death of Mrs. Coleman, of Oshtemo, widow of the late William Harrison Coleman, took place on Sunday, March 13, 1887, at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Henry Buckhout, where she had been visiting for a short time. Mrs. Coleman was born in the state of Vermont in the year 1808. She, with her husband, were among the first settlers in the village of Kalamazoo, having come there in 1833; from Kalamazoo they moved to Oshtemo in the year 1836, where she has ever since resided. She was converted in early life and ever took a lively interest in the cause of religion and Sabbath schools. She died of old age, the powers of nature gradually failing until "the weary wheels of life stood still."

MRS. MARY DANIELS.

Mrs. Mary Daniels, wife of D. H. Daniels, one of the earliest pioneers of Gull Prairie, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. S. Cornings, near Gales-

burg, Oct. 2, 1886. She came with her husband to Gull Prairie in 1832, where she spent a large part of her life in Michigan. Mr. Daniels was among the first merchants in Battle Creek, where he lived for a number of years.

A PIONEER OF 1835.

Peter Johnson, who built his log cabin in Ross, this county, in 1835, and turned his wild lands into an excellent farm, died at his late home in this place, Saturday, June 18, 1887, aged 81. He was an industrious and thrifty farmer and a good citizen.

JAMES LINDSAY.

James Lindsay, an old resident of Climax, died on Thursday, Feb. 17, 1887, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Clarence Day, in South Climax.

Mr. Lindsay has for years been a widower, and has lived alone much of the time at his residence in this village. He leaves two sons: James, living in Kansas, and Alexander, living in Colorado, and one daughter, Mrs. Day.

EDWIN M. CLAPP.

Edwin M. Clapp, one of the best known and prominent pioneers of this part of the county, died at his late home in Kalamazoo, on Sunday, the 9th of January, 1887, of heart disease. He came from Cambria, Niagara county, N. Y., to Michigan in 1831 and secured his land, and removed here in 1832. He settled first on the Isaac Clark farm just south of the village, which he improved. He afterwards improved the farm now owned by Thaddeus Clapp, where he lived until 1873, when he removed to Kalamazoo. He was an exemplary member of the Congregational church. He was supervisor of this township several years, which position he filled in a very satisfactory manner. As a citizen he was respected by all who knew him.

Mr. Clapp was one of the most prominent pioneers in the east part of Kalamazoo county, and one of the most successful farmers in the county. His name will ever be connected with the history of this part of Michigan and he will be referred to as a notable example of what a man with an honest purpose, a brave heart, and thrift and perseverance, can accomplish. He accumulated a large property for himself, and aided much in making Kalamazoo county one of the richest and most prosperous counties in the state.

THOMPSON T. LAKE.

Mr. Lake was born in Providence, R. I., 1809; came to Michigan in 1835, settling at Yorkville, Kalamazoo county. He was a carpenter and joiner by trade, and lived in the house that he built at Yorkville fifty years. His death

occurred on the 29th of June, 1887. He was a willing representative of those old pioneers who are now fast passing away.

MASON SPRAGUE.

Mason Sprague came to Michigan with his father's family in 1835, settling in East Leroy, Calhoun county. He, some thirty years ago, removed to Augusta, Kalamazoo county, and lived there until his death, which occurred in March, 1887.

COL. DELOS PHILLIPS.

The sad intelligence of the death of Col. Delos Phillips fell like a shock on this community, though to quite a number of friends it was not wholly unexpected. His death occurred Feb. 23, 1887, at his residence, No. 436 Dutton street, Kalamazoo. The cause of his death was softening of the brain.

The loss to this city and to his friends is a very severe one. Col. Phillips has been a resident of Kalamazoo since June, 1866, an ever active and influential member of the community. He has had an unusual share in the progress and advancement of Kalamazoo. In nearly every movement which tended to advance her interests he has been among the foremost. He was always ready to labor on commitees which had for their purpose social, benevolent or material benefits. He possessed energy, push, fertility of expedients and the tact and way of winning success, bringing him into connection with the innumerable movements for the benefit of the city. He was among the first to move and one of the most efficient of the movers for our new court house.

Delos Phillips was born in Hamburg, Erie county, N. Y., Oct. 24, 1839. When six years of age his parents moved to Ypsilanti. He is the second of eight sons, six of whom are now living. He devoted himself to study in his school life, so that at the age of 15 years was prepared for a scientific course in the university. The next four years were passed in preparation for a full classical course under Prof. Estabrook and Hon. S. M. Cutcheon. At the age of 17 he taught school at Augusta and Nankin. In the fall of 1859 he entered the university, in the regular classical course. He made excellent progress in his studies and high honors of the university seemed to be his. He was elected president of the students' lecture course in June, 1861. Notwithstanding the fact that but little time more was needed to complete his course in the university, he enlisted as a private in the 17th Michigan infantry.

He carried a musket through the terrible battles of South Mountain and Antietam. For gallantry on the latter field he was promoted to the posi-

tion of second lieutenant. In July following he was made first lieutenant, and in October of the same year (1863) was made captain of his own company. He was present at every engagement of his command until captured in May, 1864, at Spottsylvania court house. He effected his escape from the cars in North Carolina, and arrived in safety at the Union lines in Charleston, Va., after traveling 300 miles in the enemy's country.

He arrived at Detroit in due time and was placed in command of the military district of Lake Superior and assisted in raising the 28th and 29th regiments, being made lieutenant colonel of the 28th, and commanded it from its organization in October, 1864, till December the same year. In January, 1865, he resigned and returned to Marquette to go into business, when President Haven of the university tendered him a diploma on account of his services as a soldier, upon his studying eight weeks, and he was chosen valedictorian of his class.

In June, 1866, Col. Phillips came to Kalamazoo and entered on the business of manufacturing and selling musical merchandise. In 1868 he was elected state senator and made a fine record in the senate, though the youngest member of that body. He was chairman of the committee on military affairs and was a member of the committee on reform schools. In 1876 he was presidential elector and was sent to Washington as messenger. He has since that time held many offices in this town; has been supervisor for many years, and was supervisor of the third ward of this city when he died; has been deputy oil inspector and been prominently connected with various societies. He has been a republican from the first and a valuable worker in the party, and was four years chairman of the county committee.

Col. Phillips has been three times married. His first wife was a resident of the eastern part of this state and died in 1867, leaving one child. His second wife was Miss Lizzie Bruen, sister of Mr. George T. Bruen of this city. They were married at Lansing in 1872. She died in October, 1883, leaving three children. On Christmas day, 1885, Col. Phillips married Mrs. Josie Burch of Allegan, formerly of Lowell, this state. She survives him, as do his four daughters.

KENT COUNTY.

BY W. L. COFFINBURY.

List of Deaths.

Date of Death.	Name.	Age.	Date of Death.	Name.	Age.
1885.			1886.		
Jan. 15..	Andriel VanTongeren	55	June 19..	Edward P. Fuller	64
Jan. 20..	Wilhelmina Brummeler	84	Jan. 5..	Maria Swift	70
Oct. 26..	Anna M. Hendricks	83	Sept. 15..	Maria McCoy	56
April 23..	Chauncy Curtis	86	Oct. 8..	Edward Welfair	71
Dec. 22..	Mary A. Tanner	84	April 18..	Samarra Brown	87
Dec. 10..	John Kelly	62	Sept. 1..	William Frost	65
Feb. 14..	George M. Morley	56	Aug. 11..	Ira Moon	65
Dec. 22..	Patrick McMahon	67	May 16..	Solomon O. Kingsbury	72
April 29..	Caleb Goundry	77	June 22..	Gorham Nelson Brigham	66
March 15..	Jane A. Mans.	60	Feb. 14..	Elvira Davis	51
April 14..	Samuel Cousins	72	April 25..	Solomon L. Withey	60
June 12..	John B. Applehoff	87	April 12..	John McMahon	82
Oct. 15..	Christina Van Dieren	72	April 30..	Joi Rehman	86
June 3..	William Clyde	70	May 30..	John Mahoney	79
March 4..	Susanna Moore	59	July 30..	Morie Reynolds	88
Oct. 18..	Chester Morey	55	Aug. 6..	Henry M. Strong	61
Sept. 26..	Amy Sykes	75	Nov. 25..	T. B. Sanford	58
June 28..	Mary A. G. Eddy	58	Aug. 30..	Henry Jewett	73
March 29..	Robert P. Sinclair	71	Nov. 19..	Robert H. Smith	67
March 22..	Emmor Ware	55	Dec. 7..	Jacob Medler	85
July 19..	Charles M. Doolittle	85	Jan. 27..	Henry C. Smith	82
April 11..	Matthew Slattery	71	Aug. 26..	Anna Casey	60
Nov. 7..	Margaret Slattery	69	Nov. 19..	John Gezon	72
Jan. 23..	Adelia Hall	65	Sept. 20..	Peter Higgins	56
Jan. 16..	Amelia S. Lockwood	60	Aug. 6..	Arnold Paule	61
June 14..	Ellis A. Gould	74	April 16..	George Osborn	73
Jan. 25..	David Frost	78	July 15..	Leondert Groemleer	68
Dec. 24..	Robert Smith	66	April 15..	Henry Escott	89
July 13..	Helena Preng	72	Jan. 16..	Mary S. Helmka	79
Dec. 8..	Margaret Johnson	93	May 19..	Mary P. Baylies	83
Oct. 24..	Herbert Laningham	63	Oct. 13..	Jane M. Field	65
Aug. 28..	Dick Vandervelde	78	April 8..	Patrick Mulligan	58
March 19..	Rosa Julian	70	Sept. 4..	Olina Wadneur	58
June 5..	Adam Snuck	64	Aug. 12..	—— Daniels	71
Feb. 5..	Clark C. Sexton	67	May 27..	Caroline Pearl	78
Nov. 2..	Joseph F. Parker	51	July 19..	Peter B. Porter	61
March 20..	Catharine Browner	60	Aug. 4..	Frank Wursburg	61

List of Deaths—Continued.

Date of Death.	Name.	Age.	Date of Death.	Name.	Age.
Aug. 15..	Sophia Fehner	50	Dec. 7..	Susie Dove	66
March 9..	H. H. Smith	87	Dec. 24..	Armand Johnson	57
March 23..	Emmor Ware	55	Oct. 9..	Horatio Randall	75
Sept. 2..	William C. White	82	June 13..	Martha Van Selfee	68
Jan. 18..	James Walch	58	July 3..	William Kovirnan	53
Jan. 9..	John Proost	52	Dec. 27..	John Barnes	89
April 6..	Johanna Schwarten	56	Aug. 26..	Dowe Eldersvielde	52
Nov. 2..	Joseph Parker	51	May 6..	Schipke Gransmeyer	65
Dec. 24..	Daniel M. Page	61	Feb. 3..	Gertrude Whitmer	63
Jan. 16..	Catharine Riordan	84	July 24..	Cornelius Remersga	60
Sept. 5..	Lydia Maxon	61	April 20..	John H. Môats	92
July 7..	Jennie Datema	51	June 25..	John Devoo	89
July 14..	William Spangler	71	May 16..	Ann Quigley	65
Oct. 21..	Eliza Richards	74	Dec. 4..	Nyrhe Holt	74
Nov. 13..	Esther Loomis	68	Aug. 27..	Jane Nagle	96
Sept.	Gatta Beltheus	62	June 7..	James Wells	82
July 31..	William Haynes	75	Dec. 10..	Mary Howard	61
March 20..	Joseph P. Stebbins	73	Oct. 23..	John Elkins	62
April 22..	Charles Shears	62	Aug. 1..	Nancy Graves	81
Nov. 9..	Jennie Walstra	69	March 4..	Betsy Parkinson	83
April 13..	Catharine Carl	63	April 19..	Asa R. Tyler	69
April 23..	Asa Pratt	82	Aug. 2..	Mary A. Shepard	60
Feb. 4..	Theophilus Reed	84	Dec. 7..	David Hamilton	55
Jan. 5..	Anna Gooch	81	Oct. 6..	Peter Miller	79
April 14..	Elizabeth Wood	85	Oct. 18..	Dorothy Youngs	57
May 28..	Darius Lapham	50	July 1..	Frances Force	78
Dec. 16..	Louisa Rice	65	June 14..	Abigal E. Hunter	78
April 18..	Frantz Sotschinzer	60	Oct. 2..	Alfred Ellis	67
Aug. 27..	Louisanna Giesberger	74	April 9..	Richard F. Kendall	76
Sept. 1..	William Frost	65	July 1..	Lena Saur	75
May 30..	Thomas Hand	90	Dec. 14..	Peter Saur	68
Sept. 18..	Eli Yeomans	75	June 30..	William Bonner	63
May 18..	Bermudine Snitzer	74	Aug. 21..	George W. Brace	62
Feb. 6..	Betsey Manwaring	66	May 5..	Clark Brown	76
April 26..	Mary J. Whinery	78	....	Harry Clark	91
Oct. 4..	Juliza Foster	74	Nov. 6..	John McCarthy	86
March 11..	Henry F. Weeks	72	July 6..	Polly Buckly	81
March 19..	Anthony Yerkes	77	July 27..	Lucretia Timmerman	87
Dec. 26..	Jane Smith	66	Aug. 11..	Margaret Schermerhorn	63
March 9..	Isabel Denison	55	Sept. 23..	Lucy Walsh	58

List of Deaths—Continued.

Date of Death.	Name.	Age.	Date of Death.	Name.	Age.
April 7..	Harriet Gregory	57	Nov. 29..	John B. Hagadone	68
April 17..	Adaline Flannery	73	Nov. 12..	William Casner	55
Dec. 12..	J. R. Long	61	Sept. 26..	Ira Ford	83
April 30..	Joseph C. Upton	67	June 9..	Ursula Gais	66
June 14..	George Hutchens	86	May 6..	Samuel B. Scranton	55
Oct 13..	Ezra Banker	62	Dec. 24..	Orin S. Trumbull	65
April 25..	Phebe Wilson	108	May 17..	Milton C. Watkins	80
April 17..	Daniel Gennings	76	Sept. 1..	Barintha Cabf	54
Dec. 20..	Elizabeth Coleman	50	Sept. 23..	Francis Bremer	67
Oct. 8..	William Filkins	51	Nov. 5..	John Rennison	62
March 11..	James Coles	56	Dec. 5..	Russel K. Dunlap	56
May 29..	Harriet D. Mills	72	Dec. 24..	John Williamson	52
Sept. 8..	Darius Lapham	51			

MEMORIALS AND RESOLUTIONS OF OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF GRAND RIVER VALLEY.

J. MORTIMER SMITH.

Died Dec. 4, 1879.

At the meeting of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River to attend the funeral of the late J. Mortimer Smith, a committee consisting of Hons. John T. Holmes, Robert P. Sinclair and John Ball presented the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted, with directions that copies be furnished to the widow of the deceased and the press:

Resolved, That the intelligence of the death of our associate, J. Mortimer Smith, is received with sorrow.

That his early settlement in this section, in his business enterprises in this county, and the adjacent county of Ottawa, by their extent, the energy with which they were prosecuted and their influence in developing the country and promoting the welfare of the pioneer inhabitants entitle him to our respect and grateful remembrance.

That we recall with melancholy pleasure the many instances of his liberality to the poor, his sympathetic aid to the sick and suffering, and the acts evincing his public spirit and the full performance of his duty as a man and citizen.

That we express our condolence with the surviving wife and our assurance of commiseration for the loss of her life companion, known to us amid so many and varied experiences of pioneer settlement.

HENRY PENNOYER.

Hon. Henry Pennoyer died at his residence in the township of Crockery, Kent county, April 30, 1886, of cerebral apoplexy, after an illness of a few weeks, aged 77 years. He was one of the leading spirits in conducting the affairs of this county at an early day, among the very foremost in the promotion of every enterprise, agricultural, moral, social and educational. He was also a leader in the political movements, and much of the prosperity of Grand Haven, his early residence, and of Crockery township, his later abode, and of other portions of the county generally, is due to his formulating hand and his quick, far sighted perception. Ottawa county has lost one of its oldest and most venerated landmarks.

Hon. Henry Pennoyer was born at Norwalk, Fairfield county, Conn. When ten years of age he removed with his parents to Cayuga county, N. Y. In 1834 he took up his abode in Chicago, Ill.; soon after married Miss Harriet Kells, and after a two years' residence in the city, he sought a home in the then territory of Michigan, settling at Muskegon, then a part of Ottawa county, and, on its full organization, was elected its first sheriff. In 1838, and by a commission signed by Amos Kendall dated Jan. 3, 1838, he became postmaster of Muskegon and continued as such until 1843, when he removed to Grand Haven. His first wife died in 1852, leaving four children, and in 1853 he was married to his surviving widow, by whom also he has four children. In politics Mr. P. was a staunch democrat of the old school, and has been highly honored politically, having held the offices of justice of the peace, supervisor, and several other township offices, county treasurer, deputy collector of customs at Grand Haven, representative to the state legislature for 1849, and state senator in 1859. A man whom the people delighted to honor has fallen.

SOLOMON O. KINGSBURY.

The death on Sunday, May 16, 1886, of Solomon O. Kingsbury removes another from the ranks of the old residents of Grand Rapids, a man who has been familiarly known and universally esteemed on these streets for upwards of forty years, during most of which time he has resided on Fulton, just south of the head of Monroe street. He was born in Connecticut, May 2, 1812, and soon after the family moved west to Painesville, Ohio, where he received the education of the common schools. In early life he followed the calling of clerk, and afterward the mercantile business. In 1836 he married Melinda Bond,

a native of Rutland, Vt., with whom he lived a pleasant domestic life till her death, nearly seven years ago. In 1848 he was elected county treasurer, and again in 1850, serving four years. Then, after a mercantile life, he opened in 1858 a real estate and insurance office and in that business continued until quite recently. In 1866 he was elected to the state legislature, and in 1867 was appointed postmaster, which office he held about two years. He was a man of quiet habits, always busy, an estimable citizen, who will be much missed and especially by all our older residents. He leaves a daughter, Mrs. Tinkham of this city, with whom he has resided since the death of his wife, and a son, Gaius P. Kingsbury, a resident of Muskegon.

LOREN M. PAGE.

Loren M. Page, one of the quiet and yet always active citizens of Grand Rapids, "whom everybody knew," died on Sunday, May 16, 1886. He was one of the very early comers, a pioneer. He was born at Concord, Vt., March 29, 1811, and his boyhood was spent on a farm. Then he learned the painter's trade, serving a three years' apprenticeship in Canada, and working there some seven years, when, at the age of 23, he returned to Vermont, alternated between painting and district school teaching, till the fall of 1836, when he came to Grand Rapids. Soon afterward he married Miss Jane Soper. He passed a life of incessant labor—was one of those never happy without work—and experienced almost all phases of alternate success and reverses, hopes and disappointments—always an unpretentious man, yet companionable, social and friendly. Five sons went out to the war, and one of them returned without feet, both having been shot off. Mr. Page stuck to labor till very near his last days, and maintained a good degree of cheerfulness and geniality. Old residents, those who have been familiar with his daily walk for almost fifty years, all remember him kindly, and sigh even while feeling that a good man has gone to his rest.

MILTON C. WATKINS.

Milton C. Watkins died at his home in Grattan, on Sunday, May 16, 1886, aged nearly 81 years. Mr. Watkins was another of the pioneers of this valley and one of the organizers of Grattan township. He was its first supervisor, elected in 1846; also its first justice of the peace, chosen in the same year, and was supervisor again in 1857. In 1867 he was a member of the state constitutional convention from this county. He was a representative in the state legislature at the session of 1859, and a member of the state senate at the sessions of 1863–'64–'65. A thoroughly upright citizen,

and a man of character and influence, his was a long, busy and useful life, and in his decease the town and county lose a valuable and everywhere highly esteemed member of society.

HENRY JEWETT.

Memorial Resolutions.

At a meeting of the Old Residents' association, held Sept. 1, 1886, called to attend the funeral of Henry Jewett, it was, on motion of W. N. Cook,

Resolved, That we heard, with deep sorrow, of the sudden decease of our associate, who, although advanced in years, was a few days since moving amongst us with his usual activity, and exhibiting his usual demeanor of kindness and affability; as ready, as he ever has been, to take his part in the duties and responsibilities of life; that we review with pride his many years' record of usefulness in the public offices in which he was placed; the universal recognition of his worth in the respect and confidence of the community of whch he was a citizen, and in the love of his relatives and family.

Resolved, That this testimonial of our regard and this expression of our sympathy with the grief of his surviving children, be conveyed to them by our secretary in a transcript of these resolutions, and by publication of them in the journals of the city.

ROBT. H. SMITH.

At a meeting of the Old Residents' association, called to attend the funeral of Robert H. Smith, on the 21st day of November, 1886, the following memorial and resolutions were, on motion of Thos. B. Church, adopted:

Robert H. Smith was born at Watertown, Connecticut, in the year 1819. He lived for a time in Rhode Island and came into Michigan, to the Grand River valley, in the year 1844. Early in life he had "followed the seas," and long voyages through the Indian ocean had made him "an able seaman," and like all "old sailor men" he delighted in his latter days to "follow his courses" by the charts he possessed, and often examined amongst the great islands and through the circuitous channels of navigation, in that remote region of the world, and indulged in reminiscences of the scenes and people he had visited. After a brief residence in the town of Ada (where he married a Miss Ward) he came to this city, then village, and was employed as a clerk and manager in the business office of Henry R. Williams, then in the full tide of his various enterprises of plaster manufacture, steamboating on Grand river, and general merchandise. Since that time Mr. Smith has been our fellow citizen, quietly, steadily and unostentatiously doing what he found to do, and by economy, prudence and fair dealing, accumulated sufficient for his plain wants and tastes, and won the respect and honorable estimation of all who dealt with him and met him, in social and other personal relations. Those who knew him well recognized his good judgment, his kind heart and his loyal adherance to his convictions, in political and in all other responsibilities devolved upon him by his position. He leaves a widow and two daughters; a household of affection and happiness, the head of it now removed in his mature years, by the inevitable call of death; therefore

Resolved, That we tender our condolence to his family, with the expression of our

high regard for the deceased and of our sorrow for the removal from our thinning ranks of one of this association's most worthy members;

Resolved, That our secretary be directed to place on record this memorial statement, and to transmit a copy thereof to his bereaved family.

HOLLIS KONKLE.

Jan. 5, 1887.

The board of supervisors at its session yesterday morning adopted the following resolutions in respect to the late Hollis Konkle, formerly a member of the board, and a memorial page will be given in the book of records of the board:

WHEREAS, This board has learned with sorrow of the death of our former esteemed fellow citizen and associate on this board, Hollis Konkle; therefore

Resolved, That we hereby record our appreciation of his uprightness and integrity as a citizen, of his fidelity and efficiency as a public officer, evidenced by his frequent election to positions of the public service and public trust, and to the high esteem in which he was held by all who knew him. That we tender to his afflicted family our sympathy in this their bereavement.

R. B. LOOMIS,
J. W. WALKER,
H. H. IVES,
JOHN STEKETEE,
Committee.

JOSIAH R. HOLDEN.

Died March 19, 1887.

Josiah R. Holden was born in Groton, New Hampshire, February 22, 1797; came west and settled in Cook county (now Mill county), Illinois, in 1834, eight miles from Joliet. He was married to Joanna T. Danforth at Groton, N. H., January 24, 1825; lived with his family in Illinois till 1843; from thence went to New Albany, Floyd county, Indiana; came to Michigan and settled in town of Byron, Kent county, in 1845, and has resided in this county ever since. He was the father of six children, three of whom survive him; C. H. Holden, of Reed City, Mrs. Fanny H. Fowler, of Manistee, and E. G. D. Holden, of this city. Being one of the earliest pioneers of this county, he was one of the first to clear away the forests for farming purposes, several fine "eighties" in Byron and Wyoming townships certifying to the telling blows of the hardy pioneer ax, and his unremitting energy in transforming wildernesses into some of the finest farms to be found in Kent county. His life has been mostly that of a farmer, though at various times during his life he has traveled quite extensively and came to be a man of broad and liberal views. He was an earnest reader and had a mind well stored with historical facts. From the time previous to the war of 1812 up to date there was scarcely a historical incident of any moment but that he could

vividly recall and depict in glowing terms. His memory was remarkable in retaining dates, scarcely ever missing the exact period of any great event that happened during his life. That he was a man of iron constitution is evidenced in the fact that sickness or disease were not known to him, and until his recent taking to his bed on account of old age has never been compelled to submit to a physician's care. He hardly knew what physical pain meant, and up to the moment of his last breath was seemingly free from it, never uttering a word of complaint from the time of his prostration to his final taking off, some eight weeks. He was a thorough temperance man and a radical in politics, always adhering strictly to his party principles. On several occasions he has held offices of trust at the gift of his fellow townsmen.

Of a family of 14 children born to his parents he was the oldest of those living at the time of his demise and three members survive him, aged respectively 75, 83 and 86, his brother living in New Hampshire being the oldest, and two sisters, residents of Boston, all from first New England families. His wife, 87 years old, survives him.

GEORGE G. GRIGGS.

On the 24th of March, 1887, George G. Griggs died at St. Mark's home. Mr. Griggs was born in Princeton, N. J., on December 1, 1815, coming to Michigan in 1838. He married here a Miss Marsac, and went to St. Louis, where he engaged in business and gained considerable wealth. In 1862 he returned to this city and purchased a farm on South Division street, giving his time and means generously to the furthering of public interests and lending a helping hand to the needy. He was at one time grand master of the I. O. O. F. of Michigan, a prominent member of the agricultural society of the state and a prime mover in the establishment of the Northwestern Michigan Agricultural and Industrial society. He was also one of the foremost of the men who furthered the organization of the Agricultural college at Lansing.

In later years, after a life of business success and social prominence, through misfortune and financial reverses he became impoverished, and at the same time failed in health and became crippled. As a last resort he bravely went out with his pop-corn basket, and the bent and enfeebled form of the pleasant mannered old gentleman will be remembered by many who have observed him at the Union depot with his basket by his side and little imagined the life history of the aged pop-corn vender. For the past two years he has lived at St. Mark's home, earning almost enough during the summer months to maintain himself there for the year. Some comforts with which he was not able to supply himself have been furnished by the I. O. O. F., and under their auspices the funeral was held, assisted by the Masonic fraternity.

MRS. BAKER BORDEN.

Mrs. Mary A., wife of Capt. Baker Borden, a much esteemed resident of the West Side, died at her residence, No. 20 Turner street, March 31, 1887, at the age of 60 years. She was a member of the Old Residents' association, having come to this city in 1854. Her first husband, James A. Belknap, died in 1870, and November 10, 1872, she was again married, to Baker Borden. She was the mother of ten children, seven of whom are now living. Her surviving children are ex-Mayor Belknap, City Clerk Belknap, ex-Senator Belknap, of Granville, Mrs. C. H. Schaffer, of Onota, Mich., Mrs. A. E. Stockwell, Thomas R. and Herbert P. Belknap, of this city.

PETER WEIRICH.

April 2, 1887, at noon, Peter Weirich, long identified with the brewing and other business interests of the West Side, died at his home on West Bridge street. Mr. Weirich had been sick nearly three months, an attack of pneumonia developing into a quick consumption against which even his powerful frame and great vitality could make but little resistance. He was born in the village of Todtenorth, near Coblentz, in Prussia, Jan. 18, 1831, and was consequently 56 years of age at the time of his death. The year that he attained his majority he came to America to seek his fortune, with the sole capital of his hands and brains, first going to Milwaukee, but within a year applying for and receiving employment at the brewery of Christopher Kusterer in this city. Within two years (in 1855) he purchased the property where the Michigan brewery now stands and went into business for himself. The next year he married Josephine Arnold, of Austria, who died 12 years ago. Mr. Weirich prospered in business and became identified with the business advancement of the West Side to a considerable extent; he owned several business blocks and was a director in the Fifth national bank in the organization of which he was prominent. The eighth ward elected him to the council for several terms and found him an active and influential representative. In 1875 Mr. Weirich married as his second wife Mary Peterman, a native of Austria, as was his first wife. She survives him. Of a family of 10 children, but five are now living, a young son, Henry, and four daughters. Two sisters of Mr. Weirich, Mrs. Brach and Mrs. Lachman, reside here, and there are two in Germany. He was a Mason and a member of the Turn and Arbeiter vereins. His acquaintance and associations were extensive, and by them all he was highly esteemed as a business man, a citizen and a friend.

JOHN KIRKLAND.

The death, April 1, 1887, of that fine old gentleman and pioneer citizen of

Grand Rapids, John Kirkland, recalls to scores of people memories of the early days here. Rarely is one blessed with such general, nay, universal friendship. John Kirkland was born at Saybrook, Conn., in 1807. At the age of seven years he moved, with his father's family, to Bridgewater, Oneida county, N. Y. About 1836 he married Emily Jane Green, a sister of Mrs. Wm. I. Blakely, at West Winfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., and in 1837 came to Michigan, settling in Paris township, and a few years later moved into Grand Rapids, where he made his home for life. By his first wife, who died about 1851, he had one daughter, Martha, now Mrs. Stover, who lives in Wyoming township. About 1854 or 1855 he married Sarah Rauch, by whom he had two children, Dr. Reynold J. and Nellie Kirkland, who also survive him. Mr. Kirkland was by trade a cooper, and that he followed during all his active life in this city, taking great pride in his work, in which he had few if any superiors as a craftsman "working by hand." And whoever entered his shop or his home was sure of a pleasing welcome from as jolly and genial a man as ever breathed; always good humored, always sociable and contented and cheery, and happy, and ready to beat a tattoo as he drove home the hoops on his barrels. For about forty years in religious feeling he leaned to Swedenborgianism, and to the glowing warmth of some portions of the philosophy of modern Spiritualism. In the ripeness of years passes away one who was eminently a pattern of honesty, of thorough uprightness, of neighborly kindness and charity, of whole hearted manliness and unruffled cheerfulness during a long and well spent life.

LEONARD D'OOGE.

Leonard D'Ooge, who for over 30 years has been closely identified with the growth and business interests of this city, died at his residence on Lafayette street, April 12, 1887, at the ripe old age of 71 years.

Leonard D'Ooge was born in the province of Zealand, Netherlands, February 14, 1816, and learned the trade of a painter. He was married in 1838 to Johanna Minters, and nine years after came to America, arriving in New York, October 1, 1847. He brought quite a sum of money with him which he invested in business, but being unable to speak English, he was unfortunate and lost his money. He moved westward and located in Ravenna where he lived two years. Being destitute of money he served as mail messenger, traveling on foot from Grand Rapids to Muskegon, making trips semi-weekly at $1.25 per trip. In 1857, at the solicitation of Father De Kunick, a Catholic priest, he came to Grand Rapids with his family and painted the new Catholic church on Monroe street, continuing to work at his trade about two

years, when he engaged in mercantile business of a somewhat limited character in a frame building erected by himself on the corner of Monroe and Division streets. He also built a small house and two stores, all of which have been removed and replaced by substantial structures. He leased a large plat of land at $75 per year, and by improving it attracted business to that part of the town at the head of Monroe street. During the crash of '57 he made an assignment for the benefit of his creditors, but on resuming business liquidated his liabilities dollar for dollar. In 1868 he built a business block on Canal street, and in 1869 erected a handsome residence on Lafayette street. In 1870 he retired from active business, bought and built other houses in this city, and has since been occupied in the management of the property he had accumulated. Mr. D'Ooge leaves a wife and five children; Martin L., professor of Greek in the state university at Ann Arbor, who is now at Athens, and Benjamin L., assistant professor of Latin at the same university, Mrs. H. Utterwick, Mrs. J. A. S. Verdier and Jennie C. D'Ooge, who were with him during his last hours.

Mr. D'Ooge was an esteemed member of the First Reformed church of this city.

LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY F. A. DEWEY.

List of Deaths.

Town.	Name.	Month.	Age.
Clinton	John Smith	June, 1886	81
Woodstock	Mrs. Sanford Kelley	"	80
Tecumseh	George Curtis	"	74
City	William Weaver	"	86
Dover	Hugh H. Wisner	"	75
Raisin	Leonard S. Chase	"	73
Raisin	Mrs. Aldrich	"	71
Tecumseh	Alpheus Stearns	July, 1886	73
Cambridge	Margaret Patterson	"	79
Hudson	John Burns	"	67
Clinton	Julia Wells	"	48
Morenci	E. C. Tunison	"	75
Macon	Silas Austin	August, 1886	83
Cambridge	James Potter	"	75
Medina	Phebe J. Camp	"	66
Woodstock	Lydia Parkhurst	"	65
Tecumseh	Silas Austin	"	83
City	Cynthia Angell	"	86
Clinton	John Tyrell	"	96
Medina	D. C. Morse	"	72
Rollin	Janett Silvernail	"	60
Woodstock	Martha Mallory	"	86
Raisin	O. P. Layard	"	77
Macon	John Stout	September, 1886	75
Macon	Spencer Cambrin	"	56
Clinton	Sophia Lazellere	"	47
Ogden	Mrs. Wm. Mills	"	72
Raisin	Phebe Miller	"	62
Tecumseh	Wright Sadler	"	76
Riga	Adam Gillilland	"	60
City	B. J. Mulholland	"	74
City	Nancy McClarren	October, 1886	91
Rome	Hezekiah Knowls	"	97
Adrian	John Peebles	"	83
Cambridge	Margaret Alderdyre	"	68
Cambridge	Hannah Loucks	"	91
Cambridge	Ira Rogers	"	82

List of Deaths—Continued.

Town.	Name.	Month.	Age.
Fairfield	Jacob Lepper	October, 1886	80
Adrian	Lydia Peables	November, 1886	81
Adrian	Lemuel Van Aukin	"	75
City	Mrs. N. B. Eldridge	"	66
Hudson	George Wagner	"	76
Ogden	George Heckart	"	70
Macon	Mrs. John Frost	"	65
Clinton	Garret Aton	"	90
Canandagua	Susan P. Strong	"	87
Blissfield	Jacob Hass	"	73
Blissfield	Mrs. Barret	"	70
Macon	John Underwood	"	77
Rome	David Willy	"	87
Woodstock	Weston Tenney	"	87
Adrian	Levi Fowler	December, 1886	84
City	Wm. L. Page	"	63
Tecumseh	Elizabeth Saterthwait	"	94
Morenci	John Loman	"	75
Ridgeway	Augustus Miller	"	55
Franklin	Solomon Buck	"	83
City	Hon. Charles Croswell	"	61
Clinton	Mrs. Brooks	"	94
Tecumseh	William Beach	"	80
Tecumseh	John T. Daylish	"	60
Madison	Stephen P. Bailey	"	75
Dover	Ezra Abbot	"	51
Weston	Mrs. Ezra Cole	"	65
Clayton	Asa Hickok	"	80
Cambridge	Lafayette Russ	"	54
Blissfield	Mrs. George Scoot	"	72
Tecumseh	Philetus Young	January, 1887	75
Clinton	L. C. Richmond	"	77
Riga	Dorcas Sansky	"	87
Clayton	Abigail Johnson	"	85
Clayton	Mrs. Abram Larch	"	66
Seneca	Lyman Fisk	"	75
City	Mary Hontak	"	62
City	Mrs. Morris Brown	"	70
Macon	Thomas B. Gould	"	78
Tecumseh	Mrs. John Cummins	"	87

List of Deaths—Continued.

Town.	Name.	Month.	Age.
Tecumseh	Mary Pennock	January, 1887	44
Adrian	Adam Welp	"	75
Blissfield	Timothy Imerson	"	73
Blissfield	Micah Durant	"	81
Woodstock	Fred Curtis	"	55
Cambridge	Mrs. E. Daniels	February, 1887	60
City	Fred. Clark	"	62
City	Louisa Hutchins	"	53
City	Mrs. Amasa Carpenter	"	72
City	Aunty Skiff	"	78
Hudson	Mrs. G. Fenton	"	82
Woodstock	Charlotte Thiell	"	52
City	Mrs. Phineas Price	"	78
Woodstock	Peter M. Wheaton	"	65
Tecumseh	Daniel Ludlow	"	87
Tecumseh	Ezra F. Blood	"	89
Rollin	Luther Haskins	"	85
City	Nathan S. Myers	"	80
Tecumseh	Eleanor Hendrix	"	83
Tecumseh	Maranda Dewey	"	73
Ogden	John Richardson	"	87
Madison	Hannah Bradish	"	74
City	Mrs. Philo Mills	"	79
City	J. H. Parker	"	80
Morenci	Daniel Read	"	80
Fairfield	Bradish H. Clark	March, 1887	84
Woodstock	Lydia Van Vleet	"	87
Woodstock	Sarah C. Binns	"	67
Morenci	John Cooley	"	87
City	Abraham Moe	"	83
Rome	Lyman W. Baker	"	81
City	Abzora Stewart	"	80
Macon	David Hatch	"	81
Fairfield	Malinda Baker	"	77
Franklin	Ebenezer Mills	April, 1887	78
City	A. H. Green	"	93
City	Caroline Geddes	"	78
City	Mrs. C. B. Ackly	"	70
City	George F. Paine	"	75
City	Mrs. Amos Aldrich	"	91

List of Deaths—Concluded.

Town.	Name.	Month.	Age.
Tecumseh	Henry Haynes	April, 1887	65
Ridgeway	Eliza Martin	"	93
Seneca	Micajah Haywood	"	70
City	John McFarlin	"	60
Rome	Theodoric Luther	"	88
Ogden	Sally Hagerman	May, 1887	86
Ridgeway	Lydia Curtis	"	66
Tecumseh	Robert Boyd	"	80
Hudson	Russell V. Sturgis	"	96
City	Mrs. Robert Bidleman	"	76
Dover	Mary Ann Marsh	"	74
Clinton	Elizabeth Leek	"	69
Fairfield	Truman Gordon	"	74

One hundred and thirty have died the past year; the average age was 75 years and three months; the oldest of the number was 96 years old.

EZRA F. BLOOD.

Another venerable pioneer has passed on to his final reward. Ezra F. Blood departed this life on the old homestead farm southeast of Tecumseh, in the mists of early morning on Tuesday, Feb. 15, 1887. His funeral obsequies were attended on Thursday last at the Presbyterian church, where a large concourse of our older residents gathered around his bier to pay the last office of respect to the honored dead.

The deceased was born in Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, Oct. 28, 1798. He remained upon his father's farm, a diligent and dutiful son, until he arrived at his majority, when he moved to Jefferson county, New York. There he resided until the spring of 1824, when he joined a party of western fortune hunters, whose destination was Tecumseh. He came with the pioneer party to this section, and on the 22d day of May, 1824, he located the farm which afterwards became his home and where he saw the last of earth. Returning to Monroe for the balance of the party, he arrived again in Tecumseh on June 2, 1824, with the family of Musgrove Evans and others. The party passed their first night on the oak openings, north of the river Raisin, in Brownville. On that day Tecumseh became his home, and that relation remained ever after, until the angel of death cut the bond. From June, 1824, until January 12, 1830, he lived unmarried, improving his farm, erecting buildings, and beautifying and making a home for his bride. On

that date he married Miss Alzina Blackmar, and they at once began housekeeping in the home which together they made beautiful and holy for more than fifty seven years. During the early settlement of the country his generous heart and manly hand were ever ready to welcome and assist the new settler, freely giving his time and labor to smooth their rugged pathway, and by aid and kindness in health and sickness bringing hope and success to many a household.

An honest man, a faithful christian, a zealous supporter of education, assisted by his noble and devoted wife, they and their worthy compeers made our town and country what it is, pre-eminent in enterprise and its results, and carved out from the forests the beautiful farms and homes which dot our commonwealth and embellish the landscape like "apples of gold in pictures of silver." The last man of the original party of settlers here, one of the few still left among the pioneers who came prior to 1830, he will be missed everywhere; in his neighbourhood and in our village, where his noble form will be no longer seen in social gatherings and religious meetings; in his church, where for so many years his christian virtues and upright life have been a beacon and example to both old and young; in his family, where his care and affection have been the solace and comfort of his wife and children, and where the example he has given, in his declining days and pious resignation, has enshrined his memory in their hearts; in the minds of many an old resident who has been blessed with his charity and kindness in time of need.

Freed from the sufferings of earth, he has gone to his eternal rest, to receive the reward of his noble deeds, and to hear from that Heavenly Father whom he delighted to worship, this welcome: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

MRS. MARANDA DEWEY.

Departed this life at her residence in the village of Tecumseh, Feb. 20, 1887, Mrs. Maranda Dewey, aged seventy two years and eight months, widow of the late L. D. Dewey.

Mrs. Dewey's maiden name was Olmsted. She was born in Huron county, Ohio, June 15, 1815. She came with her parents to Detroit in the year 1818. There Mrs. Thomas Sheldon become acquainted with the young and active little girl; with the advice of her husband the child was adopted as one of the family, enjoying all the comforts of friendship of an opulent and cheerful home until eighteen years of age. She remembered very well when five years of age accompaning Hon. Thomas Sheldon and wife on a delightful pleasure trip to Mackinaw, taking passage on the first steamboat that ever came

to Detroit; also the first and only passage the Walk-in-the-water ever made over Lake Huron.

In the year 1833 she made the acquaintance of L. D. Dewey, who then was stage agent and general manager of all the mail routes which left Detroit. On the 3d of October she was married to him at the beautiful home residence of Mr. Sheldon on Jefferson avenue, Detroit.

In the year 1834, Mr. Dewey and wife moved to his pleasant farm one mile west of Tecumseh village. Here Mrs. Dewey resided fifty three years, and died at her cottage home. She was the mother of six children, all married, and all attended her funeral. She was a member of the Universalist church, a kind and loving mother, a valued neighbor. Her pure character and sweet womanly disposition endeared her to a large circle of acquaintances. Thus one by one our well remembered, industrious and intelligent pioneers leave us never to return.

MRS. MELINDA BAKER.

The death of this well known and much respected pioneer of Fairfield, occurred at her home on Monday evening, March 28, 1887.

Aunt Melinda, as she was familiarly called, was a mother to all, an honest, conscientious christian woman, and no name will be more missed in the large circle of friends by whom she was known than the one who has gone, and in the event of death it is fitting that something more than a mere passing notice be taken for the memory of her.

She was born in Chenango county, N. Y., Aug. 10, 1810, and was married to Orrin Baker in Oct. 1831; settled in Fairfield in June, 1832, and has made this her home ever since that date. Her husband erected the third house that was built in Fairfield and was appointed to the position of post-master of the first postoffice established south of Adrian in Lenawee county. She has been interested in all the movements for the building up of the town, and with her hands has helped to make the pleasant home where she so many years resided and can truly lay claim to the name of pioneer. She held membership with the M. E. church and was active in all of its ordinances until stricken with disease a few months ago, a cancerous trouble which has caused many long months of suffering, but through it all the spirit of patience has been manifested.

Thus ends a good life which was full of good acts, and she rests from her labors and her works do follow her.

ROBERT BOYD.

Robert Boyd died at his home in Tecumseh, Mich., on Wednesday May 4, 1887.

Mr. Boyd was born in Forthtown, near Claughwater, County Antrim, Ireland, on the 20th of Oct. 1806. When he was 13 he came with his father to America, settling in Groveland, Livingston Co., New York. In 1832 he came to Michigan and on Feb. 2, 1833, he was married to Miss Sarah Richard, of Raisin. His home was in Raisin until 1879, when he gave up the care of his farm and came to Tecumseh, where his remaining years were spent. Mr. Boyd was a person of gentle and retiring nature and the character of his religion was in accord with his natural temperament. It was placid and equable, yet it was strong and decided. Soon after coming to Raisin he united with the Presbyterian church. His life was consistent with his professions, and he inspired all who knew him with his sincerity and his christian faith. To know him was to feel that the benediction of the Savior, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God," was his. A few uninspired books he read; but after all his one book was the Bible. He was remarkably familiar with its contents and his life was shaped in accordance with its precepts. In trembling hand was recorded at its beginning the date of his last reading of the volume in course, Oct. 20, 1886, and the mark at which he left off was in Ezra. His evening readings were in the new Testament, and he left off in Acts. He frequently asked in his sickness, to have the 103d Psalm read to him, and would repeat it in low voice along with the reader. He was liberal in his benefactions and charitable in his judgments of others. His place in the sanctuary was always filled when he was able to be present, and his form was seen and his voice was heard with equal regularity in the weekly prayer meeting. Two years ago his wife, a noble hearted christian, was called suddenly away. Now they both have left us and are entered into rest.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

MARQUETTE COUNTY.

BY PETER WHITE.

EDWARD BREITUNG.

Hon. Edward Breitung, of Negaunee, died at his winter residence in Eastman, Ga., about 12 o'clock Thursday night, March 3, 1887, after a lingering and painful illness of some three weeks' duration. The immediate cause of his demise was an attack of pneumonia. Mr. Breitung went to Chicago early in the December previous, intending to return before proceeding to

his wintering place in Georgia. Business prevented him from returning from Chicago as he had intended, and he was joined there by his family on the 3d of February with a view to having them at once start with him for Georgia. Before this purpose could be put in execution, Mr. Breitung was prostrated by the attack which finally resulted in his death, and remained for several days at his hotel in a critical condition. Some improvement taking place, on the 11th of the same month he, with his family, left for Eastman in a special car, this step being taken by the advice of his physicians.

For a few days after his arrival he was somewhat better, but afterward steadily continued to grow worse, until death at last brought him rest and peace. His wife and son, his private secretary, Mr. F. E. Pearse, and also Miss Lizzie Merry and Prof. A. J. Tourville, were in Eastman with him when the end came.

When the news reached Negaunee it created a profound impression and threw the entire community into mourning at the loss of one of its most influential, liberal and most highly esteemed citizens. The Breitung house, named after the deceased, was heavily draped in respect to his memory. By order of Acting Mayor Hoch the city flag was also draped and suspended across Iron street.

Edward Breitung was born in the city of Schalkau, in the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen, Germany, November 10, 1831, and was, consequently, 56 years of age at the time of his decease. After going through his preparatory course, he entered the college of Meiningen, in Meiningen, and graduated in 1849. After completing his education, and during the same year, he emigrated to this country, coming to this state and locating in Kalamazoo. Two years later he moved to Detroit, where he remained four years. In May, 1855, he came to Lake Superior, located in Marquette, and engaged in the mercantile business. Soon after this he commenced exploring and buying and selling mineral lands. He remained in Marquette for four years and in 1859 came to Negaunee, where he afterwards resided. Here he engaged in the mercantile business and also associated himself with Israel B. Case, and they ran the Pioneer furnace under contract. In 1864 he sold out his mercantile business and gave his entire attention to mining and mining interests. During the winter of 1864-'65 he began to open up and develop the Washington mine and in 1870 he began to open up the Negaunee hematite range. No one believed he would find merchantable ore there, and all thought the venture a foolish one. But he had confidence in his own judgment, and future developments have fully proved that it was sound. In the fall of 1871 he began to develop the famous Republic mine, the largest and most profitable

iron mine in this country, if not in the world. In 1863 he commenced explorations on the Menominee range and continued them for three years. Here again everybody believed that he had embarked in a profitless venture, but, as before, the issue verified the correctness of his opinion. The immense amount of ore taken out of the mines on that range fully justifies the faith he had in that section of the Lake Superior iron field. In 1882 and 1883 he became interested in the Vermillion iron range, in Minnesota, where once again the investment that he made proved highly profitable.

Mr. Breitung was one of the pioneers in the Lake Superior mining industry. His capital consisted only of ability, enterprise and determination when he began life, but by the constant exercise of these qualities, coupled with the good judgment which characterized all his operations, he became a capitalist, and was one of the most prominent and successful operators in mineral lands in the Lake Superior iron region.

The deceased held many positions of trust in the village and city government of Negaunee. He was mayor of the city in 1880, 1882 and 1883, besides holding less important positions. He was elected a member of the house of representatives from Marquette county for the term of 1873–'74, but resigned in 1873. He was elected a state senator from the thirty second district for the term of 1877–'78. He was elected to the forty eighth congress from this district by a large majority, in 1883, and served his term out, declining a renomination at its close. In politics he was an ardent republican, and was for years the acknowledged leader of his party in this section.

Mr. Breitung was united in marriage November 28, 1870, to Miss Mary Pauline, of Port Washington. A son, Edward N., born November 1, 1871, survives him, and another son, William M., was lost in infancy.

In life Mr. Breitung was noted for his liberality, and his generous readiness to aid every worthy object, and in death he will be long and sincerely mourned by the community in which so many years of his life were passed, and for which he did so much by kindly deeds and wholesome example.

MONTCALM COUNTY.

BY I. P. SHOEMAKER.

MORTON SHEARER.

Died, at his residence in Greenville, on Sunday evening, October 11, 1885, Morton Shearer, one of the pioneers of Montcalm county.

The deceased was born at Palmer, Massachusetts, Nov. 26, 1811. Leaving his native state, he resided for a time in the state of New York, where he was married to Elizabeth Westfield, on the 5th day of September, 1833. He removed to St. Clair county, in this state, at an early day, and arrived in Greenville on the 7th of May, 1849.

In the early part of 1850 Mr. Shearer built a hotel upon the ground now occupied by the Exchange hotel in Greenville, which was the first public house erected in the county, and was, for several years, the proprietor and landlord of this house, which was known throughout the county as the Shearer house.

The residence now occupied by the Hon. C. F. Morgan, mayor of the city, was built by Mr. Shearer in 1853.

In the earlier days of the county Mr. Shearer took a prominent part in public affairs, being for more than ten years one of the superintendents of the poor, and holding the office of judge of probate from 1855 to 1857.

He was a member of the Masonic fraternity before he came to Greenville, and was one of the charter members of the Blue Lodge of that city, and afterward one of the prominent members of the Greenville chapter.

The latter years of his life he was a farmer and veterinary surgeon; which last occupation he followed at the time of his death.

The funeral services were conducted at his late residence, October 13, 1885, by the Rev. J. L. Patton. The exercises at the grave were conducted by the Masonic fraternity, to which he was greatly attached.

The writer of this obitnary knew the deceased for nearly a quarter of a century, and can say that it was the universal testimony of his neighbors, that he was a truly upright man, his word being as good as his bond. His associates in office speak of him as a man of excellent judgment, and true integrity in carrying on public business.

Mrs. L. E. Backus, Mrs. Maria Savage, and James M. Shearer, all of this city, are the only surviving members of the family of the deceased.

MANNING RUTAN.

Died, in the city of Greenville, December 9, 1886, Manning Rutan, one of the pioneers of Montcalm county, and a member of this society.

Mr. Rutan was born at New Providence, Sussex county, N. J., September 25, 1802, and consequently was, at the time of his death, a little more than 84 years of age. His father dying when he was quite young, his support and early training devolved upon his mother, who was an admirable woman. After serving an apprenticeship in a country store, the deceased commenced business for himself in New Jersey, in which he was successful.

Leaving New Jersey in the month of October, 1851, he came to Montcalm county, and purchased a large tract of land south of Flat River, and east of Lafayette street, which he subsequently platted, and sold as village lots. And, although he kept a general store in Greenville, the greater portion of his estate was made in real estate transactions.

About the year 1870 he turned his mercantile business over to his son, and was never, subsequent to that time, what might be termed a business man, although he was engaged in many business ventures, in which he continued until near the time of his death.

Mr. Rutan was an energetic, active and intelligent business man; he never let a matter of business pass through his hands until he understood it in all its bearings, and few persons excelled him in accuracy in business transactions. He was quick to acknowledge a mistake, and ever ready to correct any error that he might have made.

He will be long remembered for his benevolences. While he has been extolled for endowing a professorship at Olivet, yet I think he took greater satisfaction in making donations that were never known to the public. Among these was a donation of something more than fifteen hundred dollars, which he made a few years ago to Henry M. Moore, one of the pioneers of Greenville, and with whom many of those present were acquainted years ago. The writer of this obituary has been more impressed with some of the little kindnesses which he has known Mr. Rutan to perform, than with all those deeds of charity which have been known to the public, and by which the public has estimated his character.

Mr. Rutan was a man of sound sense, had not a shadow of ostentation in his make up, and never boasted of his wealth, either directly or indirectly. In short, he tried to do those things of which God would approve. He did his work well and wisely, and sought his chief happiness in the path of duty.

SAMUEL G. HUTCHINS.

Samuel G. Hutchins died suddenly Sunday afternoon, May 15, 1887, of rheumatism of the heart, in his 68th year. Only a short time before he had been in the garden. Returning to the house, he lay down on the lounge, took but two or three breaths and passed way. The deceased was prominent in the earlier years of Greenville as a lumberman, and was once an alderman of the city, of which he was a citizen for 19 years. He left a wife, a son, and daughters, highly respected and honored members of society.

MONROE COUNTY.

J. M. STERLING.

List of Deaths.

Name.	Date of Death.	Age.	Resident in County.
	1886.		
Rev. Chas. N. Mattoon	May 27	74	26
Michael Cooney	June 20	43	43
Henry Mason Noble	June 25	47	47
Mrs. James H. Wendall	June 26	64	64
Charles S. Bulkley	July 10	51	51
Mrs. Henry Guyon	July 12	88	50
Joseph Wellit	July 14	80	35
Alex. Labo	July 16	89	89
Patrick Kelley	July 21	51	40
Mrs. Oliver Navarre	July 31	69	69
Mrs. Lambert Pousha	July 31	69	69
Mrs. Elizabeth Laundrin	Aug. 8	86	86
Nelson Shenevare	Aug. 28	63	40
Mrs. Michael Fishbourne	Aug. 31	83	39
Miss Sarah J. Morton	Sept. 3	66	52
Mrs. Michael Quinsy	Sept. 8	77	37
John P. Hogarth	Sept. 18	67	22
Mrs. Barney Raleigh	Sept. 19	84	57
Henry Neiswinker	Sept. 20	65	40
Francis Cousins	Sept. 22	67	67
Mrs. Dr. N. Piquette	Sept. 26	53	45
Wm. Keilie	Oct. 6	50	40
Robert Van Kluck	Oct. 7	73	40
Mrs. Nancy Emerson	Oct. 13	70	40
Mrs. Joseph Wellit	Oct. 14	77	35
Henry B. Welch	Oct. 18	52	52
John Willet	Nov. 23	70	29
Mrs. E. J. Boyd	Nov. 23	70	38
Mrs. Dr. Mattom	Nov. 18	72	26
Mrs. Jacob Klinck	Dec. 10	73	39
Mrs. Catherin Beck	Dec. 16	74	40
Chas. L. Knapp	Dec. 17	69	50
Alonzo Curtis	Dec. 21	43	43
	1887.		
Mrs. Elizabeth Becker	Jan. 15	66	30
Dr. Edward Dorsch	Jan. 10	65	38
Timothy Ineson	Jan. 16	73	40

List of Deaths—Continued.

Name.	Date of Death.	Age.	Resident in County.
Mrs. J. B. Duval	Feb. 1	63	63
Mrs. Nelson Jarbo	Feb. 2	75	53
Geo. Frank Bulkley	Feb. 10	49	49
Mrs. Louise Crump	Feb. 18	86	50
Geo. F. Krug	Feb. 23	95	39
Danil Mulholand	March 4	74	70
Mrs. Sovina Rhinehart	March 14	82	53
Mrs. John Tuescher	April 19	65	30
Alfred Rice	April 19	67	58
Mrs. Frank Cousins	April 22	67	67
Frank Genster	April 26	62	40
Henry Younglove	April 28	61	53
Vincent Jedwick	May 11	74	40
John M. Uhl	May 13	74	40

OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY O. POPPLETON.

MASON I. JAMES was born at Truxton, Courtland county, N. Y., December 16, 1802. He married Amanda Davis, January 24, 1822, and came to Michigan in 1824, locating in the town of Avon. He removed to Southfield, in 1828. He remained there until the fall of 1835, when he removed to Troy Corners, where he engaged in the mercantile business. This business he sold after a few months, and in the spring of 1836 bought the Josiah Alger farm, in Troy, where he lived until 1856, when he sold the farm and moved to Birmingham. There he lived until the fall of 1884, when he went to Chicago, Ill., to reside with his daughter, Mrs. J. W. Toms, where he remained until his death, September 20, 1886, at the age of 84 years. He was commissioned by Gov. Stevens T. Mason cornet under date May 15, 1832, and his company was ordered into service in the Black Hawk war. On the 11th of November, 1835, he was commissioned captain in the 2d division, 3d brigade, 4th regiment, and served in the Toledo war. He held the office of justice of the peace with credit and was a consistent christain, a public spirited, useful and influential citizen, and greatly esteemed by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

MRS. ELLEN STANLEY, widow of Nathan Stanley, born at Palmyra, Wayne Co., N. Y., May 5, 1810, came to Michigan with her father, Nathan Perry, of Pontiac, in the fall of 1823. She married Mr. Stanley, who was well known by the old settlers and who died thirty years since. Her death occurred Feb. 25, 1887, at the age of 76 years.

MRS. ALFRED PHELPS, widow of the late Alfred Phelps, of Troy, was born at Pittsfield, Mass., in 1801. She came to Michigan with her husband in 1829, and settled in Troy, where she died February 11, 1887, aged 86 years.

DENNIS QUICK was born in Hunterdon county, N. J., in 1804. He came to Michigan in 1824, located lands in Royal Oak township and settled upon them, where he continued to live until his death, April 2, 1887, aged 83 years. He was married in 1828 to Nancy M., daughter of Calvin Perrin, who died in 1860, and subsequently married Mrs. Sinai Lombard. He was deacon and a life long member of the Presbyterian church.

MRS. CYNTHIA M. COLLINS, widow of Geo. M. Collins and mother of J. W. Collins, was born in 1794. She came to Michigan in 1824, and settled in Farmington, where she resided until she died, December 29, 1886, aged 92 years. Mr. and Mrs. Collins, it is said, were the first to settle in Farmington, and she was the first white woman to locate there. Her son, J. W. Collins, was the first white male child born in the township. He still resides there.

POTTER KNIGHT was born at Otisfield, Cumberland Co., Maine, March 14, 1821. He came to Michigan with his parents in 1826. He first settled in Avon, but afterwards removed to Bloomfield, where he died December 15, 1886, aged 65 years.

MRS. POTTER KNIGHT was born at Bennington, Vt., in 1819. She married Potter Knight May 17, 1841, and resided with her husband at Bloomfield Center until her death, March 3, 1886, at the age of 67 years.

MRS. ELIZABETH VOORHEIS, widow of Wm. Voorheis, was born in Ossian, Livingston county, N. Y., June 27, 1802. She came to Michigan with her husband in 1835, and settled in Shelby, Macomb county. In 1864 they removed to Troy. For the past few years she lived with her son, F. C. Voorheis, and died at his residence December 12, 1886, aged 84 years.

FRANCIS G. BRUSH was born in Rensselaer county, N. Y., April 20, 1821. He came to Michigan in 1834 and settled in White Lake; in 1840 he came to

Birmingham. He died at his late home near Birmingham, December 12, 1886, aged 65 years.

ALLEN LAWRENCE was born in Duchess county, N. Y., in 1798; came to Michigan in 1832 and settled in Orion, where he lived until recently. He died at the residence of Jacob Lawrence, at Valparaiso, Ind., Jan. 5, 1887, in the 89th year of his age.

JOHN LAWRENCE was born at Ballston, Saratoga county, N. Y., in 1803; came to Michigan and located in Orion, in 1834. He died in January, 1887, aged 84 years.

MRS. MARGARET COLVIN, widow of the late Nathan R., was born in Vermont, March 29, 1797. She came to Michigan with her husband in 1832, and located in Waterford. She died January 14, 1887, aged 89 years.

ALFRED JUDSON was born October 2, 1800, at Woodbury, Conn. He came to Michigan in 1826, stopped in Detroit about six months, and then went to Pontiac In 1829 he married Louisa Bartlett, who died in 1870. In 1877 he was married to Mrs. Bell. He was a member of the Presbyterian church. He died January 14, 1887, aged 86 years.

GEORGE P. THURSTON was born at Lisle, N. Y., November 19, 1809; came to Michigan in 1835, located in Brandon, built a log house and returned to the settlements for his family and house goods. Upon arriving at his new home he found the house burned. It was supposed to be the work of unfriendly Indians. He was justice of the peace for twenty years, held many town offices; was surveyor. He was active and earnest in establishing schools and a zealous member of the Christian church. He retired from his farm in 1867 and took up his residence in Pontiac, where he died, December 27, 1886, aged 77 years.

EDWARD MCGONEGAL was born at Goshen, N. Y., March 8, 1836. He came to Michigan with his parents while an infant, in 1836; his parents locating at Birmingham. He removed to Independence in 1839. He died at the latter place December 13, 1886, aged 50 years.

JOHN POWELL was born at Ovid, Seneca, connty, N. Y., in 1800. He settled at Pontiac in 1824. He died at Auburn, Pontiac township, January 29, 1887, aged 87 years. He was at one time a surveyor and engaged with Captain Harvey Parke.

MRS. MATILDA SEELEY, widow of Ira C. Seeley and daughter of Josiah Dewey, who settled in Oakland township in 1826, was born at Riga, N. Y.,

May 28, 1816. She was married to Mr. Seeley October 23, 1835, and settled in Waterford. She died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. H. F. Messinger, of Pontiac City, January 19, 1887, aged 70 years.

Mrs. Abram Morris was born in Duchess county, N. Y., in 1816; settled in Waterford in 1853 and died in 1887, aged 71 years.

Azar Brown was born at Chevely Barke, England, November 18, 1808; settled in Orion 1836, and died there February 23, 1887, aged 79 years.

Adolphus Wallace was born in Truxton, Courtland county, N. Y., November 14, 1805. He came to Michigan in 1832 and settled in Bloomfield, but afterwards removed to Southfield. He died in Shiawassee county, March 30, 1887, aged 81 years.

George McStay was born in Madison county, N. Y., March 12, 1812. He came to Michigan in 1850 and settled in Detroit, but removed to Southfield in 1861. He died in Southfield, April 1, 1886, aged 74 years.

Mrs. Elmyra Millis, wife of Samuel S. Millis, was born in Odeltown, Province of Quebec, Can., in 1813; settled in Pontiac in 1845; died June 21, 1886, aged 73 years.

Amariah C. Trowbridge was born at Painted Post, N. Y., 1805; located in Troy, Mich., in 1831; died September 8, 1886, aged 81 years.

Edmund Barkham was born in Norfolk, England, May, 1809. He came to America and settled in Rochester, Mich., in 1837. Died at Commerce June 19, 1886, aged 77 years.

Wells Kinney was born in Ellington, Tolland county, Conn., in 1810. He came to Michigan and settled in Southfield in 1844. He died in Bloomfield, June 26, 1886, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Hannah J. Collins was born in the town of Collins, Erie county, N. Y., September, 1816. She settled in Livonia, Wayne county, in 1828, but removed to Groveland, Oakland county, in 1850, where she died July 22, 1886, aged 70 years.

Isaac S. Voorheis was born in Somerset, N. Y., in 1799. He came to Michigan and settled in Pontiac in 1824; removed to Lapeer in 1866, where he died August 2, 1886, aged 87 years. He was a member of the first constitutional convention, and a member of the first state legislature which convened at Lansing. He held many offices in the county with ability and credit to himself and his constituents. He was a democrat in politics.

Sarah Barkley Gordon, widow of Hugh Gordon, was born in Orange county, N. Y., in 1810. She settled in Bloomfield, where she died August 6, 1886, aged 76 years.

Wm. Voorheis was born in Geneseo, Genesee county, N. Y., September 20, 1801. He came to Michigan and settled at Shelby, Macomb county, in 1835. In 1864 he removed to Troy, Oakland county, where he died August 8, 1886, aged 85.

Mrs. Eliza Houston Hall, widow of John Hall, was born at Montgomery, Orange county, N. Y., February 10, 1809; settled in Bloomfield in 1837; died at Pontiac, August 8, 1886, age 77 years.

Edward Chase was born in Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., in 1804. He settled in Farmington in 1824, but afterwards removed to near Detroit, where he kept hotel at the Four Mile House a few years; from there removed to the township of Rose, where he pursued the same business, but subsequently returned to farming. He died August 21, 1886, aged 82 years.

Henderson Crawford was born in Geneva, Ontario county, N. Y., in 1818. He came to Michigan in 1839, and settled in Livonia, Wayne county, where he remained about six years. He taught school in Farmington, Oakland county, but removed to Milford, in 1845, where he taught a private school for twenty five years with marked ability and success. For the past few years he resided in Lansing. He died at the residence of his son in Grand Traverse, August 11, 1886, aged 68.

Wm. W. Whiting was born in Manlius, Onondaga county, N. Y., May 20, 1802. He came to Michigan in 1835 and settled in Bloomfield, but removed to Southfield in 1843, where he died January 1, 1887, aged 84 years.

Mrs. Pamelia Bickford, wife of Israel Bickford, was born in Bloomfield, Ontario county, N. Y., June 22, 1811. Her maiden name was Keys. She came to Michigan in 1836 and settled in Troy; afterwards removed to Birmingham and from there to Harbor Springs in 1883. She died at her daughter's in Bath, Clinton county, Sept. 5, 1886, aged 75

Almeron Gibbs was born in Livingston county, N. Y., August 11, 1817. He came to Michigan with his father in 1826, and settled in Troy. He died October 23, 1886, aged 69 years.

Mrs. Catharine Jones, widow of Joseph Jones, was born in Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., June 24, 1816. She came to Michigan with her

widowed mother, Mrs. Rikerd, and brothers John and Walter, and settled in Troy in 1832, where she lived until her death, October 17, 1886, at the age of 70 years.

Mrs. Fanny Pearsall, widow of Clement W. Pearsall, was born in Fleming township, Cayuga county, N. Y., March, 1804. In 1822 she was married to Mr. Pearsall, and in 1823 came with her husband to Michigan and settled in Troy. She died October 19, 1886, aged 82. Her husband died in 1880. Her devotion as a wife and mother; her simplicity of life and purity of character; her unwavering kindness as a neighbor, and her never failing charity and benevolence towards all, endeared her to a large circle of acquaintances.

Andrew Simpson was born at Tyrone, Ireland, March 9, 1798. He emigrated to America in 1823; worked in a factory at Matewan, Mass., being a weaver by trade. He came to Michigan in 1831, and settled in West Bloomfield upon a farm, where he lived until his death, November 9, 1886, at the age of 88 years.

Mary Ann Jones, wife of Burgoyne Jones, was born in Warren county, N. J., December 25, 1816. She was married January 9, 1836; came to Michigan with her husband in 1837 and settled in Oakland township, where she lived until her death, April 12, 1887, at the age of 70 years.

Searin B. Munson, father of Dr. Munson of the Northern Asylum, was born in Franklin, Sussex county, N. J., March 13, 1811. He settled in Independence in 1847; removed to Pontiac in August, 1886, and died March 23, 1887, aged 76 years.

Mark N. Speller was born in Vermont in 1805; settled in Lyon in 1834, and died February 28, 1887, aged 82 years.

John Berridge was born at Polington, Smith Parish, Yorkshire, England, August 17, 1810. He came to America in 1834; remained in Detroit about a year and in the spring of 1836 located lands in Orion, where he settled. He died in Orion village February 24, 1887, aged 75 years.

Wm. Gillespie was born at Muncy, Lycoming county, Pa., April 4, 1812; moved to Elmira, N. Y., from which place he removed to Michigan in 1844, and settled in Bloomfield. He died February 24, 1887, aged 75 years.

Mrs. Adeline Kittle Frank, wife of Col. John Frank, was born at Newburyport, Mass., April 21, 1798; came to Michigan in 1835, and married Mr. Frank March 1, 1849. She died November 21, 1886, aged 88 years.

WM. FISHER was born at Avon, N. H., April 9, 1807. When ten years of age he moved with his parents to New York. In 1836 he came to Michigan and settled in Pontiac township. He died September 13, 1886, aged 79 years.

MRS. MARY ANN HUNT, widow of Jas. M. Hunt, was born at Hardstone, N. Y., in 1810, and came to Michigan in 1830, with her father, Geo. Beardslee, who settled in Bloomfield. She was married to Marcus Culvor, who died in 1837. In March, 1844, she was married to Mr. Hunt. She died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. H. A. Randall, September 27, 1886, aged 76 years.

MRS. NARCISSA A. JOHNSON was born at Canaan, Conn., March 31, 1802. She came to Michigan with her first husband, Darius N. Cowles, in 1832, and settled in Farmington. Mr. Cowles died in 1842. A few years later she married Silas P. Johnson, whom she also survived. She continued to reside upon the farm where her first husband located and settled, until her death, March 12, 1887, at the age of 85 years.

DANIEL MCVEAN was born in Caledonia, Livingston county, N. Y., in 1804; came to Michigan in 1832, and settled in Orion, where he resided until his death, April 4, 1887, at the age of 83 years.

ARCHIBALD H. GREEN was born at Cartwright, N. Y., in 1793; came to Michigan in 1828. He settled in Southfield, but afterwards removed to Pontiac. He died at his daughter's, in Adrian, April 7, 1887, aged 94 years.

JOHN THAYER was born in Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., in 1810; settled in Farmington in 1825; died May 5, 1887, aged 77 years.

CAPTAIN RUFUS THAYER was born in Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., in 1809; settled in Farmington in 1825, and died at Salem, Washtenaw county, March, 1887, aged 78 years.

OLIVER WHITEHEAD was born in 1806, and settled in Addison, February, 1836. He held the office of treasurer and other offices in the township over twenty years, and was greatly respected by a large circle of acquaintances. He died in 1887, aged 81 years.

PHILO C. DAVIS was born in Monroe county, N. Y., in 1826. He came to Michigan in 1831, and located in Troy. He died November 23, 1886, aged 60 years.

MARTIN YETTER was born in Germany in 1812; located in Brandon in 1832, and died January 16, 1887, aged 75 years.

MRS. POLLY GREEN was born in Livingston county, N. Y., in 1818. She came to Michigan in 1824, and located in Farmington. She died April 3, 1886, aged 68 years.

ANDREW TAYLOR was born in Fermanaugh county, Ireland, May 5, 1797. He located lands in Southfield, and settled there in 1838, where he lived until his death, April 5, 1887, at the age of 90 years.

MRS. REBECCA BEARDSLEE was born in Yates county, N. Y., September 22, 1799. She came to Michigan and settled in Orion, upon a farm where she lived until her death, May 4, 1887, at the age of 88 years.

CAPTAIN FREEMAN ROBBINS was born at West Dennis, Barnstable county, Mass., July 6, 1806. He came to Michigan in 1841, and settled in Troy. He went to sea when 11 years old, and followed that occupation 24 years, advancing step by step to captaincy. He died May, 1887, aged 81 years.

ELIJAH M. DELLING was born at Vienna, Kennebec county, Maine, April 21, 1811. He came to Michigan in 1832 and settled in Southfield, where he lived until his death, Jan. 7, 1887, at the age of 76.

MRS. PERMELIA MCHENRY, widow of James McHenry, whose maiden name was O'Dell, was born in Orange county, N. Y., April 1, 1804. She married Mr. McHenry in 1826 and came to Michigan with her husband in 1829. They settled in Bloomfield, near Gilbert Lake. She died at Birmingham, May 11, 1887, aged 83 years.

MRS. ERVILLA BASSETT was born in Yates county, N. Y., in 1816; came to Michigan and settled in Novi in 1830. She died February 27, 1887, aged 71 years.

MRS. AMANDA JOHNSON was born in the state of New York in 1806. She came to Michigan in 1834 and settled in Groveland. She died April 27, 1887, aged 81 years.

JOHN BLOW was born in Wingfield, N. Y., in 1810. He came to Michigan in 1834 and settled in Avon. He died December 16, 1886, aged 76 years.

GEORGE DALGLISH was born at Dumfries, Scotland, in 1799; came to Michigan and settled in Orion in 1842. He died May 20, 1887, aged 88 years.

MRS. E. HONEYWELL was born August 26, 1804, in Connecticut. She came to Michigan and settled in Troy in 1837, where she died November 9, 1886, aged 82 years.

JOHN G CROMBIE.

John G. Crombie of Pontiac died very suddenly, of heart disease, while sitting in his chair, Jan. 11, 1887.

John G. Crombie was born of distinguished parentage at North Hartland, Windsor county, Vt., Jan., 12, 1820, and had he lived but another day, would have been just 67 years of age.

He had been three times married; first to Sarah Tower, Aug. 24, 1848; second, to Sarah Harding, Feb. 10, 1853; and to Rebecca Runnion, who survives him, Nov. 21, 1860. Of five children, two are dead.

Mr. Crombie spent two years in Dartmouth College, and was a man of much more than ordinary intelligence.

He settled in Pontiac in 1842, since which time he had become permanently identified in business circles. He first entered the employ of Lull & Draper, as clerk, with whom he remained two years. He afterwards entered the cabinet shop of his uncle, Col. Page, and two years later, upon his uncle's death, succeeded to his business. He subsequently entered into a copartnership with Danforth Petty, doing business in the Crofoot Block (so called); afterwards becoming sole proprietor, he removed to the Waverly house, from thence to the present location. He had also in connection with his store and undertaking business a manufactory on Lawrence street west, which at an early day formed no inconsiderable feature of Pontiac's business enterprises.

Probably very few men in his line have enjoyed a more extended local reputation that Mr. Crombie. In an early day nearly all the furniture he sold, as well as the coffins and caskets, were of his own manufacture.

He was a man of strong convictions, positive ideas, and an uncompromising adherent to the principles of the republican party. It can truthfully be said of him he was an honest man. At his death he was a member of the Congregational church.

He was a prominent member of the order of Odd Fellowship, being a charter member of Pontiac Lodge, No. 3.

Thus has passed away another of Pontiac's most distinctive landmarks, whose business integrity as well as his political convictions, have been forced into and have become a part of the city's life.

MRS. MARY ADDIS.

Died, in Independence, January 21, 1887, of paralysis, Mrs. Mary, relict of Peter Addis, aged 71 years, 2 months and 6 days. She had been a resident of Clarkston for nearly 50 years.

MRS. HULDAH PICKETT.

Died, on January 18, in Milford, at the residence of her son, Wm. Johnson, Mrs. Huldah Pickett, at the age of 77 years. Mrs. Pickett was one of the oldest residents of the township. She was the mother of six children, five of whom survive, viz.: Mrs. Charles Bush and George Johnson, of Fenton, Mrs. Jas. Crawford, Wm. Johnson and John Pickett, of Milford. For fifty years she had been a consistent member of the M. E. church, and the funeral was largely attended. An impressive part of the services was the following of the honorary pall bearers in the persons of Mrs. Mary A. Riley, aged 71, Mrs. Hulda C. Hubbell, aged 74, Mrs. Mary Gamble, aged 77, Mrs. Magill, aged 72, Mrs. Jane Pearson, aged 72, Mrs. Jane Watkins, aged 67, Mrs. Z. M. Mowry, aged 68.

ERASTUS BEEBE.

Erastus Beebe was born at Lebanon, Columbia county, New York, July 30, 1805, and died at his daughter's in Birmingham, January 18, 1887. He came to Michigan in November, 1834, and settled in Southfield, upon unimproved land, and assisted in developing that township. Subsequently he has lived in Pontiac, Waterford and Avon. For the past few years he has resided in Birmingham. Under the ministration of Rev. Mr. Green of the M. E. church at Pontiac, in 1855, he was converted, joined that church, and has ever been a consistent and honored member during the thirty two years of his christian life. The ranks of the early pioneers of the county are being deci mated from year to year, and soon there will be none left to answer the roll call; but their works will remain and endure until the end of time.

JOHN K. DEWEY.

John K. Dewey died April 12, 1887, at the residence of his son, Chas. E. Dewey, at Four Towns. Deceased was born in Royalton, Windsor county, Vermont, Feb. 28, 1795. He moved to New York state with the man to whom he was apprenticed at the carpenter and joiner trade, and on Nov. 23, 1819, was married to Harriet Hunt, whose death occurred Aug. 20, 1863. He moved to Michigan in 1831, and settled in Waterford township, where he has since resided. He was made a F. & A. Mason in New York in 1818, and was an honorary member of Birmingham Lodge at the time of his death, and of which lodge he was also a charter member.

JAMES SKIDMORE.

James Skidmore, an old and much respected resident of Troy, died at his home Nov. 23, 1886, at the advanced age of about 89 years.

The deceased was born in Ulster county, New York, March 9, 1798. He came to Michigan with two brothers, who afterwards returned, in 1823, locating the farm upon which he died, having been the continuous owner of the same farm for 63 years. After locating his land he returned to Ulster county, where he was married the same year, 1823, to Miss Philanda Beach. They lived together 49 years, when she died in the spring of 1873, aged 72.

We add a brief personal experience of this old pioneer, as published in the Pontiac Gazette Feb. 27, 1874.

"I took up a farm, upon which I now live, of 80 acres, in the township of Troy. Shortly after I went back to New York, where I was married to Miss Philanda Beach, with whom I shared the pleasures and sorrows of life until last March, when she was taken from us, to a better land, I trust, in her 72d year.

It is needless for me to give an account of all the incidents of pioneer life with which I am familiar, it would only be repeating the same old story of toil and hard time. Suffice it to say that no one can realize what pioneer life is until they have experienced it, until they have left their home and friends, and gone into the wild forest, constructed for themselves a dwelling from the sturdy oak, and manufactured for themselves furniture from the saplings of the surrounding forest.

When I first moved upon my farm I had nothing but good health and strong muscles to support myself and family, but by hard work and strict economy, I managed to buy a cow the first summer for eleven dollars. I also raised two acres of corn upon Mr. Satterlee's farm, the same summer, and I often sat down to a meal prepared from the productions of that cornfield and our limited dairy, which, in those days, I thought was good enough for any man. After we had been upon our farm about three years we had the misfortune to lose our house by fire, one cold January night, as we were visiting Mr. Alanson Goodrich's, with James Bailey and their families. But my neighbors, showing the true pioneer spirit, helped me to build a new house, which was completed in a week; they also contributed household goods and provisions enough to enable us to keep house for the remainder of the winter. I have in my house to-day some of the dishes given to me upon this occasion."

JOHN MARTIN.

"Rev. John Martin died at his residence in Ovid, Clinton county, Michigan, Feb. 4, 1887, aged 89 years.

Rev. John Martin was born in Cayuga county, New York, in 1797. Trained by parents who needed his earlier services, at the age of thirteen he

set out from home, having one suit of clothes, his sole earthly possession. Following the year 1817, which marked the beginning of his christian experience, a devout and energetic spirit bore him up during many seasons of privation and hardship. In the next year he was married to the one who, for more than 50 years, has stood faithfully by his side through all that life hath brought him.

To meet the imperative needs of a rapidly growing family of six children, in 1831 he sold his possessions in New York state, and, on the 2d of August, set out for the territory of Michigan. After a three weeks' journey they settled in the township of Troy, Oakland county, having just $2 left (after paying traveling expenses) for a cow and a few acres of land. At that time, as the deceased has often said, the ground now covered by Detroit was occupied only by French farms and a few post traders' huts.

When Father Martin first settled there were only 27 ministers of all denominations in the territory, himself being the only one in his county. He at once gave all his spare time to the work of the Gospel, and so continued until 1846, when failing health compelled his release from public labor. The largest annual salary that he ever received was $70. During that year he attended 24 covenant meetings, broke bread as many times, baptized, visited, addressed a Sunday school once in two weeks, attended 4 ministerial conferences, 4 councils, 1 association; preached in 22 school houses, 14 dwelling houses, 2 meeting houses and one grist mill. In performing this labor he traveled 1,500 miles on foot and horseback.

As a fitting close of a life of 90 years so full of good works, he goes to his rest in peace, firmly trusting that 'He is faithful that promised.'''

The subject of the above notice from the Ovid Register and Union was one of the earliest and best known settlers in Clinton county. He was not a cultured preacher, but a practical minister, with words and advice suited to the times and the field he worked in. His temperament and social nature peculiarly fitted him for the pioneer work he followed so devotedly. He was one of old Ben Franklin's kind of men, whistled while he worked, was always happy himself, and his cheerful nature was an inspiration in every log cabin he entered. In every pioneer home Elder John Martin was welcome, and the altar fires in every family with whom he tabernacled for a night were brightened by his coming.

Measuring his reward by the sacrifices made, there are many jewels in the crown of his rejoicing.

COL. JOHN P. FOSTER.

The death of John P. Foster, November 5, 1886, was an anticipated event.

His sickness being caused by Bright's disease his death was considered certain at a not very remote day, and the family and friends were in a measure prepared for the summons; none more so than himself, who talked of his departure and planned for his funeral as he would transact a matter of business.

In all matters pertaining to the welfare and growth of Pontiac Mr. Foster always put his shoulder to the wheel of progress, doing his full share in the advancement of the material interests of the city. His active and earnest efforts in public affairs led to his political preferment and he served as alderman one term, was township treasurer several years when the duties of the office extended over the city, was several times elected ward treasurer, was also constable for a number of terms, and deputy sheriff under one or more administrations. His pet interest in the city government was the fire department, which he patronized and served during his entire residence in the city, having been its head and chief some 27 years, resigning last season on account of poor health. To this department he devoted special attention, was its head in the change from the volunteer to a paid department, and in the organization of the present force, in the purchase of steam and other apparatus he was the leading spirit and manager, and may be considered the founder of the present efficient department. He always possessed the confidence of the firemen and in emergencies his orders were promptly obeyed and executed. In his death the boys feel they have lost their best friend and ablest adviser and leader. He was a prominent and respected member of all the Masonic bodies in the city, and had been anointed in the order of high priesthood. In the local orders he had filled the offices of master of the lodge, high priest of the royal arch chapter, and eminent commander of Pontiac Commandery. From the tessellated pavement to the temple he was an active and earnest worker, attached to the order and its principles. He was also an Odd Fellow, but in late years had not been in intimate affiliation.

In 1861 he enrolled himself in the 14th Michigan infantry Co. I, with the commission of first lieutenant under Cols. Shoemaker and Robert W. Davis. After an organization and brief camp in Ypsilanti, the regiment joined the department of the Tennessee.

After a few months spent in active service he was taken sick, resigned and came home. From this time to the day of his death he never recovered from the seeds of disease engendered by climate change and exposure.

Mr. Foster was born in the county of Kent, England, January 1, 1826, making his age nearly 61 years. When a child of about two years his parents emigrated to America, stopping at Utica, New York, when they came to Michigan and Oakland county, where the father, Horatio, located 40 acres of land in Independence. From the humble log house home with all its

embarrassments and privations he began his limited schooling in the old pinery school house which his father built near the village of Clarkston.

At the age of 16 years he entered the shoe shop of William Blake, as an apprentice, working a couple of years, when he changed his occupation to that of carpenter, working for his elder brothers, Samuel and Frederick. He remained with them two years, when he went to Detroit and entered a joiner's shop for instruction in the fine arts of the trade. He remained in Detroit a year when he came to Pontiac in the fall of 1849, entering the employ of Samuel Brotherton, the leading builder in the village of Pontiac. He was married in Detroit, October 24, 1850, to Delia E. Whitman, who survives him. From 1849, except when absent in the army, he lived continuously in Pontiac until his death. At the time of his decease his death was the first in the family, making the loss one of inexperienced family grief, increasing the weight of sorrow and mourning. The deceased leaves a widow and four adult children, three daughters and one son. He leaves one brother, Frederick Foster, of Springfield, the only surviving member of the elder Foster family. By care and industry he accumulated sufficient of this world's goods for the support of his widow and dependent children.

HON. WILLIAM AXFORD.

The Hon. Wm. Axford, one of the earliest settlers of eastern Michigan, and in an early day one of the most prominent business men in northern Oakland, died at his late home in Clarkston, Thursday morning, September 16, 1886, after a lingering illness of Bright's disease, with paralysis as the immediate cause of his death.

The deceased was born in Windon, Ontario, March 28, 1813. He came to Michigan and to Macomb county in 1822 at the age of nine years, settling with his parents about three miles east of the now village of Rochester. In his young manhood he taught school for a short time, afterwards going into mercantile trade in the town of Avon.

In 1842 he located as a merchant in Clarkston, doing a successful business for some 25 years, when he retired from active life, in order to look after his landed estate which was quite large.

During his residence in Independence he was supervisor for several terms, and for several terms chairman of the county board. He represented Oakland county in the legislature of 1849, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1850, a body which formed our present organic law. He was married in 1844 to Ellen C. Axford, of Oxford, Warren county, New Jersey, with whom he lived until his death.

He had no children, but leaves many more remote relatives, his nearest of living kin being Livingston Axford, Esq., of Holly.

He was a man who impressed himself on a community; possessing the elements of leadership, which at times were strongly manifested, to a degree of dictation. It was not easy for him to love his enemies, but to those he liked he was a true, sacrificing friend; one who would protect and defend with his substance those to whom he was socially and in business attached. He was a clear headed man in the performance of public duties, and in his own affairs his books were always honestly balanced. He was always ready to render to every man his due, and was rigid in a like demand from those indebted to him. Right wrongs no one, and he dies free from the stain of demanding more than his own. He was a man of strong convictions on all social and political questions. Politically he affiliated with and was attached to the old school democratic party, whose traditions and principles he clung to as an inherited political treasure, which he never parted with, or made political traffic of. Socially his fellowship did not cover a wide range; he was devotedly attached to home and locality, in the latter years of his life seldom leaving the home hearth, or aberrating from the beaten local trail of association. He was intimately identified with the growth of Clarkston, and did much in a substantial and advisory way to advance the material interests of the village.

Six nephews, all Axfords, were, at the request of the deceased, selected as his pall bearers.

HON. CHARLES H. PALMER.

The end of a great life of mental struggle was reached when our fellow citizen, Charles Henry Palmer, turned upon his side Saturday morning, April 9, 1887, and passed away. When he added three years to the alloted three score and ten, his prospects for many years of vigorous, healthy life, and absolute freedom from the anxieties attending finance and business, were at their very zenith; but alas, when prepared to live, the seeds of disease, long hidden, germinated and hedged him around with difficulties unknown to his before unconquerable will, and he waged the unequal contest with courage and determination. For several hours previous to his death he was painless, and greatly encouraged, and talked cheerfully of future plans for travel and enjoyment, and from these cheerful anticipations he turned in bed and was dead.

Mr. Palmer was born in Lenox, N. Y., in 1814, graduated from Union College, N. Y., in 1837, became principal of the Fredonia (N. Y.) Academy soon after graduating, and was afterwards principal of Geneseo Academy.

In 1839 he was united in marriage with Miss Betsey A. Cowles, a highly educated and accomplished lady and teacher, who survives him. His parents having removed to Michigan in 1835, he naturally followed to the new state, and became principal of Romeo Academy in 1847. In those years the numerous academies were the nurseries of the colleges and universities, and furnished the educated men of the land. At the head of various institutions of this kind Mr. Palmer ranked among the most accomplished educators of his time, and the Romeo Academy was at the head of the academical institutions of the state. The rich, intellectual fruit of his training is found to-day among the brightest intellects of this and other states. In 1851 he was elected one of the regents of the University of Michigan, and was soon recognized as the leader and best equipped member of the board. He was ardently devoted to the upbuilding of that institution, and threw his whole energy into the work of its reorganization and the perfecting of measures looking to the making it the great institution of learning which it has since become. He was made corresponding secretary of the board, and through his untiring efforts and in the face of great difficulties, the celebrated Dr. Tappan, the patron saint of the University, was secured as its president. The wisdom of Mr. Palmer's choice has since been demonstrated in a thousand ways, but in no direction more apparent than in placing the institution upon a substantial educational basis.

Mr. Palmer's temperament called for a more active and remunerative field of operations, and in 1853 he settled his family in Pontiac, as a permanent home, and in 1854 went to Lake Superior and immediately entered a career of mining development and speculation, in which he continued till near the close of his life, experiencing all the ups and downs of the mining business, but persevering against odds at times which would overwhelm most men. He first opened and managed as one of the owners the Pewabic copper mine, the first successful venture of the kind in the now famous Portage Lake district. He was one of the incorporators of the Franklin mine in 1857, South Pewabic mine in 1865, the Ossipee, now Oscoda mine, in 1867, and the Kearsage mine the same year. In 1869 he purchased the celebrated Palmer-Loring tract, adjoining the Calumet and Hecla property, and out of the attempt of Loring and a Boston party to defraud Mr. Palmer of his rights in this purchase by the freeze-out process, arose the great suit to maintain his claim, which went to and was last fall decided in his favor by the United States Supreme Court, and which suit for the last dozen years absorbed all the intense mental and physical activity of the man.

By this decision his old age was crowned with affluence, a transfer from darkness to the broad sunlight of prosperity, and he greeted the decision with a satisfaction unspeakable.

Also, in 1856 he was one of the chief promoters and corporators of the Portage Lake and River Improvement Company, connecting Portage Lake with Lake Superior by canal. In 1870, in connection with W. N. Walker, George Jerome and S. L. Smith, the Houghton & Ontonagon railroad was incorporated, built 30 miles of road from Champion to L'Anse, bought the Marquette & Ontonagon road, and formed the present M. H. & O. railroad company, and was the chief promoter in several other large enterprises of a similar character.

Since 1875 he has resided almost entirely at his home in Pontiac, engaged in the prosecution of his suit mainly, but always wide awake to surroundings, and aided materially in securing the asylum for this city, of which he was one of the early trustees; he also took a warm interest in the Michigan military academy of which he was trustee; also a vestryman of Zion Episcopal church from 1861 to 1877, except the year 1872.

Charles H. Palmer was a broad gauge man, of fine culture, great capacity for organization and business, splendid physique and perfect address. His perceptions were keen and quick, and his power of analyzation was remarkable.

He leaves besides his widow, two daughters, Mrs. Virginia Louise Pickman, of Dillon, Montana, Miss Philomela C., residing at home, Charles H. Palmer, of Lake Superior, and Clarence A., of Toledo.

JOHN H. SMITH.

John H. Smith died at his residence in Novi, on Wednesday, May 4, 1887, aged 67 years.

The deceased was born in Bristol, Ontario county, N. Y., March 23, 1820. At ten years of age he came with his parents to the territory of Michigan, and settled upon the farm where he died, and upon which he has resided 57 years. He was the youngest of eight children, two of whom are still living.

The deceased had a very wide circle of friends and acquaintances, and the manly form and genial face of "John H.," as he was called far and near, will be sadly missed by the many who have known and esteemed him as an upright, honorable and influential neighbor, citizen and friend.

This will be especially true with the Masonic fraternity, of which he has been long a prominent and active member. As he always desired to exemplify the character of a true man and citizen, so did he that of a true Mason.

Mr. Smith had been much of the time in poor health for several years, but his death was very sudden and unexpected. In attempting to walk out a little to give directions about some work he wished to have done, he had gone but a few steps from his door when he sank to the earth and immediately

expired. Although he spoke not at the time, he had often conversed freely upon the subject of his decease, especially during a severe illness in 1882. The writer well remembers his calm resignation in view of what was then believed to be imminent death, and the unfaltering trust manifested by him in that hour of his extremity. Death seemed to have no terror to him. He died as he had lived, a man who acted in obedience to his own convictions, regardless of results. A wife and three daughters mourn the loss of a kind, devoted husband and loving father. Their bereavement is sore indeed, and they have the heartfelt sympathy of those who know their great affliction.

HON. JAMES BAYLEY.

James Bayley, one of the earliest pioneers of Troy, Oakland county, passed quietly away about 8:30 p. m., on Sunday, May 1, 1887, at his late residence in Birmingham. He was born in Scipio, Cayuga county, New York, July 7, 1802, and was at the time of his death eighty four years, nine months and twenty four days old. His father, Isaac Bayley, and his mother, were from Windsor county, Vermont, and settled in Scipio, where his father died when the subject of this notice was four years old. At the age of twelve he was given his clothes and began life for himself. At first he engaged in the manufacture of harness and saddlery; at fourteen to eighteen at the tanning and currier business, for which labor during these years he received his board, clothes and instructions in those trades. During the next three years he was enabled to lay by from his earnings a sum sufficient to come to Michigan in April, 1824, to buy lands for a homestead. After viewing lands in several townships in Oakland county he located the east half of the southwest quarter and the west half of the southeast quarter of section 21, town 2 north, range 11 east, on May 10, 1824, and returned to New York. On January 20, 1825, he married Miss Dorcas Pearsall, daughter of Michael Pearsall, of his native town, with whom he lived sixty two years, three months and eleven days, and who still survives him.

Of those who were present at their wedding, there are still living Mrs. Betsey Alexander, Mrs. Philbrick, sisters, and Henry and Sherman Pearsall, brothers of Mrs. Bayley, and Benj. Daniels. Of these Mrs. Alexander and Mr. Daniels were present at the funeral.

His early education was obtained at the district schools of those early days; yet with the advantages of a private library to which he had access, and by observation, associations and experiences, few men of his advantages were better informed of public men, measures and affairs of the state and nation than he. In April, 1825, with his wife, he bade farewell to relatives and

friends in his native town, and came to Michigan, settling early in May upon those lands he had purchased from the government the year previous.

Mr. and Mrs. Bayley have had six children born to them; one son at the age of twenty one was drowned, two infant twins, a son and daughter, died when nearly two years old. Two sons, Volney and Adams, and one daughter, Clarissa, Mrs. William Dennison, are still living.

In 1830 he was induced by Phineas Davis, of Detroit, to remove there and take charge of a tannery and currier establishment, which he conducted with marked ability about three years, when he returned to his farm and commenced with renewed energy to improve it, until he had the satisfaction of receiving from his brother farmers the unqualified commendation of having one of the best appointed and cultivated farms in the county. Mr. Bayley has been president of the Oakland county and State Agricultural societies, member of many of their committees, an influential and prominent member of those societies, to whom he gave his counsel and material aid in their infancy, continuing the same until he relinquished his active farm life. He became a member of the Baptist society in Troy in 1837. His parents before him were zealous Baptists, and the son walking in the steps of the parents, became a consistent, active and influential member of the society. At the spring election in 1839 he was elected supervisor, in 1849 justice of the peace, in 1864 to the house of representatives; in 1860 he was appointed farm superintendent of the State Agricultural College at Lansing, which office he held for three years with credit to himself and material profit to the institution and state. Finding the perplexities and arduous duties were taxing him excessively, and his health failing, he resigned his position and returned once more to his farm in Troy in February, 1863, where he remained until 1868, when he purchased a residence in Birmingham where he removed and resided until his death. These very early pioneers of the county and state are rapidly passing away. They silently drop out of the line and soon no land marks will remain to remind us of those whose brain and muscle felled the forests, built our schools, churches, public improvements, etc., etc., and made it possible to sustain the present population of this beautiful peninsula state.

CAPT. WILLIAM ALBERTSON.

Capt. William Albertson, of Pontiac, an early pioneer, a highly respected and honored citizen, died after many years' illness, of consumption, at the home of his son, W. S. Albertson, on Feb. 4, 1887.

The deceased was born near Sing Sing, New York, November 27, 1811. He was married to Rebecca, eldest daughter of Rev. C. F. Frey, at New York

city, July 19, 1836. They moved to Michigan in November of 1844, and for six months sojourned at Elizabeth Lake, this county, with the late Almeron Whitehead, when they became residents of Pontiac. Mr. Albertson first entered the store of Peck & Standish, and up to the outbreak of the rebellion had been honored with various offices of public trust, such as village marshal, treasurer, constable and deputy sheriff during the administration of Clark Beardsley, and again in later years under Sheriff Wixon, and also for a time served acceptably as Assistant U. S. Revenue Assessor.

He took an active part in the organization of the 22d Michigan Infantry, and received the commission of 2d lieutenant of Co. A, which he was largely instrumental in raising. He remained with the regiment till the close of the war. He was a good soldier, efficient in the discharge of his duties, having had for several months the entire charge of the regiment, and serving also for a time as quartermaster. He received the commission of captain about six months before the close of the war. In whatever capacity he was called upon to serve he was found competent and faithful.

At the close of the three years' service he gave in defense of his country, he was mustered out with a constitution weakened by overwork and exposure and health seriously impaired.

He never regained his wonted vigor. In 1883 he wintered in California, receiving but temporary benefit, however, frem that salubrious climate. On his return he gradually relapsed into that debilitated condition which, despite the constant, ever watchful care of a devoted companion, and the tender ministrations of loving children, his life ebbed out gradually and as perceptibly as the setting sun sinks below the western horizon, leaving a halo of a well spent life to mark his going.

ELIJAH GROW.

We are sad to chronicle the death of Elijah Grow, a well to do farmer and an old and esteemed citizen. He was thrown from a buggy Thursday, April 21, with but slight injuries on one side of the head, and died Sunday, April 24, 1887, at half past one. He was one of ten Grow brothers, and twin to Elisha Grow, who passed away the 4th of March, 1887. They were born in Pomfret, Windom Co., Conn., August 24, 1810; his parents, Elisha and Louisa Grow, moved from Pomfret to Homer, Cortland Co., N. Y., in 1812; in 1831 he experienced religion and was of the Baptist faith; was married to Charity Baker, in Homer, Jan. 19, 1833, she passing away May 6, 1885. They moved from Homer to Springfield, Oakland Co., Michigan. There they lived until 1851, when they sold their farm, and bought in Waterford, adjoining the old homestead, where they lived until 1855, then moved to Clarkston, remaining

there only till 1856, when they bought a farm in Waterford Center, Michigan. In 1858 they became spiritualists and remained such until they passed into a higher plane of progression. In 1866 they sold in Waterford and bought a farm in the township of Pontiac, one and a half miles southeast of this city, where he resided at the time of his death. He leaves two children, Irving K. Grow, residing on the homestead, and Mrs. H. P. Merrill, of Bay City, besides a large circle of relatives and friends to mourn his loss. He was a good man and respected by all who knew him.

ELISHA GROW.

Elisha Grow was born in Ponfret, Windom Co., Conn., Aug. 24, 1810. His parents removed to Homer, Cortland Co., N. Y., in 1812. In 1833 they came to Michigan and settled in Springfield. He was a twin brother of Elijah Grow, whose death is noticed above. He died March 4, 1887. His age was 77 years.

SAGINAW COUNTY.

BY CHAS. N. GRANT.

EPHRAIM BRALEY.

Ephraim Braley died at his home in Saginaw town, Oct. 11, 1886, of heart disease and dropsy. He was among the oldest residents of Saginaw county, having settled here with his brother, Phineas D. Braley, in 1835. He was a native of Berkshire county, Mass., where he was born March 29, 1813. He was the father of nine children.

ABEL A. BROCKWAY.

Death entered another Saginaw home Wednesday, Oct. 20, 1886, and the well known citizen, Abel A. Brockway, passed away. Mr. Brockway had been troubled with a cancer in the head for three years and was confined to his bed for nearly a year.

Abel A. Brockway was born at Jefferson, Schoharie county, N. Y., Aug. 16, 1818, and removed to Port Huron in 1848. He became interested in lumbering operations and removed to Saginaw in 1856. He was very successful in business and at the time of his death was largely interested in pine lands. He was also a director in the First National bank and the Saginaw Manufacturing Company. He leaves a wife and two children, Mrs. A. P. Bliss and Miss Sadie Brockway.

JAMES LEWIS.

James Lewis, one of our well known and respected citizens, died peacefully at the family residence, 707 South Washington avenue, Jan. 30, 1887. Mr. Lewis had for several years suffered from a complication of diseases culminating in an affection of the spine, and during the winter was confined to the house.

Mr. Lewis was born in Akron, Erie county, N. Y., in 1822, and came to Detroit, Mich., thirty six years ago, removing after seven years' residence in that city to East Saginaw, where he has since made his abode. His occupation was that of a builder, and when he came here he associated himself with W. H. Glasby in a sash and blind factory. After that was burned down he engaged in business of various kinds, being best known in that of moving houses, safes, etc,; also purchasing a good deal of real estate. Mr Lewis has always been regarded as an honorable business man and a good citizen. Shortly before his death, which he felt was but a question of a few hours, he expressed a wish to his wife that his friends should know he died happily, believing in and receiving all the consolations of religion. He leaves a wife and one daughter, Mrs. Harry Hamilton, to mourn his loss. His only sister, Mrs. S. R. Clark, of Byron, this state, was present during his final sickness.

DAVID D. ROSS.

At ten o'clock on the morning of March 22, 1887, David D. Ross, father of County Treasurer Arthur Ross, and a pioneer of Saginaw county, died at his home in Taymouth, where he had lived since 1844, of old age. The deceased was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1805. He came to this country in 1843, and in 1844 located on a farm in Taymouth, where he has since lived. Several years ago the management of the farm was passed over to his son Arthur, and when Mr. Ross removed to Saginaw City to assume the duties of county treasurer, his son, David D. Ross, Jr., took the farm, and it was at his home that Mr. Ross died. He had been a prominent citizen of his town and county for forty three years. He served on the board of supervisors for sixteen years, commencing in 1848. He was one of the founders and for years an elder in the Presbyterian church of Taymouth. He leaves six children, Arthur, David and James Ross, Mrs. Cuthbertson and Mrs. Difin, of this county, and Mrs. P. M. Angus, of Arenac county.

MRS. MARY JEFFERS.

One by one the pioneers of this section are passing away. April 6, 1887, at her home in East Saginaw, where she has resided for 30 years with her son

Michael, Mrs. Mary Jeffers laid down the burden of her life at the advanced age of 86 years.

Mrs. Jeffers was born near Moville, Ireland, April 11, 1801. She came to East Saginaw in 1855 and, since that time, has been identified with the interests of the city in various ways. She was a good mother, a warm friend, and a devoted christian woman. She was of a kind disposition, generous impulses, and was ever ready to overlook the faults of others. These traits endeared her to a large circle of friends. Six children survive her.

MRS. ESTABROOK.

Helen Norris, the beloved wife of Hon. John S. Estabrook, died at her late residence, 1,647 South Washington avenue, East Saginaw, on Sunday evening, April 17, 1887, aged 56 years. The deceased was a noble woman, and during her twenty two years' residence in the city she has been noted for her kindness of heart, her upright christian character, and her many good offices of love and charity. Her life was gentle yet active, and in its various duties as wife and mother, as a conscientious and earnest christian, as a doer of good among her friends and neighbors, as a laborer in the cause of humanity, she exemplified the dignity, the nobility and the usefulness of exalted womanhood. Those who knew her loved her, and her reputation among all classes of citizens was such that in death many will mourn a good friend and a kindly sympathizer. She leaves a husband and three children to mourn her loss, and many hearts will go out in sympathy to the bereaved family.

Mrs. Estabrook came to East Saginaw from Ypsilanti in 1865, which was the home of her girlhood. Her health was not good for some months previous to her death, being a sufferer from brain affection, and a few weeks before her death she was suddenly prostrated by what was said to be softening of the brain. From this attack she never recovered, and her spirit passed from the mortal to the immortal.

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY ALONZO H. OWENS.

Elias Comstock, of Owosso, died October 23, 1886. He was born at New London, Ct., December 18, 1799.

John M. Jackson, of Shiawassee, died October 31, 1886. He came to Shiawassee county in 1834.

SULLIVAN R. KELSEY, of Corunna, died November 8, 1886. He was born in Vermont in 1805.

HARRISON H. CARSON, of Owosso, died (was drowned) February 23, 1887. He was born in 1823; came to Michigan in 1850.

JOHN F. LAUBENGAYER, of Owosso, died March 23, 1887.

B. O. WILLIAMS, of Owosso, died March 23, 1887. He was born in Concord, Mass., 1810; came to Detroit in 1815; came to Shiawassee county in 1831.

BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR, of Owosso, a justice of the peace for 16 years, died May 21, 1887 (suicide). He was born in Springfield, Mass., June 20, 1833, and came to Shiawassee county in 1856.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY H. H. RILEY.

List of Deaths.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.
Wm. H. Cross	Centreville	September 29, 1886	80
J. W. Fletcher	Centreville	July 16, 1886	80
Mrs. Joseph Battler	Mendon	May 18, 1887	77
Eloch F. Pearce	Centreville	May 10, 1887	69
Mrs. Gardner Pitts	Florence	September 15, 1886	93
Gardner W. Pitts	Florence	February 24, 1887	60
Mrs. Stalpha Lawrence	Florence	February 15, 1887	83
John S. Weeks	Mendon	October 8, 1886	66
John Anderson	Mendon	——— 1882	--
M. P. Thurston	Nottawa	January 7, 1887	76
Daniel Stahley	Colon	January 24, 1887	61
Alexander Beard	Colon	February 10, 1887	51
Fanny Lealand	Colon	December 23, 1886	67
Daniel Wagner	Colon	May 13, 1887	69
N. H. Castle	Colon	February 25, 1884	76
Wm. B. Estes	Colon	February 2, 1887	67
Mrs. Betsey Fisk	Burr Oak	July -, 1886	41
Mrs. Harry Dean	Colon	July 20, 1886	------
Andrew Staley	Colon	July 20, 1887	------
Mrs. Elizabeth Deckman	Colon	February 28, 1887	------
Daniel McGree	Colon	May 15, 1887	------
Samuel Dickenson	Leonidas	February 24, 1887	81
Wm. Billings	Leonidas	March 19, 1887	66
Mrs. Elias B. Kinnee	Leonidas	April 12, 1887	91
Geo. A. Arnold	Leonidas	February 17, 1887	40
Mrs. Susan Munger	Leonidas	———	61
Wm. Retook	Leonidas	May 23, 1887	------
Andrew Perrin	Park	July 29, 1886	79
Benjamin Pine	Park	August 11, 1886	53
Rev. Valentine Spaulding	Lockport	August 28, 1886	84
Benjamin M. King	Lockport	September 16, 1886	79
Joseph Tubs	Lockport	November 7, 1886	65
Enoch Barrel	Lockport	December 18, 1886	69
John Wymott	Flowerfield	January 31, 1887	87
John Felker	Park	March 3, 1887	77
Peter Bloom	Park	March 3, 1887	65

List of Deaths—Continued.

Name,	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.
Jacob Carr	Park	April 19, 1887	66
John Morris	Three Rivers	August 23, 1886	79
George Lake	Three Rivers	August 22, 1886	79
Mrs. Lamppier	Three Rivers	December 14, 1886	75
Amos Otis	Three Rivers	January 13, 1887	75
James N. Ash	Three Rivers	February 10, 1887	71
Hiram Dickenson	Three Rivers	February 17, 1887	67
Elizabeth Good	Three Rivers	March 14, 1878	78
Thomas Jackson	Three Rivers	March 18, 1877	61
Joseph Van Ness	Constantine	August 17, 1886	50
Samuel Blackman	Constantine	———	———
Fredrick Westerheiser	Constantine	September 1, 1886	88
Mrs. Emily Miller	Constantine	October 11, 1886	71
Lucy T. Haywood	Constantine	November 3, 1886	67
David K. Hill	Constantine	November 16, 1886	54
Emily J. Balinger	Constantine	December 15, 1886	46
Wm. Moyer	Constantine	January 27, 1887	65
Hiram Rifenberg	Constantine	March 9, 1887	68
Mary Mann	Constantine	April 27, 1887	49
Mrs. Charles Cassman	Constantine	May 8, 1887	75
Joseph Armey	Mendon	June 2, 1886	———
Mrs. H. T. Anderson	Mendon	June 10, 1886	———
Mr. Scott	Mendon	August 12, 1886	———
Stephen Barnabee	Mendon	September 12, 1886	———
Mrs. B. A. Rood	Mendon	September 28, 1886	———
Q. Vandemark	Mendon	October 4, 1886	———
H. S. Anderson	Mendon	October 15, 1886	———
Mrs. G. G. Bennett	Mendon	March 18, 1878	———
Elon Olney	Mendon	March 17, 1887	———
Mrs. Moses Hall	Mendon	April 1, 1887	———
O. M. Beal	Mendon	April 17, 1887	———
David Fuller	Mendon	May 5, 1887	———
Elizabeth Troxell	Sturgis	June 9, 1887	62
David Knox	Sturgis	September 19, 1886	80
Evaline J. Cook	Sturgis	October 27, 1886	84
C. B. Peck	Sturgis	January 13, 1887	74
Greshome Rice	Sturgis	February 4, 1887	81
Wesley Wright	Sturgis	February 17, 1887	65
Nancy Holister	Sturgis	May 8, 1887	72

List of Deaths—Continued.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.
C. H. Holister	Sturgis	May 18, 1887	82
Walter G. Stephens	Centreville, Ind	May. 1887	57
Nelson Tawney	Sturgis	September 25, 1886	78
Reuben Bristol	Sturgis	December 20, 1886	86
Mrs. Esther Cleos	Sturgis	———	78
Charles L. Simmons	Mottville	October, 1886	89
Daniel Kleckner	Constantine	August 24, 1886	68
Eli Howser	Constantine	October 26, 1886	53
Lacinna Bonebright	Constantine	April 13, 1887	48
Henry Gibler	Constantine	May 29, 1887	85
Charles M. Haslett	Constantine	May 25, 1887	40
Charles P. Monroe	Burr Oak	January 10, 1887	83
Charles E. Vanepps	Burr Oak	January 21, 1887	70
Mrs. Hiram Parker	Burr Oak	March 25, 1887	72
Mrs. Druella Kent	Burr Oak	April 23, 1887	76
Mrs. Wm. Clark	Mendon	July 24, 1886	------
Charles S. Dickenson	Nottawa	December, 1886	------
Samuel Kline	Centreville	October 4, 1886	66
Mrs. Daniel Stewart	Centreville	July 20, 1886	74
David Shimmell	Centreville	May 23, 1886	66
Eliza Ennis	Centreville	June 4, 1886	70
Mrs. Wm. Schermerhorn	Nottawa	June 8, 1886	------
Mrs. John Foss	Nottawa	October 28, 1886	68
Mrs. Lyman Noble	Mendon	November 1, 1886	59
Rev. J. Kershaw	Centreville	October 20, 1886	------
John Long	Centreville	January 14, 1887	79
Charles Fisher	Centreville	January 2, 1887	56
Mrs. Jennie Hawes	Mendon	March 7, 1887	39
Mrs. Ballou	Mendon	April 10, 1887	78
Rebecca Engles	Centreville	April 12, 1887	38
Mrs. Thomas Engles	Centreville	April 29, 1887	64
Mrs. Fred Bohr	Colon	May 11, 1887	34
Mrs. Jones Hutchinson	Colon	August 22, 1886	70
Geo. W. Titus	Colon	Augnst 12, 1886	70
Philip H. Buck	(Sturgis), Chicago, Ill.	August 9, 1886	75

WILLIAM H. CROSS.

William H. Cross died at the family residence in Centreville, Wednesday evening, September 29, 1886, in his 80th year, having been born in Sullivan county, New York, March 6, 1807. Judge Cross was an early settler in Michigan territory, having come to the territory in 1826. When but a boy of 19 years, he, with his brother Robert, who was also a mere boy, took up their habitation in the woods in Lenawee county on the bank of the river Raisin; here they kept bachelor's hall for a time, having to pack their provisions from Detroit. After a time they sold their farm in Lenawee and came to where Coldwater is now located, entered lands in 1830 and commenced pioneer life anew. Mr. Cross remained single until March, 1832, when he took a helpmeet in the person of Nancy Landon, who survives him after living a happy life of 54 years with him. Mr. Cross has always been a representative man wherever his lot was cast; he was an early merchant in the country; he was in the gold mines of California for several years; was judge of probate of St. Joseph county for 12 years, which office he filled with ability and to the satisfaction of his constituents. He was a man of strong will power but always willing to listen to the teachings of others, and if their views harmonized with his he adopted them; if they did not he acted on his own conviction of right, and when his rulings as judge have been tried in the crucible of high legal talent, his decisions have stood the test. Politically he was a staunch republican, ever faithful, ever true. He has been connected with the Reformed church since his residence in Centreville, over 15 years. In the death of Judge Cross the community have lost a valuable citizen, his children a kind father, his wife a loving husband. He was buried at Sturgis on Saturday, October 2, 1886.

TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY JOHN BAKER.

List of Deaths.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.
		1886.	
Nathan Potter	Watertown	May 6	----
Mrs. Almira Jameson	Caro	July ----	78
Mr. Joslin	Fairgrove	Nov. ----	82
Jonas Spalsberry	Almer	Nov. ----	63
John Parsall	Almer	Nov. ----	88
B. A. Wood	Juniata	Nov. ----	79
Henry McPherson	Millington	Dec. ----	53
		1887.	
Moses Maynard	Tuscola	Jan. 17	79
Alex. Gurnsey	Dayton	Feb. 8	----
Mrs. O. Irons	Vassar	Feb. ----	----
Mrs. Kenyon	Vassar	Feb. ----	----
Frederick Schuler	Arbela	March	----
Eugene Rogers	Arbela	March ----	----
David Nettleton	Caro	March ----	----
Jacob M. Hoover	Tuscola	March ----	----
Mrs. Babcock	Arbela	March ----	89
Mrs. James Barnes	Vassar	March ----	----
Mrs. E. G. Doud	Vassar	March ----	----
A. B. Weaver	----	April ----	----

WASHTENAW COUNTY.

BY EZRA D. LAY.

List of Deaths.

Name.	Date of Death.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Years.
D. B. Appleton	June 8, 1886	78	Northfield	54
Wm. Wilson	June 22, 1886	91	Ypsilanti, town & city	55
Wm. K. Brock	July 10, 1886	61	Ypsilanti, town	34
Mrs. Jane A. Church	July 8, 1886	72	Saline	48
Henry M. Queal	July 24, 1886	85	Webster	52
Chas. D. Cornell	Aug. 2, 1886	58	Lodi	50
Jacob Beck	July 29, 1886	77	In county	40
Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins	July 30, 1886	76	Salem	40
Mrs. Lucy W. Strong	Aug. 8, 1886	78	Ann Arbor, city	40
Grove Sanders	Aug. 31, 1886	71	Pittsfield	47
Walter B. Hewitt	Sept. 4, 1886	86	Ypsilanti, city	55
Mrs. Polly Bush	Sept. 3, 1886	81	Ypsilanti & Superior, t.	60
Timothy McKone	Aug. 28, 1886	90	Lyndon	45
Mrs. Alma Summers	Sept. 13, 1886	77	Pittsfield	44
Stephen VanRiper	Aug. 30, 1886	82	Lima & Webster	50
Jacob Switzer	Oct. 4, 1886	83	Superior, town	30
Wm. Emerick	Oct. 19, 1886	75	Ypsilanti, town	54
Joseph Kitchen	Oct. 18, 1886	66	Ypsilanti, city	45
Robert Shankland	Oct. 14, 1886	95	Salem	56
Mrs. Jane Norton	Oct. 24, 1886	74	Ypsilanti, city	40
Lee L. Forsyth	Oct. 31, 1886	86	Augusta & Ypsilanti, c.	56
Mrs. Lyman Graves	Oct. 29, 1886	83	Ypsilanti, town	61
Mrs. Mary W. Baxter	Nov. 4, 1886	71	Of county	53
Mrs. Elizabeth P. Druce	Nov. 7, 1886	82	York & Superior, town	57
Sarah M. Huston	Nov. 13, 1886	76	Ann Arbor, city	50
John T. Hallock	Nov. 30, 1886	61	Ann Arbor, city	40
Mrs. Seth Thompson	Nov. 30, 1886	82	Salem	50
John P. Baesler	Nov. 27, 1886	63	Ann Arbor, town	40
Mrs. S. G. Rowley	Dec. 1, 1886	68	Ypsilanti	50
Mrs. Mary King	Nov. 29, 1886	83	Ann Arbor, city	53
Mrs. Sarah E. Miller	Dec. 3, 1886	60	Ann Arbor, city	40
Mrs. Jefferson Rouse	Dec. 1, 1886	60	Pittsfield	45
Mrs. Sarah Millen	Dec. 3, 1886	61	Ann Arbor, city	40
Samuel Cushman	Dec. 22, 1886	65	Sharon	45
Mrs. Catharine Sipfley	Dec. 11, 1886	69	Ann Arbor, city	43
Mrs. Maria Fisk	Dec. 19, 1886	71	Augusta, town	55

List of Deaths—Continued.

Name.	Date of Death.	Age.	Residence.	No. of Years.
David Le Furge	Dec. 20, 1886	65	Superior, town	40
Chas. A. Chapin	Dec. 28, 1886	57	Ann Arbor, city	53
Mrs. Caroline M. Collier	Jan. 4, 1887	71	Ann Arbor	40
Mathew Clarkens	Jan. 3, 1887	75	Ann Arbor, city	40
John Keelan	Jan. 2, 1887	78	Ypsilanti, city	40
Mrs. Eunice Peck	Jan. 9, 1887	50	Ypsilanti, city	48
Wm. Sanderson	Jan. 16, 1887	78	Augusta	40
Mrs. Elona Cross	Jan. 20, 1887	82	Ypsilanti, town	64
Bryan Galligan	Jan. 30, 1887	102	Northfield	57
Col. Nelson Strong	Jan. 29, 1887	87	Ann Arbor, city	32
Christian Miller	Jan. 22, 1887	83	Ann Arbor, city	35
John Keider	Jan. 25, 1887	108	Dexter, an old resident	------
Franklin Everett	Jan. 29, 1887	68	Sharon	53
Eli Brainard	Feb. 15, 1887	70*	Saline	45
Samuel P. Foster	Feb. 24, 1887	78	Ann Arbor	50
Lewis C. Risdon	Mar. 15, 1887	63	Saline & Ann Arbor	60
Mrs. Emory Richardson	Mar. 9, 1887	83	Ann Arbor, city	38
Andrew Birk	Mar. 21, 1887	75	Ann Arbor	50
Wm. A. Guthrie	Mar. 21, 1887	70	Ann Arbor, city	45
Mrs. Dennis Warner	Mar. 20, 1887	65	Dexter	40
Mrs. Mary Ferguson	Mar. 17, 1887	77	Sylvan	50
Mrs. Catharine Uhl	April 7, 1887	70	Ypsilanti, town	43
Thomas Grady	April 8, 1887	80	County	50
Dr. William Wallington	April 29, 1887	77	Ann Arbor	41
Mrs. Lucy Spencer	May 8, 1887	74	County	32
Mrs. Lucy W. S. Morgan	May 12, 1887	91	Oldest pioneer of Ann Arbor	57
Mrs. Emma Spencer	May 23, 1887	75	Ypsilanti	61
Mrs. Martha Filkins	May 12, 1887	68	Superior, town	58
Darius Pierce	May 18, 1887	87	Lima, town	50

*Not known.

The two oldest pioneers that have died between June 1, 1886, and June 1, 1887, in Washtenaw county, were John Keider and Bryan Galligan.

John Keider died in the township of Dexter, January 25, 1887. His exact age was not known, but he was supposed to be 108 or 109 years old at the time of his death.

Bryan Galligan died in Northfield, January 30, 1887, aged 102 years and 3 months. He was a native of Ireland and a resident of Northfield 57 years.

Average age of the pioneers that have died during the past year, about 75⅓ years.

Between	100 and 110	2
Between	95 and 100	1
Between	90 and 95	3
Between	85 and 90	5
Between	80 and 85	11
Between	75 and 80	14
Between	70 and 75	10
Between	65 and 70	9
Between	60 and 65	7
Between	55 and 60	2
Between	50 and 55	1
		65

CHARLES A. CHAPIN.

When the life career of any citizen who has faithfully and efficiently discharged all the duties imposed upon human existence is closed by death, both the social compact and body politic sustain a loss. In the death of Charles A. Chapin the community, and especially those who knew him best, sensibly and keenly realize this fact.

The best eulogy that can be pronounced upon our departed friend is an uncolored relation of his every day life of which time and space restricts us to a brief epitome only.

Mr. Chapin was a man of a quiet, mild and reserved disposition and was eminently endowed with those qualities both of the head and the heart which endear a person to his friends and the community in which he lives. He was charitable almost to a fault, as many of the recipients of his charity can testify. He was a communicant in the Episcopal church and a man whose daily life exemplified his belief. He did not profess religion as a fashion or a pastime, but as a living reality, a system containing and embodying the true principles of human life and human actions. In all the relations of life he was upright and strictly honest, doing unto others as he would that others would do unto him. He never betrayed a trust or a friend, and when he left this way station in life's endless journey he left behind many, many who will sadly miss him in their daily routine of life.

The leisure hours which fell to his lot were profitably redeemed in acquiring sound, useful knowledge, which was evinced by his familiarity with scientific literature and historical research. He was a good listener and a critical

observer of the events transpiring around him. He lived up to his belief that man was created to wear out and not rust out, hence he was most unhappy when forced into idleness.

Charles A. Chapin, the eldest son of Volney and Chloe (Sloan) Chapin, was born at Ogdensburg, New York, August 1, 1830. He was a lineal descendant of Deacon Samuel Chapin, the progenitor of all who bear the name in this country, and who settled in Springfield, Mass., in 1642.

In June, 1833, when Mr. Chapin was three years old, his parents moved from New York to Ann Arbor, so that for fifty three years of his life his home was in that city.

It was the desire of his parents that he should receive a liberal education. To that end he prepared for the University. But not fancying any of the professions he changed his course and applied himself to those studies necessary for a business life. He availed himself of all the facilities which the institutions of the state afforded for the most complete commercial education and in 1852 graduated from a commercial college in Detroit.

Immediately after finishing his studies he entered upon the stern realities and duties of life. His business enterprises were many and varied and to all he applied his abilities with rare assiduity and fidelity.

He was an equal partner in the firm of Lund & Chapin in the manufacture of paper in the fifth ward. The firm was formed in 1852 and was subsequently changed to Lund, Chapin & Co., his father having bought an interest therein. This firm built the first paper mill at Geddes. He continued in this business until 1865. He was a large stockholder in the Ann Arbor Salt and Lumber Company in Saginaw county. For a considerable time he was in the employ of Evarts & Ensign, Philadelphia, who were extensively engaged in publishing local histories in the different states. His adaptability for this kind of work earned for him many encomiums from his employers. From 1882 to within a few months prior to his death he was a clerk in the pension office at Washington. This position he was obliged to leave on account of ill health.

For a number of years he was a vestryman, secretary and treasurer of St. Andrew's church. He was a member of Fraternity Lodge, F. and A. M. He was city recorder 1864–66; alderman for fourth ward 1870–71; recording secretary of the Washtenaw county pioneer society; recording secretary of the Washtenaw county agricultural and horticultural society, 1882. He left every position of trust that he ever occupied with the benediction, well and faithfully done.

In 1855 he married Miss Frances E. Kingsley, only daughter of the late Hon. James Kingsley, who survives him. He also leaves three children, Vol-

ney A., of St. Johns, Mich., Miss Lucy E., and Miss Mary F., of this city, and a sister, Mrs. S. S. Walker, of St. Johns, Mich. One of his strongest characteristics was his love for his home and family, and a kinder and more devoted husband and father never journeyed along life's rough and rugged roadway.

He died at his residence on Bowery street, Ann Arbor, Tuesday, December 28, 1886, of hemorrhage of the lungs. The funeral services were held in St. Andrew's church, December 31, Rev. S. Earp, rector, officiating. He was borne to his final resting place by Col. H. S. Dean, Ambrose Kearney, Moses Rogers, L. C. Risdon, Z. P. King, and M. H. Goodrich.

RESOLUTIONS.

REV. HENRY M. JOY.

At the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, June 2, 1887, the following resolutions, offered by Rev. R. C. Crawford, were unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

WHEREAS, In the providence of God, our friend and brother, Rev. Henry M. Joy, D.D., has been called from labor to reward, since our last annual gathering, therefore,

Resolved, That while we bow submissively to the dispensation, of that mysterious Providence, which so suddenly removed him from our communion and the society of his wife and son, our hearts are saddened with the thought that we shall see his manly form no more, and that we shall never again listen to his eloquent speech, nor to his musical voice in song.

Resolved, That we extend to his bereaved and stricken wife and son our heartfelt sympathies, and assure them that this society will hold them in remembrance and commend them to the care of Him who has said: "I will be a father to the fatherless and the widow's God."

Rosolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the bereaved family with the best wishes of all the members of this society.

PAPERS READ AT ANNUAL MEETING, 1887, AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

ADDRESS OF HON. CYRUS G. LUCE, GOVERNOR.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Pioneer Society:

The subject upon which I am invited to present a few thoughts to-day, while old, is always new. The fate of nations has frequently turned upon what at the time of the occurrence seemed to be events of trifling importance. And this is eminently true of the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio. It applied only to the government of an uninhabited wilderness, where the Indian and wild beast roamed at will. No portion of its air was disturbed by the echo of the white man's tread. Yet, an ordinance for the future government of this wild waste has been, as the sequel proved, momentous and far reaching in its results. In these it is scarcely excelled by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. When the forefathers bid defiance to the authority of the mother country, they seemed to entertain but an indefinite conception of what the future policy of a general government should be. The old patriots at that time were devoted lovers of freedom, of liberty and of education. They had fled across the broad Atlantic to escape oppression from onerous taxation, from interference with religious liberty, and sought the wild American shores, faced the dangers of the deep, of wild animals, and of a wilder and fiercer population of Indians, for the sake of the enjoyment of freedom and liberty. The British yoke oppressed them, and they risked their all in a heroic effort to escape its thralldom. But the basis upon which the effort rested was a common interest, and they fought together simply because they could more certainly protect their separate colonial existence. But the idea of a central consolidated government of superior power, clothed

with authority to enforce its mandates, seems not to have been entertained or hardly conceived. The consolidating process was one of slow growth, for seventy five years. Of course the embarrassment of the situation was forcibly realized during the revolutionary war and long years after its close. At home and abroad people doubted the validity or value of paper issued by those colonies, who had simply entered into a confederation without recognizing the binding force and responsibility of a general government. This was painfully apparent in the valueless paper issued to prosecute the war of the revolution. And the first or most important step taken toward a recognition of the fact that the colonies had successfully fought their way to freedom and independence, and were tending towards consolidation as a nation, was the adoption of the memorable ordinance of 1787. And while the journals of the early sessions of congress are incomplete, compared with the voluminous records now kept, we can see the process of reasoning which resulted in the adoption of this ordinance. This contains within itself nearly all the fundamental principles upon which the government has stood the test of a hundred years. It was the vital and turning point in the early history of this nation. It laid broad and deep the foundation for strength, greatness, prosperity, liberty and education. And in taking the step towards a recognition of the principle which is now recognized by all of our people, north, south, east and west, that we are a nation, they commenced a struggle in our civilization that closed three quarters of a century later at Appomattox. It was largely to establish this principle that the war of the rebellion was fought, so that, in this respect, the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 formed an important epoch in our history. In all things that relate to good government and the welfare of our people its importance can hardly be over estimated.

Article III. declares that "general morality and knowledge, being necessary to the good of a government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." A hundred years ago, the men who framed and adopted this ordinance conceived the necessity of morality and education, as the underlying strength of a republic, and expressed it as forcibly and concisely as the most learned patriot of to-day can do.

Again, they declared that "the inhabitants of said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, of a trial by jury, of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature and of judicial proceedings according to the course of common law. No cruel or unjust punishment shall be inflicted, no man shall be deprived of his liberty, or his property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land." That was good law, good patriotism and essential to the preservation of the freedom of

the people and the enjoyment of civil liberty a hundred years ago, and is equally so to-day. The far seeing legislators of that period declared that no tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States, and in no case shall non-residents be taxed higher than residents. They seemed to have anticipated many of the conflicts which have from time to time arisen, many of the notions and purposes which have to some extent prevailed in later years and in a more advanced civilization. But the crowning glory of the ordinance of 1787 is contained in the sixth article. This has been often quoted and righteously revered by lovers of freedom everywhere. It reads, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The adoption of this one single provision has changed the whole past, present and future of the empire. It has established freedom as the corner-stone of American civilization. No wiser thoughts were ever coined into words or law than these. It was the turning point, and as it applied then to a trackless wilderness, it was possibly not regarded at the time of such vast importance as it afterwards proved to be. If the fathers had neglected to have placed this one single provision in the ordinance of 1787, the whole character of our people, of our institutions, and everything pertaining to us in the past, present and future, would in all human probability, have been changed. And when we reflect upon the consequences, we are filled with admiration for the men, who, struggling with difficulties untold, merging from the results of a terrific conflict, poor, in debt, grappling with an unsolved problem, who could still scan the future so accurately as to perceive the propriety and necessity of this ordinance. In the territory to be more directly affected by its adoption there was no voice to be heard in its favor at that time, while now it embraces the great and prosperous states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, with nearly one fourth of the population of the whole republic; dotted with cities and villages, cultivated fields, comfortable farm houses, school houses and churches, and checkered throughout its length and breadth by railroads. This section furnishes the most productive grain fields of the world. And not only does this ordinance affect the people embraced within the territory over which it applied, but in its reflex influence it is extended away beyond. Doubtless if it had not been for this prohibitory ordinance, slavery with its blighting influence would have crossed the Ohio and entrenched itself in this territory dedicated forever to freedom and its blessings. It will be remembered that this territory had recently been ceded by the state of Virginia to the United States, and that the representatives of the old commonwealth participated in the adoption of the ordinance which provided for its government. And

whatever we may think of the course afterwards pursued, of the devotion to slavery, of the hatred of universal freedom, of the enthrallment of a race, of the terrific and frantic efforts made to maintain the institution of slavery, of the states where it existed, yet we must honor their representatives of a hundred years ago for their participation in the adoption of a measure that finally gave freedom to the whole nation. It is true at that time there were neither slaves nor freemen in this territory, but while the result has far exceeded the brightest anticipations of the old patriots, yet they, with the eye of faith, could see the section devoted to freedom teeming with a busy and happy population. And whether we credit the adoption of the provision contained in the sixth article to the influence of Massachusetts and New York, or to a latent love of freedom entertained by the representatives from Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia, I should fail to do justice to my own sentiments did I neglect to do honor to the representatives of these states where slavery then existed, did I fail to note the fact that each of these states cast its solid vote on the 13th day of July, 1787, to make freedom, and not slavery, the law governing the northwest territory. And we must in justice honor the men who had the patriotism, though surrounded by slavery, to see and act for the best interests of posterity. And while in our hatred of slavery and in the strife of political conflict, and in the fiercer passions of war, we have thought hard thoughts and said severe things of the policy of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, we should never forget that their representatives had it in their power to have defeated the provision a hundred years ago, which has forever rendered this country a home of free men.

This tribute to the birthplace of my mother and of my maternal ancestors is cheerfully and truthfully rendered. The representatives from these states were at least in this one respect as loyal to the principles of freedom as were the representatives from Massachusetts and New York. This is the centennial year of the adoption of the ordinance, and it is well that we celebrate the occasion. Its spirit has sometimes been misunderstood or perverted, but within the next 12 months it will be appreciated as never before. It will be celebrated and its praises sung. The most important of all these celebrations will be held at Marietta on the 7th of April, 1838, just one hundred years from the first settlement of the territory at that place. Michigan has been invited to participate with its sister states in this celebration. A monument will be erected in honor of the occasion, and I trust that our state, ever foremost in good works, in enterprise and in energy, will devise some method to raise means in aid of the erection of this monument. The Pioneer Society, representing the early settlers, will doubtless give consideration to this

important subject. The legislature has authorized the governor to appoint a commission of five to represent the state on the occasion of the celebration. It must be a labor of love and of devotion, because no compensation is provided for the delegates, but I doubt not that patriotic, generous men will be found who will do honor to our state in this gathering of the children of the ordinance of 1787.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ADDRESS OF HON. DANIEL P. MARKEY, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Sometime since I was requested to address you at this time for a few minutes upon a subject of great interest to all Americans, and one which must from its very nature always remain of vital importance to us as a nation: "The Constitution of the United States."

Your secretary very kindly informed me that I would not need to occupy more than ten minutes with this subject. And in that time, while I will probably be able to tell you all I know about it, you will understand that the subject can only be superficially spoken of. The subject is one that I shall be able to say nothing new upon, and can hardly expect to say anything of interest to you.

One hundred years ago the 17th day of September next, the convention which met at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, for the purpose of revising the federal system of government, completed its work and submitted to the people of the thirteen original states, as the result of their labors, "The Constitution of the United States," the most sublime instrument among the political achievements of mankind. And this being the centennial anniversary of this memorable epoch, it is certainly not out of place to spend some time in a review of the causes which led to the calling of that convention, to the work of the convention, and the subsequent proceedings by which the constitution it prepared became the bond of union between the states, as well as the organic law of the greatest nation yet fashioned by the hand of man.

Prior to July 4, 1776, none of the colonies were or pretended to be sovereign states as that term is now understood in its broadest sense. Their powers and authorities were derived from and limited by their respective charters, and while under these charters they exercised, within a limited extent, certain usual attributes of sovereignty; so far as respects foreign nations, or each other, they were mere dependencies of Great Britain. Up to this time, while the colonies had met, by their representatives, in council and congress, the most solemn declarations of these bodies admitted them bound as British subjects to allegiance to the British Crown, and as such they claimed to be entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free born British subjects. But on this ever memorable day their general congress boldly and deliberately declared that "these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states," and that all further allegiance to the British Crown is and ought to be totally dissolved. This was not an act done by any of the state governments then organized, nor by persons chosen by them, but it was purely the act of the whole people of the united colonies, by the instrumentality of their representatives, chosen for that, among other purposes. It was an act of original inherent sovereignty by the people themselves, resulting from their right to change the form of government, and to institute a new government whenever necessary for their safety and happiness; and as such the Declaration of Independence has ever been treated, not only as a practical fact, but as a legal and constitutional matter by the courts.

It will be remembered that although the Declaration of Independence was not agreed to and signed until July 4, the resolutions respecting independency were moved and seconded on June 7, and that on the 10th of June the committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman and Mr. Livingston was appointed to prepare the declaration. Anticipating the report of this committee and the final action of congress upon the resolutions, on the next day, June 11, a resolution was adopted to appoint a committee, to consist of one member from each colony, to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between the colonies.

The report of this committee, embodying what is now known as the "Articles of Confederation," was not adopted until November 15, 1777, more than 17 months after the committee was appointed. At the same time it was ordered that the articles of confederation agreed upon should be submitted to the legislatures of all the United States for their consideration, and if approved by them they were requested to authorize their delegates in congress to ratify the same, which being done, the same should become conclusive. During the year 1778, all of the states approved of the articles of confederation. Delaware approved of them May 5, 1779, and Maryland, the

last of all the states to signify her approval, did so March 1, 1781, so that the new government began its operation on the 2d day of March, 1781. Thus it will be seen that the war of the Revolution was nearing a close before the provisions of the new system became binding upon all the states. During all the years from 1774 when the first continental congress assembled, down to the time of the going into effect of the new system, the government of the United States was in a deplorable condition. The war of the Revolution was in progress. The states were endeavoring to free themselves from the thralldom of the British yoke, and lay the foundation of a nation consecrated to freedom, and how this was done under such a government will be the wonder of ages yet to come.

The two great wants of the colonies during this period were money to support their armies, and some general authority to direct their course on the field. The former they never succeeded in getting in sufficient quantities, but the latter was fully supplied in the person of George Washington.

The more far seeing statesmen of those days saw the necessity for a stronger and firmer government, but local jealousies, instantly aroused at the mere suggestion of a strong government, prevented anything from being accomplished in that direction.

The new system was simply a confederacy of sovereign states. All the powers of the general government were vested in congress, and its power was delegated, the states being sovereign.

The most important of the privileges of congress under this system were the right of making war and peace, the regulation of foreign intercourse, the control of the coinage of money and care of the public domain. There was no chief executive of the general government, and no general judiciary. Under it each state had an equal voice in approving of the laws of congress, which, before becoming operative, must have the sanction of at least nine states. And the union was declared to be perpetual.

As before stated, congress assembled under this new government March 2, 1781. And it found its first great duty to be to provide for paying the war debt, which had now reached about thirty eight millions of dollars. But under the articles of confederation, congress had no power to do more than recommend to the states the levy of a tax for this purpose. This it did. Some of the states complied, others were dilatory, others refused. So that it was immediately discovered that the system was entirely inadequate to the needs of the country, and that unless it could be replaced with a better system, the country would go to ruin. However, the system was tolerated and no public action taken towards its betterment until 1785, four years later, when General Washington, in con-

ference with a company of the leading minds of the day, suggested the calling of a convention at Annapolis the following year, to take the matter of a change under advisement. This convention met in September, 1786; only five of the states were represented. The question of a tariff on imports, and a revision of the articles of confederation were discussed, and the convention adjourned to meet the following May. The convention met again May 14, 1787. The war had now closed and the national debt amounted to forty two millions of dollars, eight millions of which were due France and Holland, our most generous allies, and the government was practically powerless to redeem the national honor. It now became evident to all who wanted to see the union preserved and made something more than "a rope of sand," who wanted to see favorably decided, the great question, "whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force," that some radical changes must be made in the system of government designed to bind the individual states together into a strong and stable nation, if that laudable object was to be accomplished and the union perpetuated.

This convention, which met on May 14, really began its work on the 25th of May, when, a majority of the states being represented, it proceeded to organize by the election of George Washington as president and William Jackson, secretary. In this convention we find the ablest statesmen of that day and age in America. Among the number were the names of Hamilton, Livingston, Franklin, King, Morris, Randolph, Madison and Pinckney—men whose names to-day are familiar to every school boy, and whose acts and sacrifices in behalf of the American nation will ever be remembered by a grateful people.

Mr. Elliott says of this convention: "Whatever may be the judgment pronounced on the competency of the architects of the constitution, or whatever may be the destiny of the edifice prepared by them, there never was an assembly of men charged with a great and arduous trust who were more pure in their motives or more exclusively or anxiously devoted to the object committed to them than were the members of the federal convention of 1787, to the object of devising and proposing a constitutional system which should best supply the defects of that which it was to replace, and best secure the permanent liberty and happiness of their country."

Alexander H. Stephens says of this convention: "As a whole it was unquestionably the ablest body of jurists, legislators and statesmen that had ever assembled on the continent of America."

And now, without stopping to dwell in detail upon the work of this con-

vention, which lasted more than four months, the entire proceedings of which were had with closed doors, and not published until more than forty years afterwards, suffice to say that on the 17th day of September, 1787, the engrossed copy of the constitution was read over to the convention, and, having been agreed upon, all the members of the convention, save Mr. Randall, Mr. Mason and Mr. Gerry signed the same and it was ready to be submitted to the conventions of the respective states for their adoption. While the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking towards the president's chair, back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish between a rising sun and a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often in the course of the session and vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Of the result of the labors of this convention let others speak. Alexander H. Stephens says: "Several of the features in this new form and constitution of government for separate states and communities are without a parallel in ancient or modern times."

De Tocqueville, the profound French philosopher, and one thoroughly versed in the science of politics, speaking of our constitution, says: "This constitution which may at first be confounded with the federal constitutions which have preceded it, rests, in truth, upon a wholly novel theory, which may be considered a great discovery in modern political science. In all the confederations which preceded the American constitution of 1789, the allied states, for a common object, agreed to obey the injunctions of a federal government, but they reserved to themselves the right of ordaining and enforcing the laws of the union. The American states which combined in 1789 agreed that the federal government should not only dictate but should execute its own enactments. In both cases the right is the same, but the exercise of the right is different and this difference produced the most momentous consequences."

Lord Brougham, in his "Political Philosophy," says of the wonderful machinery of the government of the United States: "It is not at all a refinement that a federal union should be formed; this is the natural result of men's joint operations in a very rude state of society. But the regulation of such an union upon pre-established principles, the formation of a system of government and legislation in which different subjects shall be, not individuals but states, the application of legislative principles to such a body of states, and the devising means for keeping its integrity as a federacy,

while the rights and powers of the individual states are maintained entire, is the greatest refinement in social policy to which any state of circumstances has ever given rise, or to which any age has ever given birth." Should the work of this convention be adopted by the states, the word constitution would have here a very different signification from that which prevails in England. Here it would mean as it does now "a written statement of the fundamental rules of government," while there it simply means the leading rules of government without reference to any formal statement. The constitution there consists of documents emanating from time to time from the king or from parliament and of traditions and customs. These may be collected and reduced to a systematic form, but have never received the legal sanction indispensable in America—that of recognition by the nation as distinguished from parliament. In this country "the people," consisting in each state of those who hold the elective franchise, are by prescribed forms called upon at intervals either to establish the constitution or to amend it. It thus has an authority greater than the authority of the government organized under it. One extremely important result is that if any of the departments of the government exceed the limits marked out in the constitution the act is irregular and void. An illustration is found in an act of the legislature which transcends the constitution; the judicial department will declare it void. The courts have no such power in England. An act of parliament is commonly declared to be omnipotent. There is no judicial power that can arrest the regular operation of the act.

The one great question now, was, will the people ratify the acts of the convention, and while at this late day we may wonder how they could think of refusing their assent to such an instrument, nevertheless, much hostility was manifested in nearly all the states and it required the united efforts of all its friends to secure its adoption. Among those who took an active part in this work were Washington, Jay, Madison, and last but by no means least in this effort was Alexander Hamilton, who threw the whole force of his genius and learning into the work, and with Mr. Madison, by means of those able papers called the Federalist, successfully answered every objection of those who opposed its adoption, and became thereby the first and without doubt the greatest expounder of free constitutional government in America. The people lost no time in preparing for action on the adoption of the constitution. Delaware first answered the question by unanimously adopting it Dec. 3, and New Jersey on the 19th. Next came Georgia on the 2d of January, followed by Connecticut on the 9th of the same month. Then came Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and on June 21st the work was done, after a hard struggle, by a vote of 57 to 46; New Hampshire had approved of

it, and, being the ninth state, the new government was now to go into effect; but by June 27, all the states, save Rhode Island and North Carolina, had signified their approval. These two states did not agree to its adoption until after several amendments had been proposed and adopted by congress, which were of such a nature as to make the instrument in the main agreeable to them.

Under that provision of the constitution which allows amendments to be made, up to the present time 15 amendments have been adopted. The most important of these are the articles which guarantee religious freedom, change the method of electing president and vice president, abolish slavery and forbid the abridgment of suffrage on account of race or color.

On the first Wednesday in January, 1789, agreeably to the provisions of the new constitution, the first election for president took place, and when the result of this election was canvassed before congress early in April following, it was found that George Washington was unanimously chosen as the chief executive.

With the administration of President Washington began the existence of the United States as a nation under the new constitution. This instrument has had, in the sunshine of peace and in the storm of war, a severe but fair trial, and it has amply fulfilled the expectations of its most ardent friends, and as subsequently amended, it has become the rule of political conduct for the guidance of the public authorities of the greatest nation of modern times, through the unprecedented political vicissitudes and the perilous revolutionary commotions that have agitated the human race for nearly a century, to a condition at once so prosperous, so commanding and so happy, that it has long since outstripped all previous foresight and calculation. Well indeed might Dr. Franklin have reached the conclusion that the sun that shone for the new nation was a rising sun.

The nation under this constitution has passed through stormy times, but has come at last to its hundredth year in peace. The black clouds of war have broken and have passed away. The union has only become the more perfect and the bonds that bind its various parts together into one grand symmetrical nation are stronger to-day than ever before, and we may now confidently predict that the hopes of those who framed the first articles of confederation are to be realized and that the union of the states has been made perpetual. And now in this centennial year how fitting it is that we should rise above sectional jealousies and feelings and in a spirit of fraternal affection and regard, renew our vows of fealty to the constitution, and by proper ceremonies such as are proposed to take place at Philadelphia on the 17th of September next, announce to future generations that for them as for us and those who have gone before, the "constitution" is the ark of the covenant, and that if they

would be happy, peaceful and properous as a nation, let them maintain it in its true spirit inviolate forever.

DISPUTED QUESTIONS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF MICHIGAN.

BY HON. EDWARD W. PECK, OF PONTIAC.

I was at the annual meeting of your society in June, 1886, and became a member. I listened with pleasure to the remarks of the members, the history of their experiences, their labor, trials, disappointments, and, as well, their successes. During your sessions, your then president extended an invitation to the members to write up and forward to the secretary any incidents of their personal history, or of the locality where they first settled in the state, or any other matters of history, either of local or general interest. I signed my name to a paper accepting the invitation of the president, without a moment's consideration, and probably unwisely; but now I think you will have to bear the infliction, and that you may take comfort and consolation in the thought that the invitation will not be repeated.

First, I must give you a few words of personal history. I am a descendant of William Peck, who was born in London, England, in 1601, and with his wife, and son Jeremiah came to America in 1637, settling in New Haven, Connecticut. The descendants of said William, brought down to 1877, the date of the publication of his book, numbered nearly 3,000, and are scattered over the United States, and some in foreign countries.

My grandfather with six sons and four daughters, emigrated from Lyme, Connecticut, and settled in West Bloomfield, Ontario county, New York, in 1800. I was born March 19, 1807, and being the oldest son of the family, was early initiated into the mysteries and labors of farming. The labors of the farmer at that early day were vastly more severe than at the present. We had none of the labor saving machinery now in use. The mower, the reaper and binder, the cultivators, the threshing machine, were not then known, and the tools and implements of husbandry were of the roughest

kind, and it is doubtful if any of the pioneers of the present day, have followed the wooden plow, which had a small point of iron or steel, or have threshed their wheat and other grain with a flail, and cleaned it in the wind.

My education was such as could be acquired in the common district school and commenced in the little log school house on the corner, with slab benches for the scholars to sit on, and a cross legged table for the use of the school mistress. The school books in general use were Webster's spelling book, the English reader, Lindley Murray's English grammer, Daboll's arithmetic, and Morse's geography; and the books were not changed, as is the modern custom, in the interest of the book makers, but not unfrequently lasted through the family. Continuing to work on my father's farm until I was twenty one, he then having sufficient help from younger brothers, I hired out for two seasons to neighboring farmers for thirteen dollars a month, and taught district schools for two winters at thirteen and fifteen dollars a month.

In May, 1830, in company with some friends, I came to Michigan on a tour of observation. We spent some weeks in Detroit, in Washtenaw and Oakland counties, and at Pontiac, then a small town with fair prospects. We returned to Detroit and waited several days for the arrival of the steamboat, Henry Clay (which was thougt to be a marvel), in order to take passage to Buffalo. The population of Michigan according to the United States census of that year was 31,649, and of Detroit, 2,200. The Detroit and Saginaw turnpike was then in course of construction, six or seven miles having been completed, by laying the logs across the road, and partially covering them with earth, and many of us know what sort of a road we had.

I returned home and worked on my father's farm until Oct. 1, 1831, when having decided to become a citizen of Michigan, I left my native town and came to Michigan, expecting to attack the forest. I was the owner of some timbered land in Washtenaw county. I had some axes secured in the bottom of my chest, which contained my clothing suitable for farmers' use. Coming up Lake Erie on a steamboat, my purpose was changed, and I settled in Troy, Oakland county, and engaged in merchandising, which business I continued for some sixteen years. Troy was one of the earliest settled towns in Oakland county, in the east and southeast part of Oakland county adjoining Macomb county on the east. The first land bought in the township was Feb. 12, 1819, under the two dollar act, and from that date up to 1830, the lands were rapidly taken under the ten shilling act, and at that date a large proportion, probably three fourths of the whole was taken, and on February 17, 1836, the last description in the township was taken.

The pioneer society of Oakland county has on its records the names of those making the entries, the date of entries, and the descriptions of all the

lands in the township, a valuable paper, obtained at the United States land office at Detroit, by the Hon vice president, O. Poppleton, and from the same paper I have gathered some thoughts, facts and statistics which I am at liberty to use. The rapidity with which the lands in Troy were taken is remarkable, when we take this fact into consideration, that they were nearly all heavily timbered with oak, some beech and maple , white wood, black walnut, hickory and many others varieties, requiring not only physical strength, but perseverance, indomitable courage and energy. To the character of the early pioneer, does the township of Troy owe her unparalleled development and the prosperity which gave her rank with the first townships in the county. Most of the early settlers were from the pioneer families of western New York, and were well fitted by discipline and experience to enter upon a new life in the forests of the township. It required a strong will, energy and physical power to fell the heavy timber that encumbered the land, to clear and fence it to erect their log houses and barns, improve their lands, build their roads and bridges, yet they were equal to the occasion, and well did they perform the task, and I may venture the remark that there are no more beautiful farms, farm houses and landscapes in the state; and while I would not unduly exalt the character of the early settlers of Troy and thereby by inference detract from the just praise due those of other localities, I will say that they were in everything that helps to make up a first class commnnity, far above the average of those usually settling in new countries.

I shall be allowed to extend my remarks to cover more ground than the township of Troy, where I first settled, or the county of Oakland where I have been a resident for more than fifty five years. I would like to take a wider range and give a few thoughts in regard to the admission of our state into the Union. I am aware that much has been said on the subject, and at the semi-centennial last June, there were additions to that history, but I will hazard the opinion, that some facts in relation to our admission have not been well understood, and if ever understood will bear a repetition or emphasizing. It is with the view of placing upon the records of this "State Pioneer Society" some additional facts, trials and incidents, without which the true history of our admission would be in my opinion quite incomplete, that I refer to the subject. About the year 1834 the pioneers (we were all pioneers then), perhaps I should say the politicians, became ambitious to become a state, and as the ordinance of 1787, the charter of our rights, authorized Michigan when she had a population of 60,000 free inhabitants to become a state, and having by a census of the territory found that we had a population of 87,000 and over, and so declared by the legislative council of the territory, early in 1835 the legislative council passed an act providing for a convention to be held in May of that year. Delegates

were accordingly elected and met in Detroit, and numbered 89, and continued in session until June 24, when having completed their labors by adopting a constitution, the same was submitted to the people in the fall of that year, and adopted by the people with little opposition. The southern boundary of the state was in accord with the ordinance of 1787, being an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan until it intersected Lake Erie. As early as 1802 congress passed an act to enable the people of Ohio to organize a state government, in which it is declared that the northern boundary should be established by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan until it intersected Lake Erie and thence through Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line.

Ohio, in framing her constitution, adopted this line with a variation, so as to include the site of Toledo; the constitution was referred to a committee in Congress who reported that it was not necessary or expedient to act upon it at all, and thus it remained until 1805, when congress passed an act in accordance with the ordinance of 1787 to divide what was known as the Indian Territory into separate governments, erected Michigan into a separate territory, defining her southern boundary to be a line drawn east from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan until it intersects Lake Erie. This left the strip of land that Ohio wanted within the boundaries of Michigan, and it was conclusive of the justice of her claims; and right here I may properly refer to the extreme selfishness of the great state of Ohio. She had a front on Lake Erie of one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, with at least half a dozen ports of entry on the lake, and did not need Toledo. Michigan had only one Toledo, and might most reasonably have expected to enjoy her own in peace, but this would not satisfy the greed of Ohio; Toledo she would have, and having failed to show any legal or equitable right to it, she would take it by the strong arm of her boasted "million of freemen."

Early in 1835 the legislature of Ohio passed an act extending the jurisdiction of the state over the tract which she wanted. Gov. Mason, of Michigan, ever watchful of her interests, called the legislative council together, and on February 12, 1835, the council passed an act making it a criminal offense for any person to attempt to exercise any official act, duty or office within the jurisdiction of Michigan, under any authority not derived from Michigan or the United States. The governor of Ohio still persisting in his determination to rob Michigan of her vested rights, called out a volunteer force of 600 men, and proceeded with his commissioners to Perrrysburg, near the line, with the avowed purpose of surveying and marking the line of the tract he proposed to take. Gov. Mason of Michigan having watched the action of the governor of Ohio, was not in the least inclined to submit to be shorn of our

territory, and the pioneers, generally, sympathized with the governor. War seemed inevitable, and in the emergency our ambitious, young and patriotic governor called out the military to the number of twelve to fifteen hundred. Oakland county had a regiment of riflemen, in which I held a commission, and some small companies of cavalry, and the ununiformed troops were drafted. Our regiment was called to Pontiac by the proper officers for organization, and having effected that object we were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth for further organization on a given day, and on the day named we left our wives and little ones to engage in a struggle for our rights. There were some incidents of that campaign which I take the liberty of presenting.

After leaving Plymouth, having completed our organization, we proceeded immediately on our way to the seat of war at Toledo, and by a forced march on a sultry day in September, we reached the River Raisin, a few miles above Monroe, on Saturday evening. A large and commodious farm house, with large and convenient barns and other buildings, promised comfortable protection and shelter for the troops. That evening before it was quite dark, an uproar was raised; the owner of the premises missed a fine hive of honey, but the pursuit of the thieves was so prompt that the honey was found on the grass near the river, and the empty hive in the river. The man who carried the hive upon his shoulder, found that the bees were quite as unwilling as the Michigan men to be robbed of their rightful property, and resented it by stinging him upon his neck so powerfully as to paralyze him. In this emergency the boys were in a strait what to do, and avoid detection, but one, more suggestive than the rest, proposed to apply mud from the clay bank of the river, which had a good effect, and he recovered. There was plenty of honey in the house that night, and General Hascall, the senior officer, partook of it so freely, that at an early hour the next morning I saw him bending over the fence in the rear of the house, with positive indications that he had taken more honey than he could carry. A court martial was ordered in the morning, to which all the commissioned officers were invited, but no witnesses could be found that knew anything about it, and the court martial adjourned, subject to the call of the president, but nothing was heard of it afterward.

The troops marched on to Monroe that Sabbath morning. The officers obtained quarters in a large room in a hotel, and the men in the court house. About midnight a messenger from General Brown, who was in command of the forces at Toledo, was announced, and coming into the room where the officers were sleeping, the dispatch of General Brown was read, requiring the troops to proceed to headquarters immediately, and ending with the announcement, "The enemy are in force." Early in the morning steamboats were

procured and the footmen embarked, the cavalry companies going across the country on horseback. On nearing Toledo, steaming up the Maumee, it was found that the men had loaded their rifles with powder and ball without any authority, and entirely without the knowledge of the officers, it manifestly being the expectation of the men that there was to be fighting, and I am sure it was wise in Governor Lucas to keep his men on their own side of the line. Approaching the landing, no resistance being offered, we landed and remained two or three days. No enemy appearing we were reviewed by Gov. Mason. "The boys" became experts in drawing rations of vegetables from Stickney's garden, who had rendered himself obnoxious to Michigan men. There being nothing further to do there, the whole army was ordered back to Monroe, and there on a beautiful September day, in a splendid field for the display, the army was massed into a hollow square, Gov. Mason rode in, accompanied by his aids, and throwing his chapeau upon the ground eloquently commended the troops for their soldierly bearing, and most emphatically expressed his unalterable determination to spill the last drop of blood in his veins, if need be, in defending the rights of Michigan in the boundary question. There being no hostile force to oppose, the troops were ordered to return to their homes, and to remain under arms for thirty days. Gov. Lucas, of Ohio, disbanded his troops, being advised by embassadors from Washington that serious consequences might result to him and the state, if he made any further attempt to take possession of the line Ohio wanted, by force, and that in the judgment of the United States attorney general, the action of the state of Ohio was in conflict with the law of congress of 1805, and that the action of the legislative council of Michigan, which was being enforced by Gov. Mason, was clearly legal. Perhaps we of Michigan ought to have a little sympathy for the great state of Ohio, in view of all her trials and disappointments in her efforts to obtain the coveted Toledo. For more than thirty years her efforts had been persistently continued, with failure every time, while the apparent odds were largely in her favor, so far as numbers were concerned, as she had nineteen voting members of congress, while Michigan had none. In the first effort she sought to smuggle in the coveted Toledo, by stretching her state line over it, contrary to the act of Congress of 1802. She might with equal propriety have taken in Detroit, but failing in her numerous efforts down to 1835, sho would now strangle the infant Michigan with her "million of freemen." But here again she was disastrously defeated. The United States government at Washington, told her very distinctly to keep hands off, not to attempt to take the place wanted by force, and now the humiliating alternative was pre-

sented. She must obtain the consent of Michigan to be robbed, before she could obtain the prize. Did she obtain that consent? We shall see.

On the 15th day of June, 1836, Congress passed an act, entitled an "act to establish the northern boundary of the state of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the state of Michigan into the Union, upon the conditions therein expressed;" section one gives the northern boundary line of the state of Ohio as she wanted it. Section two, "and be it further enacted, that the constitution and state government, which the people of Michigan have formed for themselves be, and the same is hereby accepted, ratified and confirmed, and that the said state of Michigan shall be, and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America, and is hereby admitted into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever;" provides always, and here Congress inserted a provision extending the boundaries of the state of Michigan, to include an additional tract of land in the upper peninsula, contrary to the constitution of the state which had been adopted by the people of the state, and accepted and ratified and confirmed by Congress, and further enacted, that as a compliance with the fundamental condition of admission contained in the last preceding section of this act, the boundaries of the said state of Michigan, as in said section described, shall receive the assent of a convention of delegates, elected by the people of said state, for the sole purpose of giving the assent herein required. In accordance with the foregoing the governor of Michigan immediately called the legislature together to provide for the election and to apportion the delegates among the several counties of the state according to population, as follows: giving to Wayne county eight, Monroe four, Lenawee four, Washtenaw and Livingston seven, Oakland six, Cass and St. Joseph each two, Kalamazoo two, St. Clair one, Berrien one, Calhoun one, Jackson one, Macomb three, Branch one, Hillsdale one, Lapeer one, Saginaw, Genesee and Shiawassee one, Mackinaw one, Chippewa one, Ottawa, Kent, Ionia and Clinton one, Barry one. In accordance with the above the delegates were duly elected and certified and met at Ann Arbor on the 4th Monday of September, 1836, and organized by the election of the Hon. Wm. Draper, of Oakland county, as president. The convention consisted of 49 members, and the question before the convention was at once introduced, and duly considered.

I was a member of the convention from the county of Oakland, and was in constant attendance at all its sessions and know of what I affirm. There was not in the convention a thought expressed in regard to what the Hon. ex-Judge Cooley calls the "compromise proposition," that Michigan received for all that was taken from her on the southern boundary, more than princely compensation. I challenge the correctness of that statement. In a recent

conversation with an ex-member of Congress from this district, and who has served the people of the state in the legislature and on the bench, and has resided in the state more than fifty years, and is as well qualified to judge of values as any man in it, he says of the upper peninsula at the time it was tendered us, "it wasn't worth eighteen pence." Another gentleman of more than fifty years' residence here, says of it to-day to me, it was "not worth a dollar." I would modestly give my opinion that the upper peninsula, comparatively speaking, was worthless. I will call one more witness, that the erroneous idea may never be brought forth again, that Michigan received "more than princely compensation for what was taken from her." The veteran Governor Felch, in his address at the semi-centennial, says, "Of the upper peninsula, nothing was known and nothing expected from it." Additional evidence on the same point might be offered to an unlimited extent, but it has seemed quite unnecessary. That the upper peninsula by its developments and openings during the past fifty years has now become valuable, is not to be taken and regarded as evidence of "more than princely compensation" for the port of Toledo; nor as evidence of the liberality of Congress, or Ohio, to Michigan. Congress probably thought, here is Wisconsin, she has no vote here, but is anxiously waiting for admission; we will take from her what is not known or regarded of any value and give it to Michigan; those additional acres may possibly appease the just wrath of Michigan, in view of the robbery we contemplate of her, and all will be lovely, and this was probably the sharp practice spoken of by Judge Cooley.

I copy from the journal of the proceedings of the convention the official result of its action, which was just and wise, and ought to have been final. The record of the proceedings of the convention was certified to by the Hon. William Draper, president, and Charles A. Jeffries and Samuel York AtLee, secretaries.

"WHEREAS, The congress of the United States by an act entitled an act to establish the northern boundary of the state of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the state of Michigan into the union, upon the conditions therein expressed, approved June 15, 1836, did enact and declare that the constitution and state government, which the people of Michigan have formed for themselves, be, and the same is hereby accepted, ratified and confirmed, and that the said state of Michigan shall be, and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America, and is hereby admitted into the union, upon an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever, thereby acknowledging our constitution as republican, and in accordance with the constitution of the United States, and the ordinance of 1787, and whereas congress has also in said act inserted a proviso proposing a radical alteration of our southern and southeastern boundary, secured to us by articles of compact contained in the ordinance of 1787, and which, if acceded to by the people of Michigan, would deprive us of all jurisdiction over the waters of Lake Erie, and gratuitously bestow on Ohio the exclusive jurisdic-

tion on the waters of said lake, from the Pennsylvania line to the mouth of the Detroit river, a gift, the extent of which, we believe, neither congress nor the state of Ohio fully comprehended, and have required the people of this state to give their assent to the aforesaid change of boundaries, by a convention of delegates to be by them elected:

AND WHEREAS, This convention, taking into consideration the just rights of Michigan, as respects her southern and southeastern boundary, and also her constitution, embracing that part of our territory claimed by Ohio, and believing that the assent required by the said proviso cannot be given by us without a palpable violation of our constitution, which provides the only way in which it can be amended, and over which this convention has no control, without a sacrifice of our rights and interests, and without committing an act of self degradation,

Therefore Resolved, That this convention cannot give their assent to the proposition contained in said proviso, but the same is hereby rejected by a vote of 28 to 21."

A few thoughts on the closing act of the drama of our admission into the Union, and I am done. The only convention invested with any authority by Congress, or by the legislature of the state to act upon the proviso for the admission of Michigan, having been emphatically rejected by the convention, and Gov. Mason having been requested to call another convention, and declining on the ground that he had no legal authority to do so, several self constituted leaders called for an appointment of delegates to meet at Ann Arbor on the 14th day of December, 1836, and on that day met according to appointment, and, without delay, unanimously voted to accept the conditions imposed by Congress. Judge Cooley calls it an irregular convention. It is hardly entitled to be called a convention, it was at the time called "The frost-bitten convention." I have made persistent efforts, by correspondence with the secretary of state, to find out what number of voters took part in the election of delegates to the convention ordered by Congress, and also how many took part in the frost-bitten convention, and have this from the secretary, that the returns from the December election were very imperfect from the counties, some of them making none at all. I find by examination of the records of Oakland, that at the election of delegates to the September convention, 2,200 votes were given, and for delegates to the December gathering, only 570 voters took part, and from personal knowledge, and the best information I have been able to obtain, but a small minority of all the voters took part, not over twenty five per cent, I am sure, and yet these delegates assumed to accept the changed boundaries of the state. The proceedings of the meeting were at once forwarded to Washington, although I have not found any record of their action here at home, Judge Cooley says the authorities at Washington pretended to be satisfied with this, and declared the state admitted to the Union with its present boundaries. Col. A. T. McReynolds, in his address at the semi-centennial, says, "It should be remembered in this connection, that Ohio was at the time an administra-

tion state, with nineteen voting members on the floor of the house, while Michigan had not one." It is possible that this fact may account for the prompt action of Congress in the admission of Michigan, on the assumption of delegates claiming to represent Michigan, yet without any proper authority. I believe I have shown to the satisfaction of the pioneers, that Michigan was admitted into the Union on the false pretense by Congress that they were satisfied, and the further fact that *Michigan never gave the assent* required by the act of Congress of June 15, 1836. These two important facts make a prominent item in the history of Michigan.

Some one may say, admitting your statement to be correct, what are we going to do about it? To which I answer, nothing whatever. I have given the facts; let Congress and Ohio have all the credit of the transaction. We are recognized as in the Union, and, while our coming in was such an outrage as was never perpetrated on any other infant state, we may indulge the hope that if any of the members of Congress are still living, who exacted of Michigan so illegal and unreasonable conditions for our admission, will, ere they cross the river, repent in sackcloth and ashes.

A few words in conclusion in a more cheerful strain. The birth of Michigan was after prolonged labor, and surmounting many obstacles, but we have passed safely through them, or around them, and through the tender years of infancy, and of childhood and youth, and many years since arrived at stalwart manhood. Within the recollection of some of us (in 1830) the population of Michigan was 31,649, and now in 1887 it is two millions or over and the developments and improvements of the fifty years since our admission to the Union, have been at least equal, if not greater in all departments than that of the increase in population; and the resources have become more varied than those of any other state in the Union, and more than abundant in quantity. Our resources in lumber, salt, iron, copper, silver and gold, plaster and coal in great abundance, added to this an eminently fertile soil, producing to the agriculturist princely returns for all his labor, and producing, also, all the delicious fruits of this latitude, in their variety and abundantly; with a healthful climate, surrounded by navigable waters, rendering transportation of productions to market cheap and promptly reached, give us facilities not enjoyed by more inland states. I must not omit to mention the educational interests of Michigan in which she is pre-eminent; her university, her colleges, theological, literary, and agricultural, her normal and high schools, her provision for the unfortunate, the blind, deaf, dumb, and insane, her reformatory system for all classes, justly entitle her to commendation.

Fifty or sixty years ago, and within the recollection, and during the resi-

dence here of some of us, Michigan was largely dependent on Ohio for provisions, for beef, pork, flour, butter, etc., but now and for many years, that state of dependence has been changed for one of independence. Now Ohio is dependent on Michigan for her lumber supply; her home supply for salt having failed, she is obliged to come to Michigan for her supply of that very necessary article, and the same is true of Indiana, who was interested with Ohio in robbing us when we were in embryo. In view then, of our advantages as briefly alluded to, our extended and abundant resources, the rapid growth of our state in population, and in all the elements of prosperity, and per nanent improvements, our freedom as a state from debt, and enjoying so largely the blessings which our beneficent Creator has lavished upon us, may we not cherish a just pride in the reflection that we are citizens and pioneers of so noble and prosperous a state.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERY OF IRON ORE ON LAKE SUPERIOR.

BY PHILO M. EVERETT.

In 1844 the copper interest of Lake Superior got to fever heat, especially in Boston, by the reports of Professor Jackson, of Boston. A friend of his in Detroit, whom I was then doing business with, gave me the history of Jackson's work in exploring on the shores of Lake Superior, and in the spring of 1845 I determined to visit Lake Superior and see for myself, if possible, what all that talk amounted to. I proposed to some of my friends to join me in a speculation of that nature, and I so n collected thirteen members. The association papers were made out and signed by all the members, and our company was called the Jackson Mining Company of Jackson, Michigan. I then sent to our Senator at Washington, Mr. Norvel, asking him to procure a number of permits from the Secretary of War, giving permission to locate a mile square each any where on the south shore of Lake Superior, for mining purposes, and as the season was advancing I made ready at once to leave for

Lake Superior on receipt of my permits. Our permits were issued on the 16th of June, 1845, and I believe that was the last day permits were ever issued, the transaction of the Secretary of War being declared illegal; but Congress legalized the act and gave permission for any person to locate a mile square on the south shore of Lake Superior by leaving a person in charge of the location. I received our permits on the 19th of June, and on the 20th of June, 1845, I left my home in Jackson for Lake Superior, bought my supplies in Detroit, and took a steamer for Mackinaw, as there was no boat then running direct to the Sault as now. I purchased a coasting boat at Mackinaw and put it on board the General Scott, a small side wheel steamer, making three trips a week from Mackinaw to the Sault. It was said no boat could go up the Sault river then, drawing over nine feet of water.

I was somewhat surprised on arriving at the Sault to find such an immense warehouse for traffic with the Indians of the northwest. My first duty was to transport my coasting boat over the portage of three quarters of a mile and ship the most of my supplies to Copper Harbor, that being copper headquarters. We struck our tent at the head of the portage preparing for a start. The next thing in order was to procure a coaster, one that was familiar with the lake. The thought of coasting along the rocky and desolate shores of Lake Superior, not knowing at any time what we were to meet with next, was not a pleasing one, especially in passing the pictured rocks. It was well known that there were long stretches of coast there where no boat could land and that Lake Superior often got very angry in a few minutes. Louis Nolan was recommended to me as the best man for that purpose in the Sault. He was a large, stout man, well acquainted with the lake and all the northwest. I found him engaged with a trader gathering in fish. He was a little over six feet high, well proportioned, a Frenchman with a slight mixture of Indian blood, with an intelligent countenance and pleasant address, and very polite. I made my business known and inquired if he was well acquainted with the lake. He replied that he had coasted the length of the lake many times, on both sides, and also had traveled many times to Hudson's Bay and had been employed by the fur company for many years as a clerk. Now we think of a clerk as one sitting in any easy chair in a warm office, writing at a desk; but a fur company's clerk is quite a different thing. He must be able to write a fair hand, be a good accountant, and be able to take a ninety pound pack on his back and travel all day from one Indiam camp to another, collecting furs and living entirely on wild meat, mostly rabbits, for the fur companies only supplied bread food enough to last their clerks to headquarters. The ninety pound pack consists of Indian goods, and that is the standard weight of all fur companies' packs. Knowing these facts

before I was at once satisfied he was the man for us. He made a proposition for the season to pilot, pack and cook for us. The bargain was then concluded, but he wanted two days in which to prepare for the summer trip. It was granted. He now remarked: "You say you are going to Copper Harbor for copper ore; you don't want to go to Copper Harbor for ore, there is plenty at Carp River. There is more ore back of Carp River (now Marquette) up at Teal Lake than you can ever get away—two mountains of it—only two or three miles apart." I inquired what kind of ore it was. "Don't know much about ore;" and having a few specimens of ore with me, I spread them out and requested him to point out the ore like the ore at Teal Lake. He shook his head, putting his finger on a piece of Galena lead ore saying that was the most like it, but that wasn't it. "It looks like rock, but it wasn't rock, several bowlders lay beside the trail, worn smooth, and shined brightly." "When did you see this ore last?" I inquired. "Thirty six years ago I went from Carp River to Menominee with some Indians, and never having seen anything like it, I distinctly remember it." "How old are you?" "Most sixty." His description of the ore two or three miles further on was equally surprising. The trail ran along the north side of a bluff, fifty feet high, of solid ore. This description greatly surprised me, for I learned he was a christian man of the Roman Catholic faith, was perfectly truthful and reliable, never used profane language and never got drunk. What could it be? It was not copper, that was evident, for I showed him copper specimens, and that was not it, as he termed it. I had never heard of iron in this district, and therefore thought nothing of its being iron.

Now, as I had two days to wait, I took a stroll about the town. Passing down the portage, I noticed several canoes in the rapids, two Indians in each canoe, standing erect as steadily as if on land. I watched them for several hours, for I had never seen or heard of such a way of taking fish. The man in front soon dipped in his scoop net and took out a large whitefish. It was strange to see how that frail bark canoe could be shot into the foaming rapids, as white as milk, and could be managed by that Indian. The forward one, when he saw a fish, would lay down his setting pole, take up his scoop net, dip up his fish, and again take up his setting pole with surprising ease, and the canoe would again be shot into the foaming rapids still further. Few white men could stand erect in this canoe a single moment. I sat on the shore for a long time, scarcely thinking of the passing hours.

I next visited the fort, a beautiful site for a city—such a handsome plat of ground on every side. Not far from the fort was the Baptist mission, under the charge of Rev. Mr. Bingham, a very pleasant gentleman. He told me he went on board of a schooner at Buffalo, with his family, bound for the Sault,

if I remember rightly, in 1833, to take charge of the mission. He had a lovely family—his girls were like roses in a wilderness. He told me much of his labors with the Indians; he thought he had done them much good, and I had no doubt of it. He had taught them to read and write, and from my long acquaintance with the Indians in Oneida county, New York, where they had every facility for school and church, I knew that was about all that could be made of them. They seem to lack a capacity for anything further. After they get that far, as soon as they are out of school they will join a dog feast, according to the old Indian custom.

But the two days were now wearing away. Louis reported at our tent for duty with his pack of blankets and tent cloth, together with a shot gun, having the appearance of being manufactured in Queen Anne's time, but it was a deadly weapon, dangerous at both ends, as one of our party could testify a few days afterwards. He ventured to fire it at some game, was knocked sprawling on the ground, and went with a lame shoulder for many days. He said it kicked like a mule. No one of our company had the courage to fire it afterwards during the whole summer.

We were not long in finding out that we had made a wise choice in our coaster. He knew every point and every stream that entered the lake. When it came time to camp, he would run the boat ashore at the mouth of a stream where we could catch all the speckled trout we wanted for supper and breakfast. He never left his seat on the stern of the boat. When we sailed, he steered, and when we rowed he paddled and steered. He was supplied with trolling line, as well as gun. The first day I said to him, "Can't you catch some trout by trolling?" "No trout here; too much sand beach," he said; but one day as we were passing a rocky point he took out his trolling line, saying, "May be we can catch trout here." He threw out his line and a big trout took it before the hook was twenty feet from the stern of the boat, and I saw several others after it. He took in several fine ones in a few minutes and went to winding up his line I asked him to let me take it and catch a lot. I shall never forget the look he gave me, saying; "What you want of them? you have now more than we can eat; do you wish to waste the Indians' food?" That was a break-down argument. I admitted he was right, and said no more.

On arriving at Teal Lake, we found the ore just as he had described it. There lay the boulders of the trail, made smooth by the atmosphere, bright and shining, but dark colored, and a perpendicular bluff fifty feet in height, of pure solid ore, looking like rock, but not rock, and on climbing a steep elevation of about seventy feet, the ore cropping out in different places all the way, we came, at the top, to a precipice many feet deep. Hundreds of

tons of ore that had been thrown down by the frost lay at the bottom. It was solid ore, but much leaner than that on the other side. From all that could be seen, it seemed that the whole elevation for half a mile or more was one solid mass of iron ore. No rock could be seen, and all that visited it came to the same conclusion, until the mine was fairly opened. By measurement, the outcrop was found to be three quarters of a mile southwest of the southeast corner of Teal Lake.

The other outcrop, two miles further on, was a beautiful sight. On the north side of the hill it was a pependicular bluff of about fifty feet of pure iron ore and jasper in alternate streaks, but more jasper than iron.

Another small outcrop appeared a mile further on, for several years known as the little location (now known as Lake Superior mine). With all its beauty, that high bluff proved worthless; but the Cleveland mine, near by, only a few rods from its base, was soon discovered, and proved one of the best mines in the country.

On arriving at Copper Harbor, I found the government mineral office on the island opposite the harbor, which in fact formed the harbor. The white tents on the island appeared like an army encampment. Presenting my permit and description, the officer looked it over, saying, "Where is Teal lake? It is not on my map." I told him the Indians called it twenty five miles southwest of Carp river, and it took us a day and a half to go there. That was all I knew about it. He said to me: "Mark the lake on the map." I refused to do so, saying that it might work us an injury, as it was pretty certain to be wrong. He measured off twenty five miles on his map and marked out Teal lake with our permit on the south side, as given in the description. I did not lay a permit on what is now known as the Cleveland, believing, as Louis said, we had all the ore we could ever get away, of the very best quality and nearer the lake, preferring to let some other party take it and help to open the country. I had only seen this kind of rock ore once before. That was twenty miles from Black river in Oneida county, New York, between that place and Lake Champlain. That ore was precisely the same as the specular ore of Lake Superior. At Copper Harbor I met Professor Shepard, of New Haven, Connecticut, and I showed him the iron. He said it was as fine ore as he had ever seen, but thought it nearly worthless as it was so far away; it would be like lifting a weight at the end of a ten foot pole. But when I parted with him in the fall he said he had thought much about that iron, and believed I had better take care of it; the time might come when it would be worth something.

We made explorations in various directions, locating several permits about Houghton, but never paid any attention to them afterwards, turning our

whole attention to the iron. Louis had seen several pieces of copper in the hands of Vieux Desert Indians, but could not ascertain where they got them. Thinking there must be copper in that vicinity, I determined to go there and settle the matter, if possible, and left Copper Harbor with that intent. We ran ashore at the Catholic Mission at L'Anse. Several Indians met us at the landing and all knew Louis. It was soon noised about that Louis had come, and I believe all the squaws, old and young, came rushing down to meet him, joy beaming all over their faces. They all seemed to be meeting a loved father. They all bade him welcome with a warm kiss; it was really a pleasant sight. It was Saturday and we intended to spend Sunday there. We pitched our tent and moved our things into it. Several of the Indians came and seated themselves in the tent. Among them was a very old Indian but in full vigor, and about as homely a face as could well be conceived. I saw he had his eyes on our little vinegar keg most of the time. I asked Louis in a whisper what the old fellow thought was in it. He replied: "Brandy; can't you give him some?" "Yes, yes," was the reply. I bought that vinegar in Detroit, the very strongest to be got; no one could use it without watering it. The color was precisely like brandy. Louis took a cup, drew out a little, and handed it to the old Indian. He took one swallow. I was frightened, for I thought I had been the cause of killing the old fellow. His face was about as ugly as it could be, naturally, but such a contortion I never saw before. After a time he began to get his breath, and when the other Indians saw he was not dead they set up such a boisterous laugh as I never heard from Indians before. I expected the old fellow would be fighting mad, but when he got his breath, so he could, he seemed to enjoy the joke. Louis asked him if he would have some more brandy; the answer was quick and sharp—"Kah win" (No!).

I attended the mission church with Louis on Sunday; the services were conducted by Bishop Baraga, the singing was by Indian women and was very good. Monday morning we again started out for the forest. The rocks southwest of L'Anse, beyond the Sturgeon, have a very singular appearance, of a reddish cast and streaked with white quartz, but we found no mineral. When we arrived within half a day's march of Vieux Desert it was storming, half snow and half rain, making the bushes wet, so we camped on the trail about noon, pitched our tent and built a big fire to dry ourselves as well as to get our dinner. After dinner Louis said he would go and get some ducks. In the afternoon several Indians came from the payment at La Pointe and camped near us. An Indian never builds much of a fire, but they like a fire as well as a white man. One Indian, with a wife and boy, pitched his blanket tent opposite our fire, the others near by. A little before dark Louis came

in with twenty two ducks and two geese—quite a load. I told Louis to give the geese to the Indians, as the ducks were as much as we could eat before they would spoil. He gave one to the family opposite our fire and the woman dressed it, cut it up and put into their camp kettle, boiled it a short time, and then the two, with the boy, ate the whole goose. Our ducks were so fat we could not eat them without roasting out the fat before the fire. In the middle of the night I heard a groaning and vomiting; it was the Indian opposite our fire. I asked Louis what was the matter. His answer was: "Do' know, Indian very sick, guess he going to die." It struck me it was raw goose. I said to Louis, "Have his wife make some very strong coffee out of the corn, and give him one swallow every five or ten minutes." I got up and watched to see if she did it right. She made it very nicely and commenced giving it to him as directed. In a few minutes the vomiting ceased, and in about half an hour his groans ceased also. In the morning I enquired of Louis how the Indian was. "Going to get well," was the reply; "they say you are a great medicine man." About noon the woman packed up and took the whole camp equipment on her back and left for home, the Indian following. As the weather had cleared up and the bushes began to dry, we packed up and moved also. This was the 20th of September.

The Indians make great use of the wild rice growing in those lakes, sometimes in ten feet of water. It looks like a rye field, and the kernel is like rye, but only about two thirds the size. It is gathered mostly by the women, one pushing the canoe while the other bends the rice over the side of the canoe with a crooked stick similar to a sickle, and strikes it with a sharp knife, and the heads drop into the canoe. The ducks and geese stay here in large numbers until the ice drives them away. We found many pieces of copper in the hands of the Indians, but they seemed to be handed down from one to the other until no one could tell where they came from. These Indians were a filthy, dirty set of people. Louis called them "wild Indians." I saw no sign that they ever washed their clothes, and don't believe they ever did. Dirty clothes was not all they had on, as we could testify. When we returned to Lake Superior our flannel had to have a thorough boiling.

The season of navigation on Lake Superior was now drawing to a close, and I turned my face towards home.

In the winter of 1845 and '46 I learned that the township lines about Teal lake had been run in the summer of 1844. Towards spring two of our company, Col. Berry and Kirkland, offered to go up the lake in the spring, if the company would pay their expenses, hunt up the town lines, and go to the mineral office and locate Teal lake correctly; their offer was accepted, and they were instructed, if they met with a party they had confidence in, who would

promise to keep open the country, they might show them the iron two miles beyond ours and let them take possession of it. On the opening of navigation in 1846, they left for Lake Superior; on their way up they fell in with a Cleveland party that promised everything required. They were shown what is known as the Cleveland mine, and, in due time, a man was placed in charge to keep the location, according to the act of Congress. Berry and Kirkland found the township corner only a few rods from the southeast corner of Teal lake. Our boundary started at the southeast corner of Teal lake. Three quarters of a mile southwest was the outcrop of ore, making that the center of the section; this was now known as the northeast corner of town 47 north, range 27 west, and section 1. Then they went to Copper Harbor and had Teal lake correctly placed on the mineral map, more than twelve miles from where it was first laid down. Soon after they returned to Jackson. I went with several persons of the company to an old forge called Hodunk, a few miles north of Coldwater, Michigan, taking with me some of our iron ore. This forge was run on bog ore, Mr. Olds being the forge man and William Lemm the helper. They took our ore and made a bar of iron from it in our presence. On returning home to Jackson I took the bar of iron to John A. Bailey, then a resident of Jackson. He converted it into steel and made a knife blade on one end, and ground it thin like a razor. It would cut hickory bark without turning the edge. It was as fine stuff as I ever saw in any instrument.

Having settled the fact that the iron was of the very best quality, we at once set about preparing to build a small forge to bring out the iron and make it known. Men were hired and sent up to build a dwelling and warehouse at the landing, build a wagon road to the mine, and a dwelling at the mine. I found it difficult to hire men, because they were afraid of suffering with the cold, believing they would freeze to death in that cold region. We hired a man from Pennsylvania, a forge builder, to go up and put up a forge on Carp river, two and a half miles east of the mine; his name was McNair. We had him made postmaster, calling the office Carp River postoffice. The forge started making iron in the winter of 1847 and 1848. The spring freshets in April took away part of the dam, and, on the opening of navigation, McNair came to Jackson. We settled with him and he returned to his home in Pennsylvania, and I went up the lake to repair the dam and build a saw mill. This was in the spring of 1848. Robert Graveraet, Samuel Moody and Mann arrived there before me, and went on up to the mines, and, in the absence of the man in charge of the Cleveland location, burned the building the Cleveland company had built, and built one of their own, and gave out that they would shoot the man in charge if he attempted to return to take

possession. After their building was completed, Graveraet returned below. A few days after I landed there, John Burt, with a company of surveyors, landed, Mr. Burt having a contract to survey out several townships of land west of the forge. He packed his supplies past the forge and the Cleveland to the "little location," as it was called. Believing the little location was worth taking care of, he put up a building there and made it his general depot for supplies, and from there supplied his surveyors west. When his surveying job was finished in the fall, Mr. Burt left two of his men in charge of the location to remain there all winter. Soon after I arrived at the forge, I received the appointment of postmaster in place of McNair, resigned. Shortly after the arrival of John Burt, Mr. Foster, of the firm of Foster & Whitney, came and wanted all the information I could give him about the iron. I found that our men had rambled over the country quite a long distance, as far as what is now known as the Republic mine. I gave him the description of that location, as well as many others. He went and made thorough examination of the mine, and when he returned he told me it was a bigger thing than the Jackson mine. That was hard to believe, for we thought the Jackson could not be beaten.

Next came Alexander Sibley, of Rochester, New York. He came up the lake on the schooner Furtrader, sailed by Capt. Ripley. We had a contract with Capt. Ripley for our freighting and he usually called on his way up and down the lake, and promised to call on his way down for him. Mr. Sibley told me his business was to purchase the Jackson mine and property, if it suited him. I had a couple of horses saddled and rode out with him to the mine. He examined the bluff at the foot of the elevation very closely and evidently with much surprise. We then began to climb the hill; he looked closely at the iron outcrops as we went up. When about half way up he stopped, saying he had gone far enough. I remonstrated; told him there was a big bluff on the top of the hill where a hundred tons or more of ore had been thrown down by the frost. He replied it was of no use to him—there was too much of it. "You say," said he, "there are two more mines two or three miles further on, and here is ore enough to supply the United States for all time to come. This hill is one solid mass of the richest iron ore for half a mile and how much more no one knows; it will only be worth the digging." We came back without making any further examination. I entertained him until the Furtrader returned, and he went back to Rochester, went into the telegraph business, made a fortune and was called the Telegraph king of Rochester. He was a very intelligent, pleasant gentleman, but the iron was too much for him; he would not touch it; if there had been less he would have bought it out.

Next came Mr. Jones, my neighbor, of Jackson. He was not a stockholder, but hearing so much said about the iron mountain he determined to see it himself; he spent several weeks with me. When he returned to Jackson he began buying up the Jackson stock, and got enough to elect himself president of the company. The Republic mine lay subject to entry for quite a number of years, because it was a long way off, with a very rough country to traverse to get to it, and without a railroad it was worthless. I never expected to live to see a railroad to the Jackson mine. Several years after this Silas C. Smith and Dr. J. J. St. Clair entered the Republic mine.

In the winter of 1848–'49 Robert Graveraet went to Mr. Clark, of Massachusetts, and represented to him that the controlling stock of the Jackson Mining Company could be bought very easily. Mr. Clark was not a capitalist but a kind of speculator. He induced Mr. Fisher, a heavy cotton manufacturer of Massachusetts, to furnish the money to buy out the Jackson, or the controlling stock, and let him manage the concern. A. R. Harlow had a small machine shop, and he agreed to put that into the company and move on and take charge of it as a member of the company. Now all was ready by the opening of navigation. Clark and Harlow came on to Detroit and purchased a large stock of supplies in the way of eatables, but no tools or teams were bought, as they were to take possession of the Jackson Company and all that belonged to it. They did not wait to see if they could get the stock, but shipped their supplies on to Marquette with Mr. Barlow and his family; Graveraet was also one of the company. Clark went to Jackson to get control of the stock, as he had been told it was an easy affair. Graveraet and Harlow with their supplies arrived at our landing in Marquette while I was at the forge, and took possession of our dwelling, expecting to get possession of the forge and all things thereunto belonging, together with the mine, in a few days. When I came down to the lake on business, I had to seek quarters with the Indians or sleep out of doors. Clark went to Jackson from Detroit to purchase the controlling stock of the Jackson, but Mr. Jones learned what was going on and got the control of the stock in his own hands, so that when Clark came there he soon found he was foiled. He returned to Detroit and took the first steamer for Lake Superior. When he reached Marquette he found things decidedly flat; they were there with a large supply of provisions, but no tools or teams and no laborers, and were trespassers. They held a council, and determined to go ahead and build a forge of their own at the shore; they built a log building for their supplies, and went to Dead river, took down a log dwelling that was there, brought it to Marquette, put it up near where the Cleveland dock now stands, and vacated our building. They were in want of men, so Clark left for Milwaukee, hired

forty men, French and Germans, and put them on a sail vessel for Marquette. At the Sault he stopped off and was taken with the cholera and died in a few days. Graveraet and Harlow set the men cutting coal wood. It was curious to see them chop; never having used an ax, they clinched the handle of the ax tight and held on, not slipping either hand. In cutting down a tree, they chopped all around the tree, and when weakened so as to fall, it went the way it leaned. There were forty men in a huddle, and when the tree started a yell was given so that every one could run for his life. To chop off a log they stood on the ground, if the log was ever so large. But the little machine shop went up, and brick making and building went on.

About this time the Cleveland company represented to the commissioner of the land office at Washington in what manner Graveraet, Moody and Mann had taken and retained possession of their mine, and the commissioner awarded the mine to the Cleveland company. When Moody and Mann heard of the result they packed up and joined the Marquette company at the lake. When the land about Marquette came into market John Burt appeared at the land office at the Sault to enter his "little location," but Graveraet opposed him so sharply that Burt settled the matter by giving him half of the mining right.

Mr. Jones came up to take charge of the Jackson property in the latter part of the summer of 1849, and Charles Johnson and myself left for Jackson. While at the Sault we entered what is now known as the thirty six acre plat, in the city of Marquette, but yielded one half interest to the Cleveland company. That entry covered the land where the M. H. & O. merchandise dock, the great ore dock, and the Iron Bay furnace now stand.

I spent the winter of 1849 and '50 in Jackson, and in the summer of 1850 disposed of my warehouse and some other property, together with my Jackson mining company interest, and in the fall prepared to move my family to Marquette. I left my dwelling to be rented, and most of my furniture to be sold, and Charles Johnson and myself and families left for Lake Superior. We boarded with A. N. Barney, who kept a sort of hotel on the ground where the Nothwestern hotel afterwards stood. We soon finished off a small one story dwelling of two rooms and four small bed rooms on the ground floor, where the Burt block was afterwards built. That building was removed to give place for the Burt block and placed on the west side of the manufacturing shop, as a paint shop, on Main street, about half way from Front street to the first depot of Marquette. That building escaped the great fire of 1868, which took every building I had in Marquette, and every building on Front street from Superior to Michigan street.

Mr. Jones' management of the Jackson mine and forge was not very profit-

able. He got more on his hands than he could carry. S. H. Kimball and General Curtiss, with other New York friends, bought up most of the stock; they leased the forge and mine to two brothers, Benjamin and Weston Eaton, of Pennsylvania, and they came on and took possession, bringing with them teams and supplies; but they found that four horse teams in this snowy country would not work. The snow path would not hold up more than what one team could haul. They made iron and carried on the works two or three years and then failed, losing all they had.

The Graveraet and Harlow company went on making bloom iron for two or three years, but it did not succeed as they expected. Fisher became tired of furnishing money and nearly failed himself, having furnished over sixty thousand dollars. They finally failed and turned over their entire property to the Cleveland company.

It was now evident to both the Jackson and Cleveland companies that there was no money in making iron in an old fashioned forge, and they turned their attention to shipping the ore.

In the spring of 1852, I went to the Sault, and met Heman B. Ely, with his engineers, coming to Marquette, for the purpose of surveying a railroad from Marquette to the mines, having made a contract with the Jackson and Cleveland mining companies to transport their iron ore from the mines to the lake at a much less figure than the ore has ever been carried since. His contract did not specify when the road should be finished, but it was to be pushed as fast as he could do it. The survey went on, and he built a dwelling, which is now a part of the Ely house, near Whetstone brook, and an office near by. The work progressed slowly but surely; after a time, the companies became impatient at his slow progress, but his reply was; "I am doing as fast as I can pay up." (He always paid promptly). But the Sault canal was to be built, and the companies were anxious to be in readiness to ship ore. Finally the Jackson company brought on some supplies for commencing a plank road, and the Cleveland company joined them. It was said the move was made to frighten Ely so as to surrender to them. Ely didn't frighten, however, but kept steadily digging away. The parties had several meetings in my parlor. Ely said to them that he was doing as fast as he had means, but if they would furnish him the money he would push it on as fast as possible. They said to him, they would take the controlling stock and furnish the money. This he refused, but said he would let them have just one half and no more. That they would not do, and the meeting broke up. The plank road was begun and pushed with vigor, but the two companies soon collided, the plank road getting on to Ely's line, that was on record, and there were several suits between them in the District court. The

ore companies had Mr. Walker, of Detroit, but Ely was his own lawyer, and Ely always came out ahead. The plank road took possession of the wagon road whenever it was convenient, and in some places where teams could not get around the place they were obliged to travel on the plank road. One Saturday night Mr. Ely sent to the stable for his teamster, Plumtree, a burly Frenchman; when he came Mr. Ely said to him, he wanted him to take a load of supplies up to his men at the Eagle Mills in the morning. Plumtree said Himrod had put up several gates on the plank road at points where a team could not get around them and had put locks on them, and they were all locked up that afternoon. Mr. Ely was a rather slow and deliberate speaker; he said, "Mr. Plumtree, I want you to take a load of supplies tomorrow morning to my men at the mills, never mind the gates." This was spoken in such an emphatic tone Plumtree seemed to understand it and said, "Yes, yes; I will do it." Sunday morning Plumtree loaded up his team, taking his ax along with him. That was no unusual thing, for most of the teamsters in that day carried an ax to use in case of accident. He took the load up and returned. Monday morning there was quite a commotion in the plank road camp. Some one had cut down all the gates and thrown them off the road. Parties were at once sent out to find out who dared to cut down Himrod's gates. They brought word that no one but Plumtree with Ely's team could be heard of. He had been seen going up and back, but no one else had been seen on the road, and there was no doubt that he was the man. Mr. Plumtree was promptly arrested upon a warrant for cutting down the gates, and brought before the court, Mr. Ely appearing for Plumtree. Several witnesses were produced and proved beyond a doubt that Plumtree went up the road and back with Ely's team, but no one saw him cut down the gates, and the court discharged the prisoner. The gates were never put up again.

The plank road was finished and the strap rail laid in 1855. I took the contract for excavating what is known as the Jackson cut, in the winter of 1855-6. The Sault canal was to be opened in the spring, and the owners of the plank road were anxious to be ready to ship ore. I was obliged to work night and day to have it ready at the opening of navigation. The bed of the cut was twenty feet wide, with sloping banks. All was completed in due time, and the track laid through it onto their dock where the Grace furnace now stands. The canal at the Sault was opened early in the summer and forty or fifty mule teams landed at Marquette. They were put to hauling ore from the mines, but it was soon found the road was a failure. Generally the teams did not reach Marquette from the mines until 12 o'clock at night. Some one of them would break down, and that would hinder all behind it. They had

no turn-outs, so as to pass each other and it was difficult to pass on one track, as has been found by all railroads. They divided their teams, stationing one half at the mines, meeting at Eagle mills; but the road was a failure. More ore could have been hauled on wagons without the rail. In this summer Ely landed the "Sabastapol," the first locomotive ever landed on this shore.

In 1856 a grant of land was made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads from Marquette and Ontonagon to the state line, which included the road from Marquette to the mines.

Senator Sumner was at my house the year before, and he said to me that whenever Lake Superior needed anything from Congress, if I would write him, he would do all he could for us. When this land grant was asked for, I wrote him, asking him to do what he could for it, which he cheerfully did.

Heman B. Ely died in the fall of 1856, but the railroad was pushed through, and completed to the mines in the following summer.

In the winter of 1857 I was in Cleveland, and the Elys telegraphed me to charter a vessel to take a locomotive from Buffalo to Marquette in the spring. I was greatly surprised to find that there were only two vessels large enough, the E. C. Roberts and the De Soto. I chartered the E. C. Roberts, which was then in Buffalo.

I left Detroit for Marquette the first day of May, 1857, on the steamer North Star, and did not arrive at Marquette until the third of June. The steamer had to force her way through ice for six or eight miles. The last piece of ice was seen floating in the bay on the morning of the third day of July, 1857. A company of men to commence the pioneer furnace came on that steamer. That summer Dr. Ely came to take the place of his brother Heman in building and running the railroad. When the locomotive reached Eagle Mills, the ore companies made arrangements with Dr. Ely to take their ore at the mills, while they delivered it that far with mules. After the locomotive reached the mines the ore was all shipped over the railroad. The mules were sent away, the strap rail taken up, and the plank road was abandoned to the public and made a very fine wagon road. From this time the ore companies made money rapidly, mining and shipping ore. The "Little Location," as it was first called (now known as the Lake Superior Mine), in 1886, just thirty years from the start, produced over two hundred thousand tons of ore. The whole product of the Lake Superior iron mines, in 1886, was three million, four hundred and sixty thousand tons.

LIFE IN THE COPPER MINES OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

BY JOHN H. FORSTER.

Mining in the upper peninsula of Michigan is not essentially different from mining elsewhere. But when we contrast this leading industry with those pursuits which engage the attention of the busy people of the lower peninsula of the same commonwealth, there are so many radical differences in modes, customs and habits, that it may not be out of place, nor opposed to the general purposes of this society, if I attempt to place before you some of the more marked peculiarities of the upper country. This paper is in the same line as those which I have already had the honor of reading before this society. In those papers it was my desire and aim to give a general description of the so called Lake Superior country in connection with pioneer settlement in that interesting section.

The pioneer miner found that vast territory, washed by the great lake, a dense forest land. The timber was heavy and the underbrush so thick and tangled as to resemble a jungle. This dense growth was a very great hindrance to preliminary exploration and a most serious obstacle at the beginning of a mine enterprise. Consequently, the first thing to be done in opening a mine was with ax and firebrand, to ruthlessly sweep off the native forest to prepare the way for the miner's cabin, the shaft and engine house. No thought of agriculture—the cultivation of the soil thus laid bare—was entertained by these sturdy pioneers. Worshipers of the subterranean god, Pluto, they held, as they now do, the attractions of those gentle goddesses, Ceres and Pomona, in small esteem. The pick, hammer and drill were their potent weapons in their attacks upon the earth's solid crust. Mining for copper and iron was their sole business; all of their energies were expended thereupon. The progress made was slow. They encountered many difficulties, met with many discouragements, endured many privations. Vast sums of money were expended; there were successes and failures. Buried in the depths of the woods, remote from other settlements, with no society except that of the rudest kind, living in huts, with only the necessaries of life at command, often on short rations, without newspapers, and with a letter mail arriving

monthly by dog train, if the weather favored, the educated young pioneer found himself in a trying situation, aggravated in the winter season by the deep snows which rendered exercise, except on snow shoes, difficult, with short days and long nights and intense cold. Without the stimulus of companionship and conversation it was not to be wondered at if he fell into despondency. As has been truly observed by more than one student of human nature, those persons who have been reared in the woods, on the frontier, acquire a grave cast of character verging upon deep melancholy. And no wonder; for the deep solemnity of the forests, the dangers and privations of their lot, all tend to make them so.

After the discovery of a lode or vein,—a difficult matter in itself,—preparations were at once made to work it, or in other words, to open the mine. The first preliminary operation was to make a clearing large enough to make room for a few miners' cabins, a shop or two, the engine and shaft houses. The embryo town was built among the charred stumps without order, on dry ground if possible, among drift boulders or knobs of trap. It often happened that the lode to be worked passed under a cedar swamp, wet and tangled. This added to the difficulty of the situation as well as the gloom of the place, for the swamp had to be drained and filled up with rock and other debris to make a foundation for the mine buildings. Some of the finest and largest towns in the upper peninsula were built in cedar swamps, upon piles and rock filling. The city of Ishpeming is a notable example of this sort. Scarcely less difficult was it to build where the erratic boulders, from a few pounds to many tons in weight, strewed the ground so thickly as to leave not a square yard of clear space. At Michigamme when the beautiful maple woods had been stripped from the land, and burnt, it was a ghastly sight to see hundreds of acres of granite and quartz boulders mingled with masses of iron ore covering the ground, reminding one of a graveyard in ruins. In one sense it was a graveyard, for this boulder drift was no other than the wreck of preëxisting formations, disrupted and transported by glacial currents.

Thus, among stump and rocks, our mine hamlet struggles forward. A road has to be cut out to the nearest water. Like all roads in the woods in a new country it is rough and crooked. The primitive corduroy so familiar to pioneers is one of its characteristic features. The terrible jolting one received while passing over it in a lumber wagon is not remembered with unalloyed satisfaction. But this was preferable to wallowing hub deep through mud and mire. The task of hauling supplies and machinery over such roads was herculean. The pedestrian had an easier way, following a winding trail over the new-fallen leaves. But his journey was by no means

a holiday. In the absence of horses or oxen he was called upon to pack in on his back provisions, steel and powder. He would shoulder a package of 100 pounds or so and make light of a journey of ten or twenty miles a day. An old packer would often carry a barrel of pork or fish, placed in bags, in this way. He carried his blankets besides, so that if he were caught out at night he would have them for a bed. He who addresses you had some pleasant experiences of this kind,—pleasant to contemplate now through a vista of some forty years. He shouldered a barrel of whitefish and trotted off with it, up a steep hill, a distance of four miles. He wishes he could perform the simple feat now. Old Edward, a Hudson Bay employé, who was a young man in the war of 1812, was the most muscular Frenchman I ever met. At the age of ninety he could lift from the ground a barrel of whisky with ease. He could swallow the contents in detail with no greater effort. He told me, as we sat by the camp fire, that he subsisted one entire winter in a fur trader's camp, on Lac Vieux desert, on a ration of two small suckers per day. Toward spring he became greatly emaciated and suffered such intolerable pangs of hunger that he was often out of his mind. But for the surreptitious use of a third *soocer* occasionally he must have died.

But to return to my subject. The work of developing our mine was a slow process, at an early day, before the invention of power drills and high explosives. The shaft was sunk in the solid rock with hand drills, one man holding the drill and two striking it with steel hammers. This party worked ten hours and was then relieved by another set of men, the work continuing day and night. Coarse black powder was the only explosive in use. To sink 120 feet in a year was efficient duty. Now with air-compressor drills and dynamite the same amount of work is done in one month. The progress of the age is scarcely anywhere more strikingly exemplified than in modern mining. Under the old system it took several years to open a mine and test it so as to be assured of its real value. Meantime no costly improvements in building or machinery were attempted by wise managers. Consequently the mining town or hamlet remained in the rough, with no effort at embellishment, and presented about as forbidding an aspect as could well be.

To-day matters are managed differently. To illustrate: The Tamarack mine began sinking a great shaft to cut the Calumet lode at a depth of 2,000 feet. The work was experimental, for, although there was little doubt in the mind of Superintendent Daniell that the lode would be cut, there was no certainty that copper would be found in it in paying quantities. However, the great work was vigorously and boldly prosecuted. At the depth of 2,370 feet the lode was cut, and, fortunately for the enterprising company concerned, it proved rich. Only three and a half years were consumed in this remarkable

work. A new town sprang up immediately on the site of the mine, with excellent buildings, etc.

But we return again to slower times and methods. As years wore away more room was required. The forests were cleared in ever widening circles. Fuel and timber were needed for general mine use. A reädjustment and enlargement of the plant was necessary. Regular streets were laid out, graded and macadamized. Nowhere do you find better streets and roads than in the copper region. The old huts give way to comfortable edifices, and, wonderful to relate, paint on the houses is seen. Garden plats appear, and modest little flower beds cheer the hearts of the good women who have so long had nothing more inviting than blackened stumps to look at. The long days of that high latitude in summer are exceedingly favorable to the growth of flowers and small fruits. The deep snow of winter, seemingly so unpropitious to gardening, is really beneficial. It prevents the ground from freezing and covers all shrubs and plants with an admirably contrived blanket, impervious to the keenest cold. The delicate tea rosé, the geranium and violet are confidently left to the care of dame nature, sleeping a long sleep, to awake on the disappearance of the snow, with robust life and unparalleled vigor and beauty.

Spring in this northern region comes in with a bound. The growth of all kinds of vegetation is marvelous.

A better wagon road to the shipping port is called for by the growing industiries. It is made. Population by natural increase and immigration is rap dly expanding. Nowhere in America are the good wives more prolific than in the mining regions. With or without reference to a primal injunction of scripture, those people increase and multiply amazingly. Hence the rude log schoolhouse soon gives way to the larger edifice of wood, brick or stone. Schoolmasters multiply. Great attention is given to primary education. Graded schools, with all modern appliances, are found there to-day. And to give the young men that kind of education which they most require, to fit them for their duties as accomplished miners and engineers the state has wisely established a school of mines at Houghton. Churches are also built, whose tall spires take the place of the pine and maple. Stores, shops, hotels, saloons, hospitals, banks, a postoffice, skating rinks, halls, opera houses, in short everything that goes to make a modern city rapidly takes ground.

The source of all this activity, wealth and prosperity is, of course, the mine. The city has grown from the mine and is closely wedded to it. The mine gave it birth and supports it. Yet the city is a sort of extrinsic growth —a parasite, if you please. For the mine has a distinct individuality, and has great works of its own to carry on. Underground it has its shafts and

drifts, or galleries, which correspond with the streets and avenues of a city. Hundreds and thousands of feet below the surface of the ground there are railroads, cars, telegraph and telephone lines, and great chambers bright with glittering spars and copper, illuminated by artificial light and filled with miners, trammers and timbermen. The solid rock is pierced with rapidly revolving power drills, moved by compressed air sent down in tubes from reservoirs on the surface. The dynamite cartridge explodes with terrific force, tears asunder the hardest rock held together by tough native copper. Great blocks come crashing down and are seized upon by the trammers, thrown into cars which are pushed to the shafts. Here the rock is dumped into huge skips, or cars, and hoisted by the great engine to the surface, and then dumped into a car of an automatic tram road and moved rapidly away to the distant rock houses where the car discharges its freight and returns to its station without the aid of man. It is hauled by an endless rope wound round a big drum at the engine house. In the rock house it is treated by a large gang of men, called surface men. The underground city is a curious place. To remove the water from the mine great iron pipes descend to the bottom and the great pump, moved by a powerful engine, lifts the water to the surface when it is discharged. To keep the mine open, or in other words, to keep the opposite walls from coming together after the mineral has been removed from the lode, an immense quantity of heavy timber is used as shoves or stays. A quarter section of pine would speedily find burial in those deep caverns. Indeed a big mine has an awful maw for stolls or saw logs. The consumption of square and round timber and plank is enormous.

The hardy fellows who work in the mine are generally contented and healthy. The liability to accidents is ever present, but there are no noxious gases, no terrible explosions, as in coal mines. The air is salubrious, though tainted as a matter of course, with the smoke of "villainous gunpowder." The miners work in gangs or "pairs" as they term it. A "pair" may be two, four or six men, then also called a "party." The work is generally by contract, and goes on night and day. The ten hour system prevails —though often, owing to peculiar circumstances, a gang works only eight hours. The night "shift" dine at midnight in the depths of the mine. They carry down with them a tin pail containing coffee and meats. A Cornishman when he is going to dine says, I must take my "meat." They warm their coffee with the candle on their hats; their "paasty" in the same manner. A "paasty" is an enormous turn-over, filled with chopped beefsteak, boiled potatoes and onions with spice. This strong dish is immensely satisfying. It is the Cornishman's great backer, but no native American should indulge in the toothsome "paasty" at a late hour unless he should desire to

have called up in his dreams, ghosts of his forefathers, in unlimited succession.

Timbermen are an important class of skilled men in all mines; they perform all the work in wood, building the shaft tramway, ladderway, besides putting in the stolls and staging and the pumps.

At first, access is had to the mine by means of rude ladders, but this is a toilsome road way after the mine becomes deep. A man-engine moved by steam is then substituted. This engine consists of two strong wooden rods or beams, with a small platform, guarded by iron rail, occurring every ten feet on each rod. The rods are close together, resting on rollers, having a parallel, though reverse motion. One rod goes down while the other comes up. At each stroke of ten feet the platforms are just opposite of each other. A man going down into the mine steps on a platform and sinks ten feet. He then steps onto the opposite platform which has come up and that, reversing its motion, carries him down ten feet more, and so on, until the lowest depths are reached. It is an interesting sight to stand at the mouth of the shaft and look down into the dark abyss. The whistle has blown for dinner; the signal bell sounds the glad tidings throughout the mine. While you are gazing you see far down a point of light. It grows larger presently so that you can see that it is a candle stuck with clay on a miner's hat. Another and another twinkling star rises. You see a long line of them swaying from right to left. The first man now steps out on the platform at your side—a burly Cornishman—clothed in white duck coat and trousers, hob-nailed boots and a hard miner's hat. He blows out his candle and walks off, followed by a hundred or more of his companions. We follow the crowd to the "change house." This is a great stone building well heated, provided with hot and cold water baths. Here the men change their garments after copious bathing. Some of these people live with their families, in cottages, others in great boarding houses. You will see on every mine whole streets devoted to miners. The cottages are comfortable, often having gardens attached. These dwellings belong to the company and are rented to the men. These employés are generally well paid and provided for. It is for the best interests of the corporations to keep their men contented so as to insure faithful service and permanency. It is true all corporations are not so wise, but it is a fact, which speaks well for the general management of the mines of the upper peninsula, that labor troubles, strikes, etc., are less frequent there than elsewhere.

The mining companies provide hospitals, medicines and doctors, and the people are taxed a small sum for them. The miners have aid societies and guilds of their own.

We are now on the surface, leaving the Cyclopean mines to their special sphere. Here we can view the immense hoisting, pumping and other engines which do the hardest work. The machinery of its class, is as fine and powerful as any in the world. When the mine was new a windlass, rope and barrel bucket, running on rude skids, with man power, were the instruments used. Later came in the thirty horse power engine, the iron kibble with rope or chains, for the hoisting of mineral. But as the mine developed more efficient machinery was required and substituted, until now there are hoisting engines of many hundred horse power with steel rope and immense skips or cars, running up and down the shafts at high speed, upon T rail, laid in beautifully timbered shafts. The great winding friction drum, thirty feet in diameter, for the rope, revolves with great steadiness and precision, handled by one man, as if it were a toy. There is attached an indicator which tells where the car is at any moment in the shaft; there are also bell and electric signals, communicating with the deepest portions of the mine.

The great pumping engine is a marvel of ingenuity and power.

The automatic railroad on trestles high up in the air, transporting mineral from the several shafts to the receiving, or rock house, is a wonderful mechanism. It seems at a distance to be operated by a mysterious power, for no men are seen to manage it. But the cars are drawn by an endless rope which passes round a drum placed in a remote engine house.

The rock house is an interesting place to visit. It is a very large building to which all of the rock containing mineral is brought for treatment. Hundreds of busy men are seen there. The crash of the rock as it tumbles down upon iron screens from the elevated railroad, the blows of the heavy sledge hammers, the flying splinters, the ponderous thud of the steam hammer, the crunching of the iron jawed rock breakers, the rapid movement of scores of wheelbarrows, all constitute an animated scene, but ordinary conversation is drowned and the ears almost deafened by the din and clangor. The broken rock disappears under the floor and is caught in shutes. At the mouth of these shutes a train of cars is speedily loaded, and, drawn by a powerful locomotive, it darts away through the forest, down steep grade to deliver its freight at the distant stamp mill, situated on lake or stream. Here the rock containing copper already so roughly handled, is subjected to a final and more radical treatment. After running under great steam stamps where it is finely pulverized, it flows out on the separators. Here the copper, by repeated washings, is separated from the sand and saved, while the sand and slime are discharged into the lake as waste matter. There are many ingenious devices about this great stamp mill which I cannot stop to describe. I will content myself by stating that the capacity of these modern mills is

almost incredible, to wit: 800 to 1,000 tons of hard rock each twenty four hours. As an outgrowth of the mill we find large docks and warehouses, a fleet of tug boats and scows, coal docks, smelting works and a large and prosperous village.

A great mine is a vast industry, a source of incalculable wealth, with a life extending through many years. It benefits not only its immediate people, but the whole mineral region and state at large. Its annual or quarterly dividends to stockholders, however remote, are always appreciated. From $10,000 to $100,000 are distributed monthly by each mine—a fertilizing stream that reaches far out, in many directions.

The mine is managed by a large corps of officers, namely, first the "agent," the mine captains, the surface captains, civil and mining engineers, chemist, mechanical engineers, machinists, timbermen, carpenters, chief and subordinate clerks, doctors and surgeons, superintendent of stamps and bosses, *ad infinitum.*

The people of the mine are made up of many nationalities. The most numerous are the American, Scotch, Irish, German, Cornish, Canadian French, Scandinavian, with a sprinkling of Italian, Belgian, half breed and Indian. There is, as a matter of course, in this conglomeration a diversity of languages, habits and customs. But while retaining many of their national characteristics, as a mass, the community have fused harmoniously. The famous "conglomerate," made up from a variety of minerals, the wreck of older formations, is connected and tied together by the shining native copper. So with our mining community. Its various constituents drifting mainly from the old kingdoms of Europe are drawn hither by an affinity of interest, the tie that binds them is copper.

A large majority of these foreign born people become citizens and will remain so, while their numerous offspring, knowing no other allegiance, will doubtless, in time, become Americans in all respects, true sons and daughters of the great republic. Many of us native Americans do not have to travel a great way back in our lineage to "tree" a Scotch, Irish or English grandfather. The great American nation is, in fact, to use a geological phrase, the biggest "conglomerate" out.

The American as found in the mines differs little from the same species found elsewhere. He is intelligent, capable, pushing and enterprising. He does not take to practical mining; it is not his vocation. He prefers to work on the surface in the sunshine. He likes authority, likes to be boss. He is found in many responsible positions. He is a civil or mining engineer and explorer, a machinist, a supply clerk, a chief clerk, an architect and draughts-

man, a captain, banker and school master. He has the usual penchant for politics and will accept office—when elected.

The Cornishman, or "cousin Jack," is a native of the duchy of Cornwall, England. I suppose that a residence of a thousand years or more in the insular kingdom entitles him to the protection of the queen, but he has (unadulterated) no Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins. He is supposed to be of Phœnecian or Carthaginian origin. His enterprising ancestors came to Cornwall in quest of tin, and, some of them, finding the climate pleasant and tin plenty, gained a foothold on the rocky peninsula and staid there. The Cornishman of the present day, like his father, is of a roving disposition. His footsteps may be traced around the globe. There is no prominent mining field in the world wherein you will not find "Cousin Jack." He is in Alaska, California, the Rocky Mountains, Mexico, Central and South America, in Australia, India and Lake Superior. He is a first rate miner and possesses a certain sturdiness of frame and disposition that commends him to the observer. He works hard, eats well and fights bravely. He is, numerically, very strong in our northern mines, and, being, as a rule, steady, conservative and skillful, he finds ready employment. He likes mining; esteems his vocation among the most honorable, if not aristocratic. He despises the duties of an ordinary day laborer. In short, he is a born miner and nothing else. As an individual he has many amusing peculiarities; he is fond of his beer, likes to wrestle and is not averse to a hand to hand fight. But he is not quarrelsome. But "Cousin Jack's" language attracts most attention. His dialect, pure and simple, is unique. He uses many English words with a strange twist, while other words of his you would look for in vain in Webster's unabridged. His idiomatic expressions are curious. I give an example or two. A fond mother shows me her fat, moon faced baby girl. I say, admiringly, what a plump face your child has. She says: "Oh, 'ees face is the best limb 'ee 'ave." "Your fayther is coming, tell she to 'eave 'ee on," meaning the dinner. Mary Anne cries out—Children go in, your mother is calling you. The children answer, "Oh us don't belong to she."

I give one quotation from a long Cornish poem entitled

MARY ANNE IN THE GROCERY LINE.

Iss Betsy—i can selly, here,
Good tay fur dree an sex, my dear,
And shugar cheaper too;
Al pented green, an in a row,
Twelve kenisters i got to show,
But hafe ar himpty, you—

An chistes,—i do pile up they,
To make mun think they'un ful of tay,
Fur that's the gammut here;
You mus desaive the fokes a bit,
Or sartainly you waant be fit,
To kip a shop, my dear.

Thares zalted hake,—an very nice,
Onny a penny fur a slice,—
I sells a lot o' that;
I dails in pekeled pulchards too,
But they in Mevygizzy, you,
I blieve be twice so fat.

I beg to add a few translations—to-wit:

Higs	eggs.	Wirl	hip.
Deef	empty.	Teel	tail.
Titch	for once.	Heer	air.
Tet	push.	Cloonk	drink.
Tooly	fine fellow.	Coption	quantity.
Thoft	though.	Hodamatody	booby.

But we find in the mines many gentlemen of Cornish birth who are well educated and efficient, occupying positions of trust and responsibility. Many of the captains and agents are Cornishmen.

The Scotch, as is well known, are canny bodies, and succeed in the mines as elsewhere, in pushing themselves to the front. They make good miners, but most of them, like the Yankee, prefer to work above ground.

The Irish are numerous—many of them are miners, but they are versatile and disposed to turn their hand to any kind of surface work also, such as handling cars, making railroads, and feeding stamps. They become good business men and are natural politicians, are always busy at the polls and never refuse a candidacy even for the highest office in the gift of the people. In the schools their children are very bright and numerous.

The Canadian Frenchman could not be induced to become a miner. The depths of a mine are a horror to his lively fancy and timid disposition. His forte is in the woods and his tool, *par excellence*, is an ax. In cutting cord wood, hewing timber, hauling saw logs, rafting and boating, etc., he is *au fait*. He avoids the great mine community and loves to dwell near the water, or in the woods, having for his companions his own people. He is clannish in this respect. He is active, patient, good natured, likes to talk, likes the violin and the dance. He spends his money freely, but is not without native shrewdness, is a good deal of a politician, and generally manages to become the owner of a small farm with a comfortable home. He is a good citizen.

The Scandinavians, who include Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Danes, are the latest comers to the lake, but they have become a marked addition to the population. A few of them take to mining but the majority of them are common laborers engaging in anything that promises remuneration. Quite a number are fishermen, pursuing their calling profitably in the waters of the great lake, in boats built after the manner of the old Vikings. They are a hardy race and find the climate and country much like that of their old homes beyond the sea. They are better educated than many of the other classes, but have not so much capacity for general work. At first their advent was not hailed with satisfaction. The old settlers looked down upon them with the same sort of aversion as the west coast people do on the heathen Chinee. But they are not heathen, but good Lutheran christians and are rapidly working their way into favor and influence. Among them are found gentlemen of superior education and intelligence.

The German makes a capable miner but he does not stick to the business long after coming to this country. He prefers to keep store, run a hotel or saloon, and manage a brewery. He is convivial but looks out for the main chance, accumulates property and becomes an alderman.

The mining classes in my judgment are very quiet and law abiding, considering their occupation and surroundings. There is a good deal of the freedom of the frontier, and, although a world of beer is drank, the amount of drunkeness and crime is much less than one would expect to find. There have been occasional strikes but they have been exceptional. There has never been that marked "unrest" among the laboring classes of the Lake Superior country that is so common elsewhere as to be almost chronic. They have chosen to follow the even tenor of their way unprovoked by demagogues whose sympathy for the busy toilers is only another name for personal aggrandizement.

There is one peculiarity in towns and cities of the mining regions that strikes an observer from the land of steady habits unfavorably, namely, the festive character of Sunday. The saloons are all wide open on that sacred day and well patronized. Pleasure excursions by rail or on the water are in order. Bands of music and parades of firemen and guilds enliven the morning hour as the pious are wending their way to church. The sound of church bells is drowned in the blare of the trombone. Nor is this all. The saloons are kept open on all holidays and on election days. As a mitigation it is averred that public opinion sanctions these open violations of law and that juries will not convict offenders. If this be so then public opinion—that social tyrant—needs reforming. And it is pleasant to be able to say that more than one city in the mines has had strength enough to close the saloons

on Sunday. But all puritanical traditions are at a discount among a people who are frontiersmen and cosmopolitans.

Upon the whole our miner is a good citizen, and has worked wonders in that northern wilderness—the upper peninsula.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF HON. RIX ROBINSON; A PIONEER OF WESTERN MICHIGAN.

BY GEORGE H. WHITE, OF GRAND RAPIDS

At the time that Rix Robinson settled upon the Grand River of the territory of Michigan, sixty four years ago, there was not a neighbor towards the west (except, possibly, one Indian trader) nearer than the Mississippi river; nor to the north within two hundred miles; nor to the eastward within one hundred and twenty miles; nor to the south (except at his own Kalamazoo station) within one hundred miles. If there was no other reason for it than this, it would be very proper that some attention should be given to the preservation of his memory, but when we add that it was largely through his influence and efforts that the Indians of western Michigan entered into the treaty by which they sold their lands north of Grand River, in this state, to the government, for a fair compensation; and that they and the white settlers lived together so peaceably that our early history presents none of the bloody scenes that disfigure the early history of Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana; and the further facts of his participation in the early administration of affairs in the government of this state, and his prominence in the ranks of the then dominant party, placing within his reach the highest office in the gift of the people of this state, had he desired it, urgently call for a sketch of him, while yet the material for it is within our reach, for within a short time it will be lost forever. So I have deemed it proper to lay before you to-day what I have learned of it mostly from his associates, friends and relatives who survive him, and from a personal acquaintance with him of nearly twenty years.

Rix Robinson was the second son of Edward Robinson, born in Preston, Conn., and Eunice Robinson, born at the same place. His birthplace was at

Richmond, Berkshire county, Mass., where his father, for many years, carried on his trade of blacksmithing, and the cultivating of a very few acres of land. Rix was born on the 28th day of August, 1789, but at about the beginning of this century his father removed, with his family, to the fertile Genesee country, (then so famous) into that part of the town of Scipio that is now the town of Venice, in Cayuga county, N. Y. He was the third of thirteen children, the oldest a girl, being the only child of the first wife, the others being the children of the second wife. He had eight brothers, all of whom attained a stalwart manhood.

He had, and fully availed himself of, the advantages of an excellent common school and academical training at a somewhat locally famous academy in Cayuga county. At the age of about nineteen years he commenced the study of law (which with the approval of his parents he had chosen as his future avocation), at Auburn, N. Y., in a law office of excellent repute, which he continued three years, and then was admitted to practice law in 1811, if my memory serves me rightly, or possibly in 1812. Soon after this, and before he had entered upon his practice, the war of 1812 was commenced. His father was a very bitter opponent of it, of the Connecticut and Massachusetts school, as unnecessary and suicidal, as was the very general opinion of New Englanders of that day, and about which parties were then pretty evenly divided.

Samuel Phelps, a neighbor living half a mile away, had received the appointment of a sutler to some of the troops them massed on the Canadian frontier, and not having enough capital, and needing a bright, energetic, and active assistant, proposed to Robinson to go into partnership with him and furnish $1,000, a very large sum of money in those days. His father approved of it as a business venture, and furnished him the money, having to borrow a portion of it, his brother Lewis working out by the month afterwards to pay the borrowed portion. Mr. Phelps stayed principally with the troops, and Rix made the purchases and saw to their transportation to the places where used. While thus engaged, drafting took place, he as well as his elder brother Edward, being the holder of a prize number, to fill up the New York militia regiments. His father's opposition to the war was so strong that he was determined that neither of his sons should go, and commanded them to keep out of the way of the officers sent to pick up the drafted persons, a not very hard job at that time. Rix was up stairs at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Eunice Church, a few miles away from his father's house, engaged in writing in a back room when the officers came to take him. They were informed that he had been there. After waiting awhile and he not appearing, they went away without him, and no further

effort to get him was made before the close of the war. This was the only cause of his remaining in the west so long, for he had incurred a heavy pecuniary penalty in common with others, and many prosecutions were commenced in that region to recover, and his was one of the cases which they announced they would prosecute, and went so far as to issue process which, because of his continued absence, they were unable to serve.

He and his partner continued this sutler business after the close of the war. Without receiving its pay their regiment was ordered to Detroit. Nearly all of its members were largely indebted to them and they followed so as to be present at paying off time, and receive their dues. They were twenty six days in getting their stock of supplies and themselves from Buffalo there. Pay day did not arrive. The regiment was ordered to Mackinac. They followed on the brig Hunter, arriving there in November, 1815. They received the appointment of post sutlers, and remained until the troops were ordered to Green Bay, where they remained during the winter of 1816 and 1817, after which the troops were dispersed in detachments without receiving their back pay. A part of them were ordered to Dubuque and a part to Mackinac; the partners separated, keeping with the largest detachments. Their time expired and without being paid and formally mustered out they, as it were, disbanded and returned to their homes, leaving the sutlers minus their goods and their pay, and with only their promises, which were in but few instances kept. Messrs. Phelps and Robinson found that all their profits for several years of labor, and a considerable portion of their capital were outstanding.

Mr. Robinson was much chagrined over this condition of things, and was aware that process was out against him at home for the penalty of non-appearance to do military duty, a judgment on which would absorb the balance of his means, and leave him indebted besides; with that firmness and determination that was a marked trait with him, he concluded to go into the Indian trading business, if possible, and so suggested to Mr. Phelps, who readily acceded to the idea. Both of them had fully investigated it at Mackinac and Green Bay through curiosity, and become well acquainted with the good and bad qualities of furs and their values and the best modes and places of marketing them. They selected each a place to trade at with the Indians, in, I think, Wisconsin, invested their cash and their goods in goods fitted for the Indian market and incurred some considerable indebtedness. In the spring they rendevouzed together at Mackinac, disposed of their furs etc., and paid their debts, and found that Mr. Robinson had made quite handsomely, considering the difficulties that surrounded him, and that Mr. Phelps had lost about an equal amount. This unlooked for result surprised them, and resulted in a dissolution, Mr. Phelps returning eastward. Mr. Robinson

took a portion of the money and some notes which proved to be worthless except one against Mr. Douseman, but he found his capital insufficient to fully enable him to carry on the business without incurring a very large indebtedness, which he was loath to do.

John Jacob Astor had become acquainted with Mr. Robinson before this at Mackinac, and had observed him and his personal appearance, and his ways, and had been favorably impressed. At this time Mr. Astor was really the American Fur Company, which was merely a N. Y. corporation, consisting of himself and certain named associates, but who had not put a cent into the concern, he furnishing its whole capital. At this time he was engaged in having a large number of clerks brought in, principally from Montreal, and distributing them around to the different stations. Those who showed no aptitude for the trade he would weed out and retain the others, apprentices as it were, in the trade. As subsequent events show it was a part also of his plan then to cover the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains, next to the northern boundary, which then was one of the principal sources of supply of the Hudson's Bay Company, with stations, and then secure as far as he readily could, the services of the independent traders, as employés, and *compel* the others to seek his employ by putting, in each instance, one of his best men in the neighborhood of such trader, giving him unlimited supplies, with directions to overbid such with the Indians, each time, and compel him thereby to either leave because of lack of business or seek his employ; but at this time, 1818, he had not got so far as to develop this last portion of his plan. At this time there was a point several hundred miles away, and very near to the St. Peter's river and to the Hudson Bay Company's post, that it was essential to his plans to have occupied. Thus far, each one who had been sent there had been intimidated and driven off, without in any manner getting up any trade with the Indians there. At this time his two real resident partners at the west were Ramsey Crooks, who was in New York city most of the time as purchasing agent of the Mackinac depot of the company, and Robert Stuart, who managed the affairs at the west from Mackinac.

It occurred to Mr. Astor that Robinson, who was then a large, powerful young man of about 30 years of age, over six feet tall, of splendid physical presence, apparently a courageous person, somewhat acquainted with the Indian language and habits, and a little acquainted with Indian trading and much so with men, a well informed young man, might succeed in holding the post, and resist their attempts at driving away by intimidation. Acting on this he made an offer to Mr. Robinson to go and stay through the season of 1818 and 1819, for a given sum, and as his own capital was insufficient, Mr. Robinson gladly accepted it.

He was fitted out and the stock and himself transported to the given point, by the employés of the company, and then he was left to remain there without any companion until the employés should come, in the following June, to take him and the results of his winter's trading to the grand rendezvous of the American fur company, at Mackinac.

The same course was pursued towards him that had been towards his predecessors. His post was indeed a dreary one; no Indians visited it, although passing often in sight of it on their way to Hudson Bay company posts. As the winter advanced their hostility towards him increased. It was evident to his mind that he and they would ere long be in collision, and he could hope for no aid from the equally hostile posts of the Hudson Bay company. t was becoming very monotonous to him; his only occupations were to hunt, for he was a remarkably fine marksman, and successful hunter, and passionately fond of the sport until but a short time before his death; to study the Indians as they passed by, noticing the least act and inferring its cause; and to read in his favorite Shakespeare and the very few other books he had.

Towards the close of winter he received unexpectedly a white guest; my recollection is that he stated that he was an army officer, who came on some mission among the Indians and there heard of and visited him. He was indeed gladly welcomed, for his presence broke the monotony that was becoming almost insupportable.

At this time, to all appearance, the mission of Mr. Robinson was a failure and would be fruitless. He had made every possible endeavor to secure the trade or even the presence of the Indians in his log house, that his knowledge of Indian character suggested to him as having any possible effect on the boycott that he was suffering. The old chief of the tribe was particularly active in demonstrations, such as brandishing his tomahawk, etc., and took it upon himself to frequently pass very near to the door of the post, on his way to the other traders, indulging in insults and threats, also shaking a package of furs at him, as much as to say, "Don't you wish I would sell these to you? I am going to take them to the Hudson Bay company's trader and sell them." Mr. Robinson didn't seem to notice it, but waited silently what he saw must ere long come, a collision with them, such as his predecessors had encountered. He had made up his mind that there was some way of outwitting the Hudson Bay company's people with these Indians, for he plainly saw that they were at the bottom of it. He resolved to study up the Indian character as thoroughly as he could, so as to solve the problem. One of the first things that he had noticed was, that the bundle, which seemed to be of superb fur, was so arranged as to seem to display ostentatiously that fact, and each time seemed to be of the same size; it seemed to him also that each time the furs

were too fine to be often got, and he soon concluded that it was the same package every time; that it was not a mere accidental ebullition of temper, but solely to insult and annoy him, and drive him away; he inferred that if they failed in that they would make more aggressive efforts to rid themselves of him. He had also concluded that the climax was about at hand; that he should meet it boldly and aggressively; personal fear did not trouble him at all. Mr. Robinson told the writer, and so he did Mr. John F. Godfroy, that his study of the Indian character had resulted in two rules to govern his intercourse with them, which he had pursued undeviatingly. The first was to never show any fear of an Indian, however many might be his followers or comrades. The other was never to take an insult from an Indian without chastisement, but not to administer chastisement until he had proceeded so far as to be beyond retreat or retraction, for then the administration of proper chastisement would not cause a feeling or desire of revenge, or provoke the interference of his friends.

Before the departure of his guest, the chief accompanied by a number of his tribe, entered the log shanty whose threshold they had not before crossed. Mr. Robinson had, as all Indian traders in those days had, some fire-water for sale, but this was kept in a strong log addition, whose hewn plank door (fastened together with wooden pins without any iron whatever) was closed and fastened. The chief seated himself upon a heavy three-legged stool, and the following colloquy occurred: "Got any whiskey?" "Yes." "I want some." Trader (looking around as if to see his furs), "Where are your furs, your peltries?" "Haven't any." "Well, I keep whiskey to sell, not to give away." "I help myself when they are not willing to give it freely." Upon saying this the chief jumped up, seized the stool and threw it against the door with such force as to break it open and started towards it. He had hardly got three steps before Mr. Robinson struck him with his fist under the ear. He fell senseless into the fireplace where three logs were burning, Robinson putting his foot on the chief's head. His guest caught his arm saying "Hold! Robinson! Hold! he has got enough." Robinson then dragged the body to the door, telling his followers to take him away or he would kill him; they took him away. His guest, fearing their revenge, advised him not to go any more into the woods hunting. During the winter Robinson had hunted a good deal, thereby adding to his larder, and the furs, skins and peltries of the company. He thought it over and concluded that the true course for him was to go with his rifle into the woods, where he could see an Indian as quickly as an Indian could see him, and to shoot him down if he showed the least sign of an attempt at revenge. He said that had he seen the Indian in the woods he would probably have shot him down

at sight. The next three days he went with his rifle into the woods to hunt, expecting not game but an Indian, and then gave it up.

Some four or five days after that he was sitting near the fire with his rifle over his knees, priming it, when hearing a slight noise he looked up and saw this chief peeping from one side into the door towards him. Robinson arose, walked to the door, the chief not retreating, and said: "You here?" "Yes." "Come down to fight?" "No." "Want to fight?" "No." Chief: "You want to fight?" "Yes, if you come to fight; don't you want to fight?" "No, made fool of myself other day, want to make all up with you." "Well, you have concluded to make it up, have you?" "Yes." "Well, here is a pipe of tobacco." They sat down together, smoked it and talked the matter over. From that time the chief and his tribe were his fast friends, and the Hudson Bay company got no more furs from that quarter. The chief himself brought him more fur than any other three Indians, as he was a great hunter and trapper. If any of the tribe came around a little full and was boisterous a look from him to the chief resulted in such Indian being seized by the chief and carried outside. This illustrates not only his general knowledge of human nature but his special knowledge of the Indian character.

The business of the post resulted so well that when his furs, skins and peltres were carried in to Mackinac, they were received with great surprise. Mr. Astor was not there. Mr. Stuart sought to keep him in their employ, but Mr. Robinson had resolved to be his own master.

His white guest had some acquaintance with the tobacco trade among the Indians as carried on at that time from St. Louis, and had told him whatever he knew, enveloped in such roseate hues as to fill Mr. Robinson with a desire to enter into that trade as the most lucrative that he could well enter, Mr. Robinson drew all of his funds out, went to St. Louis and bought a quantity of tobacco and some supplies and went into business again as an independent Indian trader, and pursued it among them during the season of 1819. The profit he made selling tobacco to the Indians increased his capital to a point sufficient to enable him to again start in business on his own account as an Indian trader. In looking around for a location, he concluded that a post on the Calumet river, in what is now South Chicago, would be among the most desirable and advantageous, so he commenced there in the autumn. His winter's business was so good that he found himself able to establish another station down on the Illinois river, about twenty five miles from its mouth, in 1820, and also one in Wisconsin, at or near where Milwaukee now stands.

In the years 1819 and 1820 St. Louis was the point at which he disposed of his furs, etc., and purchased his goods and supplies. The journey to and

from that place in his canoes and barges was long, slow and tedious, and had many portages, and was very monotonous. But in 1821 his position changed; he was no longer a mere Indian trader, but became a limited partner in the American Fur Company, Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart being, so far as I can learn, the only full partners of Mr. Astor therein. Mr. Astor was at Mackinac, and from there sent to Mr. Robinson a request to meet him at Mackinac, and then offered him the chance to go to the Grand, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon rivers, making his headquarters on the Grand. At this time the British government was paying to the Indians of Michigan an annuity (if it may be so termed) and making presents, at a certain time, at Malden, in Canada, thereby keeping their good will, and, to some extent, securing their furs, etc.

The American Fur Company had for some years a small station near the mouth of the So-wan-que-sāke (meaning forked stream, that is the Thornapple) river, where it empties into the O-wash-te-nong (Grand) river. The literal meaning of the name is, "far in the interior;" that is literally, "far off land river." The post was near where Ada is, and, for some time after her husband's death, had been managed quite ably by Madame La Framboise, a French half-breed, in the interest of the American Fur Co., but she had concluded to retire from the business.

Mr. Robinson accepted the offer and at once closed up his post near the mouth of the Illinois river, and came over to the mouth of the Grand river, now Grand Haven, and established a post, although prior to that he had taken possession of the one at Ada. He selected a lovely site on the bank of the river at a point from which he could readily penetrate into the remote interior parts of the lower peninsula by means of the Grand river and its numerous long tributaries, navigable for the canoe and the Mackinac boats, as his permanent home. For he had now become so completely weaned from civilized life as to have no desire to return to it. He also selected and married according to the Indian customs, Pee-miss-a-quot-o-quay (flying cloud woman), the daughter of the principal chief of the Pere Marquette Indians, in September, 1821. By her he had one child, now the Rev. John Robinson, an exemplary Methodist missionary among the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of the state.

She died; he married again (the white man's way) another Indian woman who had been educated in the mission school at Mackinac. Her name was Se-be-quay (river woman); the ceremony was performed by Rev. Leonard Slater, the Baptist missionary at Thomas Station. She was a sister of Na-bun-na-ge-zhick ("half day" or "part of the day") and granddaughter of

Na-nom-ma-daw-ba, the head chief of the Grand river Indians at the mouth. By her he had no children.

He established other posts at Flat river, at Muskegon and up the Kalamazoo a few miles from its mouth. His firmness and decision, his absolute fairness of dealing, his knowledge of their character, and his remarkable knowledge of their language, his acquaintance with their traditions, customs and unwritten laws, his truthfulness, and his taking to himself an Indian wife, resulted in giving him a very great influence among that people.

Many stories illustrative of these traits are told of him. I will select and relate two or three.

Nim-min-did, a large, powerful, finely built Indian bully well known on the lower Grand river from its mouth to Flat river, who thoroughly hated a white man, in 1823, conspired with some other Indians, having a like hatred, to thresh Mr. Robinson and drive him from the river, through fear. His conduct on two or three occasions when he came to the Ada trading post was such as to satisfy Mr. Robinson that he meant to give him trouble, when a good opportunity arose, so he was particularly guarded in his intercourse with that Indian. On the return of the Indians from one of their great hunts Mr. Robinson was much gratified by their encamping near his post, until he discovered that Nim-min-did was with them and they had a bottle or two of whiskey. He surmised that now his time of trial had come. He went into his storeroom, cleared an open space, and placed an armful of finely cut rather long maple sticks on the fire. In a little time a lot of squaws and young and old Indians crowded into the room, followed by Nim-min-did, who began jostling the other Indians. Robinson stepped forward to Nim-min-did and ordered him to leave; hardly were the words of refusal out of his mouth before Mr. Robinson caught and threw him into the fire, taking him completely by surprise. The squaws shrieked, the old men ejaculated, "Ugh! ugh!" and the young Indians laughed at the discomfited bully, to whom but a moment before they were ready to bow down. Nim-min-did rolled off the fire, howling with pain, and ran to the woods a few rods away. In those few minutes he had lost his standing and become an outcast. Nothing was seen or heard of him for a number of years, when on one occasion, as Mr. Robinson was in his canoe, being paddled along near Battle Point, on the lower Grand river, a tall Indian stood on the Point and beckoned to them to come ashore. On landing, the Indian rushed up to Mr. Robinson with apparent gladness and friendliness—it was Nim-min-did. After a few minutes talk with him, in which he stated that he had gone away a good many days' journey, and had been a good Indian ever since, they separated, and none of them ever saw or heard of him after that.

A year or two after that his agent, at Grand Haven, told him that one of the Indians there, who was large and reputed to be quite strong and ugly, was in the habit of coming into the store room, and without leave to do so, or paying for it, helping himself to whiskey. The next time Mr. Robinson was there he inquired into it. But a day or two elapsed before the Indian came in and, as usual, proceeded to help himself to the whiskey. Mr. Robinson said, "What do you want?" Reply, "Whiskey." "Well, if you pay for it you can have it." "I will have it, pay or no pay," and the Indian started towards the barrel. Mr. Robinson planted a heavy blow between his eyes, knocking him down and then kicking him out. Several days after a young friendly Indian came to him and told him to look out, for this Indian was bad and had just carefully hid a knife in his breech cloth and was coming to talk with him. Soon the Indian came in and wanted him to go out with him and talk it over. The Indian started to go out behind him. Robinson said, "Go ahead." When they got off one side, Robinson said, "When we talk this over you may get mad, have you got a knife about you?" "Oh no," he replied, "he had no knife, he would not get mad." Robinson said, "I must search you." The Indian had so adroitly secreted the knife that Robinson did not discover it, but the young Indian stepped up and pulled it out from his breech cloth behind. The Indian appeared dumbfounded at being detected. Robinson said, "You have brought me out here into the bushes by the river to murder and throw me into the river, have you?" "No, no!" Robinson was enraged, jumped on to him, threw him into the river and held his head under water; he became insensible, the bubbles gurgled up through the water, he was drowning him. Some squaws seeing them go towards the bushes of the river bank, had surmised the truth and hurried forward, as was their usual way to prevent, if possible, any collision. Just then they got there and begged so hard of Robinson not to kill him, as he might do, under Indian law, that he passed the seemingly lifeless body to them and walked away. They resuscitated him. Robinson did not see him for more than a year, then he came to him and asked his pardon. After a time he entered his employ and was one of his best and most trusted men for many years.

When Michigan became a state in 1836, Mr. Robinson and all other Indian traders foresaw that the business of Indian trading must soon close, and he resolved to turn his attention to farming and his mercantile and land matters at Grand Haven, and go out of the business except what little might come to Ada station. He had now become very wealthy, and was looked up to and highly respected by the few white settlers that had come in within the few preceding years. In 1834 Mr. Astor had sold out the business and property of the American Fur Company to Ramsay Crooks and a party of eastern men.

This required the final settling up of the business at all posts and with all special partners; so in 1835, 1836 and 1837, Mr. Robinson settled up the affairs of the different posts in his charge and his accounts with the company, closing out the Kalamazoo post in 1837, the Grand Haven and Ada posts in 1836, and the other minor posts in 1835, to the satisfaction of both the company and himself.

In 1831 the legislative council by an act approved March 2, had set off sixteen of the present twenty four government townships of Kent county, and established them as a county by the name of Kent. In 1834 the council organized the whole county as a township to bear the name of Kent, to take effect on the first Monday of April, 1834; they had already attached this and other territory to Kalamazoo for judicial purposes, etc., October 1, 1830, and at the first election, held the first Monday of April, 1834, Mr. Robinson was elected supervisor of the township of Kent, which had then an area of 576 square miles, and as such attended the sessions of the board of supervisors of Kalamazoo county in the years 1834 and 1835.

The land where the city of Grand Haven now is, was surveyed by the government in 1832, and was opened up to preemption claims. It was here that Mr. Robinson had had his post for eleven years, and he preempted the tract on which it was situated, for he had faith that a city would grow up there when the country was settled. Mr. Robert Stuart had the same faith and purchased a half interest in it, and then sent the Rev. Wm. M. Ferry, the father of Ex. U. S. Senator T. W. Ferry, with means to go there as his agent. The Grand Haven company was organized, composed of Mr. Robinson, owning one half, and Mr. Stuart, with Mr. Ferry and Ferry's brother-in-law, Capt. N. H. White, owning the other half interest in the land, who platted the land and named it Grand Haven. Mr. Robinson had become the head of the firm (located at Grand Haven in 1835) of Robinson, White & Williams, as he was painfully reminded when he had to pay upwards of $30,000 of its indebtedness out of his own pocket.

Thus we see Mr. Robinson at the time of the foundation of this state, an ex-Indian trader, engaged in making a large, beautiful farm of several hundred acres, a large landholder, the part proprietor of a village, the head of a large mercantile establishment, and the official head of a new township whose destiny to become a rich, thriving, populous country was even then to be foreseen.

Mr. Robinson had as early as 1835 entered with all of his energy into the matter of turning emigration to western Michigan, and had procured the emigration of six of his brothers, with their families, in all forty two persons, from Cayuga county, N. Y., in 1835, coming in one vessel from Detroit, the

schooner St. Joseph. They located and became farmers at different points between the mouth of Grand river and Flat river, one of its tributaries. This was the inciting cause of a large emigration from that portion of western New York, during the next two years, of some of our most valued inhabitants.

Mr. Robinson was largely instrumental in securing the making of the treaty of Washington with the Indians in 1836, accompanying them to Washington for that purpose. By that treaty more than half of the area of the lower peninsula was ceded by the Indians to the general government, for a full, fair consideration. By it was reserved special tracts to a number of different persons, including 640 acres to the Indian family of Mr. Robinson. The land is now partly covered by the city of Grand Rapids; it was appraised and its value given them, the government keeping the land. According to Mr. Everett, the amount was $23,040 or $3 an acre.

In connection with his going to Washington with the Indian chiefs, who declinedto go without Mr. Robinson, who went at the solicitation of the government, on its expense, I will note here the following anecdote. He took charge of the transportation of the chiefs who filled two stage coaches full. They stopped at a tavern in the interior of Indiana; he stepped up to the landlord and said, "I want so many good dinners for these Indians." They were seated and just helped when the stages again drove up and the drivers announced themselves as ready to go and would not wait, as they were carrying U. S. mail. Mr. Robinson saw no help for it, and counted out the silver at 25 cents a head, the highest price then paid for a meal at a tavern, many charging as low as half that amount. The landlord said, "You must double that sir." "That is not fair, we have not even had enough to eat, and that is the highest price usually charged for such." "Fifty cents is my price sir, it is no fault of mine that the stages will not wait, the food was ready." It was paid. On their way back when nearing the same place he would not for a whole day let them eat; the chiefs complained of hunger; his only reply was, "tighten your belts." A short time before arriving at the tavern, he got up beside first one driver and then the other. The chink of silver could have been heard. They arrived there. He ordered as before, adding that his Indians were very hungry. He didn't seem to recognize the landlord or the place. The landlord smiled, as much as to say, I will make another good haul. The food was set before them. Robinson said, "Loosen your belts." It disappeared in a minute; they called for more, the girls brought it, the landlord rushed distracted to the door, but no stages were driving up, nor were there any signs of any; more food was the call; all that was cooked was brought up, then the cold meats and everything eatable were brought and eaten up;

finally their appetites were satisfied, but the famine in that house was awful. Mr. Robinson stepped up to the landlord and counted out one half a dollar a head. "That will not pay me one quarter of the cost of the raw material." "I can't help it, sir; you set your own price when we were here before, and that is it; and look here friend, would it not be well to not play tricks on travelers?" "Well, sir, you shan't go until you pay me my charges." "Sir, don't you know that at a word from me, you and every man about here would be killed in ten minutes? It will not look well for you to attack them or attempt to keep them." The coachmen were called and were quickly on hand. The whole secret of the matter was, Mr. Robinson had penetrated the innkeeper's secret and overbid him with the drivers.

At the formation of the state he was appointed one of the first board of commissioners of internal improvements, who were to expend the five million loan, which the state had made for the formation of a grand railroad system, a grand canal system, and a grand system of river improvements, and, for several years, gave almost his entire personal attention and services to the performance of its duties.

Col. Andrew T. McReynolds, then (1836 to 1848) a resident of Detroit (which was then virtually Michigan) and, at that time, one of the most prominent of her business men, and a large factor in the politics of the state, describes the standing and the personal appearance of Mr. Robinson thus: "I knew Rix Robinson from 1834, long before he went into the senate. He was a man of good judgment, and quiet, pleasant, social ways, and not at all dissipated; his habits were most excellent. His principal associates in Detroit were John Norvall, Lucius Lyon, Tom Sheldon, U. S. Senator Palmer's father, Judge Witherell, Judge Wilkins, and such men of standing always. He was a man of imposing form and stature, dressed neatly, always attracted attention on the streets more than any other man in Detroit, by his size, his general appearance, and a certain massiveness of head and face. People stopped as he he passed along to look at him. He was a very positive, determined man; it was difficult to move his convictions. He was a man of sterling integrity; his word was as good as his bond."

A mere enumeration of the offices he held, no one of which was solicited by him, for the office sought him, will give convincing proof of the estimation in which he was held in the early days of the state.

He was township assessor of Ada in 1838, and supervisor of Ada in 1841. When the supervisor system was restored in 1844 he was again supervisor of Ada. He was commissioner to build a state road from Ionia county seat to Grand Rapids in 1840. In 1836-7 he was appointed and confirmed by the senate one of the commissioners of internal improvements of the state of

Michigan. He was state senator from the 5th district in the eleventh legislature, and from the 7th district in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth legislatures. In 1844-5 he was associate justice of the circuit court for the county of Kent; was one of the commissioners for improvement of the rapids in Grand river in 184–, and member of the convention that formed the constitution in 1850, under which we are now living. The nomination to the office of governor of the state, with a certai nty of election, was in his power while the democratic party was in the zenith of its power in this state. He declined to allow his name to be used, solely because of the fact that his wife was an Indian (for whom he had the tenderest affection) and would be unable and unwilling to perform the social duties that were then required of the governor's wife. She was by no means an uneducated woman and was an excellent housekeeper, but not fitted to shine in social life. She would not even use the English language in ordinary conversation, although well acquainted with it. She was proud of her Indian blood and ancestry, and hardly deemed the generality of white blood up to its level.

Mr. Robinson was possessed of cultivated tastes, read a good deal and kept himself well posted on the topics of the day. He was a quiet man, reserved, but not shy; not given to talking much about himself, and was a very careful, conscientious, truthful man in making statements. His insight into human nature was quite extraordinary. He had great love of his home, his family and his kin, and was always the red men's friend, to whom they went in difficulty for counsel and advice.

He had much quiet humor, as was shown by his famous proclamation against the logs; was a good story teller, when with intimate friends; had a very retentive, ready memory, was energetic and sympathetic. He took up the wrongs of the Indians always, and had them redressed, as in the case of the trial and conviction of Miller for the murder, in 1842, of the squaw, Ne-ga. In the detection and arrest of the fugitive sheriff, Hon. T. D. Gilbert won for himself laurels and evinced considerable skill as a detective, as seemingly he had no starting clue.

His kicking Sim Johnson, one of Buchanan's trusted political friends, through the streets of Grand Rapids, for not returning 2,000 silver dollars lent him to enable his wildcat bank to make a good show to the bank commissioner who was inspecting its pecuniary condition, was done in mid-day, in the most public part of the city. Johnson was nearly as tall and well formed a man as Mr. Robinson. The ridicule it excited drove Johnson away.

Mr. Robinson was always very hospitable and gene_ous, often aided his friends with his name, to such an extent that at the time of his death, although possessing yet a large property, it was found to not very much

exceed his liabilities. He became president of the Old Settlers' Association of Kent, Ionia and Ottawa counties three years before his death and held that position when he died.

He was a man of temperate habits. Until a couple of years before his death, he was not in the habit of attending divine service, save on funeral occasions. The complete reformation that the influence of divine truth had produced upon his son, the Rev. John. R. Robinson, in elevating him from a drunken, dissolute half-breed, a source of constant trouble and anxiety to his father, to a sober, grave, considerate, kind son, a good citizen, an humble follower of the cross, an outspoken disciple, a clergyman working with zeal among his race, and one whose private life had become unblemished, after a time caused him to turn his attention to the cause of it, and finally to ask for the rite of baptism himself. The last two or three years of his life he was himself a follower of the cross, and he had the utmost confidence as to his future life beyond this world.

His intellect was strong and clear; it was only the physical body that was worn out and ceased to be the wrap of the soul January 13, 1875.

No monument marks the place where this remarkable man's remains repose, on the crest of a hill at Ada, overlooking the river he so loved, and the home of more than fifty years of his life.

JUDGE BAZIL HARRISON.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. D. P. VAN BUREN.

Judge Bazil Harrison, the pioneer settler of Kalamazoo county, died at the residence of his son, John S. Harrison, on Prairie Ronde, Aug. 30, 1874, at the advanced age of 103. years. The following sketch of the life of the deceased was prepared at the time of his death, by Mr. J. H. Stone, the former editor of the Kalamazoo Telegraph

Judge Harrison came of not only hardy stock, but patriotic ancestry. His paternal grandfather, William Harrison, was a native of Scotland, and his grandmother, of Welsh birth. These grandparents immigrated to Virginia,

and settled either in Berkeley or Charles City county, early in the last century. His father's name was also William Harrison, and he was born in Berkeley, Virginia, about 1732. William Harrison, Jr., was twice married, and by his two wives was the father of 23 children, our centenarian being a son of the second wife, whose name was Worlender Davis. His father married her in Maryland about the same time his younger brother, Benjamin Harrison (father of President Harrison and uncle of the judge), married her mother, Clara Davis, a widow. These two brothers seem to have been very unlike in tastes and character. Benjamin Harrison, as is well known, was one of the prominent men of the revolution, a man of great intellectual power and brilliant career. He entered public life at 24, as a member of the Virginia house of Burgesses, of which he soon became one of the leaders. He participated in the proceedings of the first congress, and was a signer of the Declaration, and during the first two years of the war served with distinction as chairman of the board of war. He was an intimate friend of Washington, and was three times elected governor of Virginia. William Harrison, the father of the subject of our sketch, was not lacking in natural capacity and not behind his younger brother in patriotism. But he seems to have been one of those characters, so frequently found in great families, who are never successful. He was, so far as we are able to learn, of good habits and industrious, but as his grandson (who remembers him well) said to the writer, "he never got ahead. He farmed it all his life, yet never owned a farm!" If, however, he did not render so great services to his country as his illustrious brother, he did not live in vain and was not lacking in patriotic endeavor. Of his twenty-three children sixteen attained their majority and Judge Harrison has several times described to us with pride and enthusiasm the departure of six of his older brothers for Washington's army. It must have been in the year 1778, perhaps just after Clinton's defeat at Monmouth had kindled the hopes of patriots, or the inhuman massacre, by Butler's savages, at Wyoming, had aroused their indignation and fears and the father's address to his sons was worthy of a sire of Rome or Sparta. "Boys," said he to his six stalwart grown sons, "I cannot go into the army myself,—I am too old, and must remain to care for mother and the younger children. But I will look after the farm and raise the corn while you are gone. We must not let the British get a foothold in this country. We had better all die than do that. Go and fight for your country and follow where Washington leads, and may God bless and keep you." As the old Judge last summer described to us this scene, there was something of youthful fire in his half dimmed eyes, and his voice strengthened as he related this event of nearly a hundred years ago. It evidently made an impression on his youthful mind never to be effaced. "Oh

yes, I remember well," said he, "we all helped them put on their guns and swords, and I saw them march away together, just at daylight, to fight under Washington." And then he related some of their narrow escapes and spoke of wounds they had received; how "Kinzie had a bullet in his neck" which he would never have extracted, but carried with him to his grave this souvenir of battle.

The Judge's father had learned to love and honor Washington, for he had been with him in Braddock's expedition, and often told his children the story of that awful day, and the charmed life that the young Virginian colonel, who was afterwards to be so great in history, seemed to wear.

Just when and where the Judge's parents were married we have been unable to definitely fix. They were, we think, however, married in Frederick county, Maryland, in about 1750, for men and women married young in those days. Our centenarian was born in the county named, 30 miles from Baltimore. As to the year of his birth, there is, and has been for quite a number of years, some dispute in the family. The old family record was destroyed about thirty five years ago, and the children do not agree as to the date. The oldest son, William Harrison, who lives in Climax, contends that it was in 1770, and assures us that he knows he is right, for he had made a transcript of the old Bible record only a few weeks before that was destroyed at the burning of his sister's house, 30 years ago, and this copy he exhibited to us. He is just 20 years, lacking two months, younger than his father, and is positive of the accuracy of his statement, which he says his mother corroborated just before her death. Judge Harrison himself says he was born in 1771, and that is the year all his children, except the oldest, agree upon. We have made considerable effort to gather evidence on this point, and in the course of our search have talked with the Judge's neighbors and fellow pioneers. Several of these latter claim that the Judge stated to them while the old record was in existence that he was born in 1772. Many of our readers at first thought may consider it strange that there should be any dispute on a simple question of age, but in the course of our search on this subject not less than ten similar cases have been related to us, and that such disagreements are quite common in old families and among even middle aged people, anyone by a little attention to the subject will discover. It is only fair, when there is such disagreement, to be governed by the preponderance of family testimony, and that fixes the date of the Judge's birth as March 15, 1771.

The names of his brothers and sisters who grew up were as follows: William, Josiah, Kinzie, Grovier, Samuel, James, Zepheniah, Sarah, Phœbe and Amelia, half brothers and sisters, children of his father by his first wife,

and Elisha, Diana, Shadrack, Ephraim and Joseph, own brothers and sisters. All of them except the three last named were older than Bazil, who was the third child by the second wife. None of these brothers and sisters are now living, nor are we able to give accurately the dates when they died. The father lived to a good old age, and died in western Pennsylvania about 1812.

The family lived near Fredericksburg until our hero was about nine years old, when his father thought to better his condition by removing to Virginia, and the family accordingly crossed the Potomac and settled on a farm near Winchester, in that part of Frederick Co. which is now known as Hampshire Co.

They did not long remain there, but after five years' residence, crossed into Pennsylvania, settling near Greencastle, Franklin Co., five or six miles from the Maryland line. The older children had by this time become somewhat scattered, several being married and engaged in farming in Virginia and Maryland. The family consisted of the father and mother and the younger children. Bazil was 14 years old. He helped his father on the rented farm for a short time, and then went to work in a distillery, a business which he followed as long as he lived in Pennsylvania. There are few incidents of his early life that we are able to obtain. He was a steady, hard working lad, energetic and thorough. He received but little education, three months in the common school forming about all of his educational curriculum. He learned to read and write however, and took quite as much interest in books as those around him. Like most boys he early fell in love, the object of his adoring passion being Martha Stillwell, the daughter of a farmer living near his father. The attachment was reciprocated, and the young couple exchanged words of love and eternal fidelity during their happy courtship. He was nearly 19 and she three years his junior. Bazil, whose love gave him confidence, boldly asked consent of Martha's parents to their marriage. Her father liked his frank and kindly ways and favored the match, but dame Stillwell had higher aspirations for her daughter. She wished her to wed the possessor of broad acres and not a penniless young man. Besides, how could she spare her daughter yet? No, she would *not* give her consent. Grieved were the lovers at this decision, but by no means obedient to the behest of the stern mother. In clandestine interviews they renewed their pledges of affection, and encouraged by Martha's father, planned an elopement. Indeed, we suspect Mr. Stillwell was the chief conspirator, and most efficient aid did he render. The day was set, but the suspicious mother kept close watch on her daughter. How to arrange her wedding outfit without the mother's knowledge puzzled the three comspirators.

The simple trousseau was mostly made by stealth, in Martha's own room

at night, she receiving some little assistance from a sister also in the secret, but she happened to be entirely out of shoes, for it was in March, and young ladies then were not ashamed to be seen in their bare feet while in the house, and very crude brogans when the weather made covering for the feet necessary. But the etiquette of Greencastle, in 1790, did not permit a bride to appear shoeless and slipperless at her wedding. Ready made shoes were unknown in the town, and the needed articles must be made to measure Several plans failed, and her father was compelled to move cautiously, in view of the fact that Dame Stillwell was somewhat suspicious. The matter was delayed for a favorable opportunity, until the day before the wedding, when further procrastination being out of the question, the father invented a ruse to accomplish the object. In the forenoon of the last day of grace, he came into the weaving room where mother and daughters were at work at the loom, and shortly began to joke Martha on the size of her feet. Picking up a shingle (carefully placed within reach beforehand for the purpose) he drew a diagram of measurement of her pedal extremities, the dimensions of which he laughed immoderately about with his wife, to the apparent great discomfiture of his daughter; and then carelessly threw the shingle out of the window. Fifteen minutes after, that shingle measure was in shoemaker Wilkins' shop and that worthy cobbler worked half the night to finish the pumps in which the runaway bride was to stand at her wedding on the morrow. The next day at dinner time Martha slipped away, and, with her father for a witness, she and Bazil were made one by the village justice. The out witted mother of course was indignant at first but soon relented, and thus March 17, 1790, was begun the matrimonial journey of Bazil Harrison and Martha Stillwell, and for nearly 70 years did the two live together as man and wife, until June 7, 1857, the union was broken by her death.

Bazil and his wife remained in Franklin county for three or four years when they moved across the Alleghanies into Washington county, where they lived until 1810, and during that time nine children were born unto them, viz. William, Shadrack, Sally, Nathan, Cynthia, Ephraim, Worlender, Martha, and two others who died young.

It was in Franklin county that Bazil cast his first vote. In 1792 he voted for Washington for his second term, and he has voted at every presidentia election since then, except in 1828 and 1872, in which latter year he was too ill to get to the polls, though he was especially desirous as he said, to vote "once more for Grant." In 1810 with his family he removed to Kentucky, just opposite Cincinnati, at which latter place he stopped to visit his cousin, Gen. Harrison. He was engaged in distilling in that region for about two years. After Gen. Harrison had gained his battle over Tecumseh at Tippe-

canoe, and hostilities broke out with England, he engaged his cousin Bazil to work his Millbrook farm, just below Cincinnati, when he assumed command of the northwest frontier. Our hero was a man that disliked strife, though he did not lack courage. He was not in the war of 1812, but sent a substitute, in the person of his younger brother Ephraim. During the war he lived on his cousin's farm, "working it on shares," and shortly after peace was declared he bought a farm of 300 acres twelve miles east of Springfield. His oldest son, William, bought and partly paid for a farm near his father's, and both remaind there for ten or twelve years.

It was at this time, subsequent to the war, that there was so much excitement about titles to real estate all through Ohio, growing out of military claims. Mr. Harrison was prospering finely, and settled during his occupancy no less than three military claims, on his thus dearly bought farm, but when a fourth one was preferred he lost his patience and declared he would not buy it up, but would "buy a farm of Uncle Sam first." The holders of the claim offered comparatively easy terms, charging only $600 or $700, which, of course, was nothing like the value of the farm. But Mr. Harrison could not accept the terms offered, and rather than pay for his farm the fifth time, resolved to abandon it entirely, and go to Michigan, from which territory his son Elias had returned the year before. Elias had lived one season just over the Michigan line from La Grange Co., Ind., but had returned to Ohio with glowing accounts of the fertile prairies that skirted the southern border of the state. At the time Mr. Harrison decided to "go west" (northwest, to speak accurately), Cynthia, the oldest living daughter, married to Henry Whipple, was living on a farm near Jefferson, Champaign county, and Ephraim was carrying on a blacksmith shop near his father's place. The younger children were living at home. Once decided to start for a new home that he might get settled there before winter, he hurriedly sold off most of his stock and all of his household goods that he could not carry with him.

The territory of Michigan at that time was an almost unknown country. Yet some bold and adventurous men had penetrated its recesses and brought back to their homes in the east, wonderful stories of its splendid timber, its magnificent prairies, its park-like openings, its rivers, lakes and streams, the rank growth of vegetation here, and the promise it gave of reward and wealth to the farmer and man of enterprise. These recitals had the effect to make the territory much talked about and the subject of many schemes of settlement.

All eyes were turned to Michigan. To Mr. Harrison with his large family and in his mood of mind it was just the place for him. And he had no difficulty in securing company for his migratory journey. His oldest son William was anxious to go, but could not get away until the next year. Ephraim, the

blacksmith, was ready with little preparation. Judge's son-in-law, Whipple, with his wife and three children, responded to the invitation, and announced their readiness to leave their rented farm. Abraham and Ephraim Davidson, neighbors, also volunteered, and the party rendezvoused at the Judge's farm. We can not fix the exact date of their starting, but think it was about the 20th of September. The party numbered 21 persons, as follows; Bazil Harrison and Martha Harrison, his wife; Henry Whipple and his wife Cynthia Harrison Whipple, and two children; Ephraim Harrison, wife and three children; Abraham Davidson, wife and one child; Ephraim Davidson, and the following unmarried children of Mr. Harrison; Elias S., Worlender, Bazil, jr., Martha, John S., and Almira. As they set out from the deserted homestead, with their eyes turned toward a new and unsettled country where they were to seek a new home, they formed quite an emigrant train. First, no doubt, came the old fashioned, great Pennslyvania wagon. That was none of your modern vehicles, but was so deep that a man standing on its floor could scarcely see over its side. It was long and high and broad, and it was very capacious. The box was boat-shaped—top, bottom and sides, though not at the ends, generally painted blue, and the outside furnished with panels made of slats or moulding. The wheels, tires, axles, &c., were all made on the same scale of size and strength. To this conveyance was hitched two spans of horses. The harnesses used were quite another thing from those we see now—they were in keeping with the style of the wagons—an immense amount of leathern broad bands, no collars, and hames plain as a pike staff and as strong. Then came four other "wide track Ohio wagons," all but one drawn by two horses, the exception being preceded by a yoke of sturdy oxen. One of the four "Ohio wagons" with the horses that drew it belonged to Whipple, one to Abe Davidson, one to Ephraim Harrison, and the other, as well as the "Pennsylvania vehicle," to the patriarch of the party. There was also a light single horse wagon in which rode Mrs. Harrison and her daughters. Then there were three cows, fifty head of sheep, and nearly as many hogs.

Their good byes said to their neighbors and friends the night before, except the few who rose before the sun to say the last farewell and God speed,—some of the party with full hearts and tear dimmed eyes, and the little children full of wonderment at the vastness of the preparations,—early on that September morning the little colony bade adieu to the old homestead, and the cavalcade moved slowly away to the north, under the leadership of Judge Harrison, the hale and hearty commander of 57, the younger men acting as aids in executing his commands. Slowly they moved forward, for the younger boys must herd the sheep and drive the swine that needed urging to pass on

without stopping to wallow in the mud puddles by the roadside—puddles made large by the early fall rains and very inviting to eyes of the grunting swine, and the youthful masters were helped by faithful dogs to prevent the sheep and swine from straying from the track. As the cortege wound around the hill and into the woods the little children and their mothers leaned back and strained their eyes to catch the last look at the old home they were leaving behind forever.

Thus they set out upon their long and fatiguing journey, not knowing where it was to end, but hoping that they would find at its terminus a home, that, though it might be in a new, strange country, would be free from the menaces of claim holders, and where they would enjoy the full reward of their labor and toil. The course of the journey was first through Urbana, even then a brisk and busy town, thence west to Piqua, and north along the bank of the Miami to Sidney, where they left the river and continued north to St. Mary's. Onward they pushed through Anglaize and Van Wert counties, crossing the state line into Indiana a little south of where Dixon now is. Though the roads in Ohio were comparatively good, they were obliged to move forward by short day's journeys, for long marches could not be made, driving the sheep and swine in advance, and the first days of October were upon them before they reached Fort Wayne. Their last two or three days' journey had given them a foretaste of what was before them. As they left behind them the fertile fields of Ohio, in which could be seen from the road the golden ripened corn, the country was newer and the homes were less frequent. After the Indiana border was crossed there were no cornfields in sight until the outskirts of Fort Wayne were reached, and occasionally Indians gave them salutations on the road.

A day's halt only was made at Fort Wayne to gather some information concerning the new country to which they were bound. Fort Wayne was then upon the border of settlement and civilization. The course of our pioneers thence was northwest, and they had scarcely any road but Indian trails.

It would be an interesting picture to gaze upon now, in the light of modern times, that pioneer colony wending their way through the forests primeval—the almost trackless wilderness. We can see them in our mind's eye as they left the last haunts of civilization, halting a moment before plunging into the unknown wastes of wilderness, the end of which was unknown, and the shadows of the dark and mysterious land already thrilled them with vague forebodings. With a fervent prayer to the ever protecting Father, and with something of that feeling which Cortez felt when he burned his ships on the coasts of the New World, determined to conquer or perish, this little band strike into a trail that leads them into woods without roads, for a destination

for which they as yet had no fixed idea. Very slowly they pursued their way, meeting with obstacles and obstructions continually; sometimes following a stream for hours before a safe crossing could be found; often stopping to remove great trees they could not go around, and almost numberless difficulties which we have not space here to detail. In one instance it took them seven days to go around a swamp that lay in their path, and sometimes when they halted for the night they could look back and see the smoke rising from the embers of the camp fire they had left in the morning. At night a watch fire was built and then the wolves and other wild beasts were kept away from the stock, closely guarded, though all through the night the howls and screams of the denizens of the forest were heard. But there were compensations for these drawbacks. Every step forward was a new revelation, and the journey continual sensation of wonder and delight. How gorgeous were the woods in those autumn days, as our party wended their way. New combinations of colors every day, new trees, new forms of vegetation, new varieties of country, from the hilly slope deeply wooded, heavy bottom lands along pearly winding streams, vast meadows, splendid openings looking like carefully tended parks; prairies like seas stretching in airy undulations far away, or lakes like silver mirrors bordered with emerald. The woods were full of wild fruits of various kinds, game abounded, the air was crisp and dry, and the sight and song of birds made the darkest recesses merry.

Through Allen and Noble counties they made their way, across the rich alluvial "plains of Goshen," and over the beautiful Elkhart prairie to the border line of Michigan territory. On their way the party had found only here and there a rudecab in and an occasional trader's house. There were on Elkhart prairie scarcely any settlers. The beautiful land was especially attractive to several of the party, and some were inclined strongly to stop there and go no further, looking upon this as the promised land, Mr. Whipple especially urging that the colony ought to locate there. But Indiana had been a state a dozen years, and Mr. Harrison adventurously desired to push on and make his home in the new territory, and so they journeyed on till they arrived at Baldwin's Prairie, just south of the state line. Here they halted; a temporary camp was made; it being decided that scouts should go forward to spy out the land, Mr. Harrison selected Whipple, Abraham Davidson and Elias Harrison to go with him, the latter having acquired some acquaintance with the Indian tongue. This party was gone a week, and soon after they set out they learned from the Indians that a great prairie, the largest in the territory, would be found less than forty miles north of the southern territorial line. This was in confirmation of other stories they heard from hunters and traders, and the scouts pushed forward until they reached the southern

edge of the prairie, a view of which fully satisfied them of the truthfulness of the descriptions they had heard. Mr. Harrison quickly decided to return and conduct the colony thither.

With this idea fully fixed in his mind, Mr. Harrison and his colony broke camp again and set out upon their final march, and after a few days traveling, on the evening of the fifth day of November, 1828, just at dusk, they lighted their camp fires on the southeastern edge of Prairie Ronde, or Wa-we-os-co-tang-scotah, as the Indians call it, meaning the "round fire plain," whence comes the French "Prairie Ronde."

As the party retired to rest that night they felt that the end of their journey had been reached. Before them was the greatest and loveliest prairie they had ever seen, and Mr. Harrison and those with him were satisfied to look no further. For perhaps the eye of man has rarely rested on a more beautiful natural landscape than was presented by Prairie Ronde—

"Before the white man marred it with his plow."

Ascending slightly from the circumference to the center, yet so as to seem full rather than elevated; surrounded with a noble forest whose sharp-cut and perfect line was nowhere so distant as to be indistinct, yet so remote that the beams of the rising and setting sun seemed to blend in a mist of gold and purple, the whole plain was covered from spring to autumn with a gorgeous array of flowers, whose differing colors followed each other in due succession; at last faded and gone in the autumn winds—

"The tall, rank spike grass waved its bristly head."

It was such a scene of unrivalled beauty that opened to the view of the first white settler of Prairie Ronde.

The next morning the whole party were up betimes, and while they were breakfasting around the cheerful fire in the clear, crisp air of early day, Sagamaw, the chief of the Pottawattomies, accompanied by ten or a dozen of his braves, all decked in gay costumes, and faces resplendent with paint, came to their camp and made friendly overtures. Sagamaw was a magnificent specimen of the aborigine. His looks, his manners, his fine presence and the evident good will which was apparent to all, inspired confidence in the pale faces, and they freely questioned him as best they could by signs and the few words of Indian language they understood, as to where water could be had, and in regard to such matters as most interested our pioneers at this time. Sagamaw gave them all the information he could convey to them, and the result was that the Indians conducted Mr. Harrison and two others of the party across the prairie to the northwest side, where within the line of woods

was a little lake—now known as Harrison's lake. Mr. Harrison needed no further argument to convince him that this was the proper place for him to locate. He quickly returned, and the whole party were that night encamped on the banks of the little lake where, for nearly a half a century, he has lived.

Here the party at once made arrangements to live, erected a rude cabin and, before winter set in, were as comfortable as they could be made under the circumstances. The land was divided among the children, and subsequently entered at the land office at Monroe; but all lived together through the first winter. The following spring, Mr. Harrison and his sons plowed land and planted corn and buckwheat, having obtained the seed from White Pigeon, where they also bought some more sheep. This gave them a good start. The second year they were short of seed, for wheat was very high and difficult to obtain, being worth seven dollars per bushel. They had to go to Fort Wayne for it, and for what grain they had ground they had to travel to Tolland's mill at Elkhart, Indiana. But the woods were full of game, the Indians were friendly and no untoward event occurred to discourage the colonists.

By this time, too, quite a little addition was made to the settlement. Christopher Bair came to the prairie and settled near the Harrisons in 1829, and Abner Calhoun, Abram J. Shaver, Erastus Guilford, Wm. Duncan, George Brown, John Insley, David Beadle, and others had come the winter before. In 1830 there were some sixty families on the prairie and vicinity, and measures were taken to organize a township government. A township meeting was held December 14, 1830, under a call "to the electors of the township of Brady, in Kalamazoo county," at the house of Abner Calhoun, on Prairie Ronde. At this election Christopher Bair was elected township clerk; Bazil Harrison, Stephen Hoyt and William Bishop, commissioners of highways; Joel Clark, Stephen Hoyt, Abiel Fellows and Abram I. Shaver, school commissioners. In April, the following year, Edwin H. Lothrop was elected supervisor, and H. B. Huston township clerk. Judge Harrison was subsequently chosen a justice of the peace, and was commissioned by Gov. Cass one of the associate judges of the county court, and acted in that capacity till 1834, if we remember rightly.

The names of Judge Harrison's seventeen children were, William, Sarah, Nathan, Shadrack, Ephraim, Joseph, Cynthia, Elias S., Worlender, Bazil, Martha, Rachel, Amanda, John S., Almira, and Diana. Besides these sixteen, one child, an infant, died before it received a name. Of these, eight are now living. William, the oldest, now 83, is a farmer in Climax. He is hale and hearty, spry as a boy of 15, thinks nothing of a ten mile walk, and

can run a foot race with any of his neighbors and win it. We have never seen so remarkable a case of preserved physical vigor. When the writer called upon him last summer, without the least fatigue on his part, he led us on an half mile tramp, at a pace we could scarcely keep up with. Every tooth in his head is sound, and his eyesight good. He boasts his ability to "down" any of his sons in a "squarehold" wrestle, and they, though men of more than ordinary strength and muscle, admit that his boast is not without foundation. Nathan, well known to the pioneers of this village as the "river ferryman," forty years ago, lives in Bloomfield, Ill., in rather feeble health. Cynthia Harrison Whipple lives in Lake City, state of Minnesota, as does also Worlender Harrison Fellows. Dr. Bazil Harrison lives on Prairie Ronde, on a farm adjoining the old homestead, upon which lives John S., the youngest son, with whom the aged judge made his home. Martha Harrison Bishop lives at Fairwater, Wis., and Mrs. Almira Harrison Crose, the youngest surviving child, lives on Prairie Ronde. Sarah, the first daughter, and second child, died while young, in Pennsylvania, as did Shadrack, the third son. Ephraim died in Minneapolis, Minn., a few years ago. Elias died in Lake City, Minn., and Rachael died very young in Clarke county, Ohio. Amanda and Diana also died in Clarke county.

As above stated, there are eight children living. There are also eighty-one grandchildren. It is impossible for us to tell just how many great-grandchildren are living, for they are scattered all over the west, but there are twelve great-great-grandchildren that Mr. J. Harrison's family know of. Counting the four generations of children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren, the progeny of Judge Harrison now numbers, as nearly as can be ascertained, 220 persons, all living.

Judge Harrison always enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his neighbors, white as well as red. He was frank, open hearted, generous; naturally a peace maker, he became the arbiter in all matters of dispute—and his decisions were always satisfactory. Judge Harrison, from the time the smoke from the hearth of his log cabin ascended to the pure skies, was always ready to "welcome the coming, speed the parting guest." He furnished hospitality to all comers, and shared what he had with settlers who stood in need. The Indians admired his tall, athletic form, his abundant good nature, his unswerving integrity and fair dealing, and to his neighbors he was a refuge in times of trouble. With his numerous children around him, he was in a measure independent, and enabled to overcome difficulties which others could not so ably cope with. An anecdote is related of him which illustrates the peace loving qualities of Judge Harrison. Christopher Bair and a neighbor got into a quarrel about the breaking down of a wagon which Mr. Bair had

borrowed. One of the boxes to an axle was broken somehow, and it was not clear to whom belonged the duty of repairing the loss; a lawsuit and hard feelings were likely to grow out of this matter. When Judge Harrison heard of this, he took a box from an assortment which he brought with him from Ohio, placed it upon the axle, and that settled the difficulty. He has been known to ride all day for the purpose of bringing about an amicable settlement of a difference between neighbors.

It has been a matter of general belief for many years that Judge Harrison was the "Bee Hunter" of Cooper's novel, the "Oak Openings," the scene of which, it will be remembered, is laid in Kalamazoo. Since the publication of the work, this has been the accepted theory among the pioneers of the county and Judge Harrison's neighbors. We never heard the fact questioned until last year, when Judge H. G. Wells informed us that Mr. Cooper told him after the appearance of the book, that his character of "Ben Boden, the Bee Hunter," was not founded on Judge Harrison, but on Towner Savage, one of the pioneers of the county, and a bee hunter by avocation. This being so, Mr. Cooper must have made contradictory statements, for Mrs. J. B. Daniels, of this village, is very positive and clear in her recollection that Mr. Cooper repeatedly named Judge Harrison as the original of the character mentioned. Fenimore Cooper, as is well known, had considerable property interests in Kalamazoo county at one time, the township just north of it deriving its name from him, He made several long continued visits to Kalamazoo, along in the "forties," and one, if we mistake not, as late as 1850, the year before his death. Mrs. Daniels was well acquainted with him, and he counted her as one of his favored friends. She met him frequently during his visits and relates to us one occasion in particular upon which Judge Harrison's connection with the story was discussed. This was one day, probably in the summer of 1846, when Mr. Cooper was the guest of Mr. Comstock, and at the time he was writing the book. On that day, Mrs. Daniels tells us, Mr. Cooper spent hours talking with her and others of the guests about Judge Harrison, his family and pioneer history, his relations with the Indians, his bee hunting proclivities, and various other matters connected with the early settlement of Kalamazoo and the country hereabouts. It was known then that he was writing a book, the scene of which was laid here, and he made no concealment of the purpose for which he sought his information, and stated openly the character he proposed to make out of Judge Harrison. Mrs. Daniels had come to Kalamazoo when a little girl, in 1834, and was well acquainted with the Harrisons as well as all of the early settlers. She was one well prepared to give such information as Mr. Cooper sought, and he afterward acknowledged her services in this respect, by pre-

senting her with a copy of the "Oak Openings," and at that time he told her that Judge Harrison was the original of the "Bee Hunter." Mrs. Daniels also informs us that in frequent conversations with the old Judge he has stated to her that he understood that he was the person Cooper had in mind when he created "Buzzing Ben" and also that he had been so informed by Cooper himself. Last year we ourselves questioned Judge Harrison on this point, but his mind was not then clear enough to comprehend the question. We have made a great deal of research to fix the identity of the "Bee Hunter" beyond question, and have talked with scores of old settlers. While we have found but few who claimed to have any direct information on the subject, all of the testimony, except that of Judge Wells, has been to confirm the theory that Bazil Harrison was the original of Mr. Cooper's character. Dozens of well known citizens have related to us an account of a conversation alleged to have taken place between Judge Harrison and Mr. Cooper, at the time of the novelist's last visit to Kalamazoo—the anecdote having been current ever since the incident is said to have occurred. Judge Harrison, so the story runs, having been interviewed by Mr. Cooper, after the introduction, remarked, "So you got me into your book, Mr. Cooper?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Cooper; "I had to have some one, judge, and you seemed to be about the right sort of person to make my bee hunter out of."

"Well, Mr. Cooper, you are a smart man, or at least they say you are, but you ought to know better than to make a bee light on clover. They are too smart for that; they don't fool away with red clover when there's sweeter flowers easier to get at—"

"Oh, I meant white clover," interrupted Mr. Cooper.

"Well," responded the judge, "you are a smart man, Mr. Cooper, at any rate they say you are, but you ought to know that there wasn't any white clover here at the time you speak of. White clover don't come till after settlers come."

The judge is also represented as tripping up Mr. Cooper on other alleged inaccuracies.

It seems curious that such a story should have been started twenty four years ago, and been repeated constantly ever since, if there was no foundation for it. It is well known, too, that Judge Harrison was an inveterate bee hunter. His oldest son tells us that after his father saw a bee, he was never satisfied until he found the honey, and often would leave his work to follow up the bee and secure his store of sweets.

Thinking that some of Mr. Cooper's notes might be in existence that would throw light on the subject, we addressed a note to his son, Paul F. Cooper, Esq, an attorney at law in Albany, and he promised to make

search. Afterward when in Albany the writer called on Mr. Cooper, who then told us that he had made search and talked with other members of the family but was unable to find or learn anything that would aid us in our search. We are forced to the conclusion, however, that Mr. Cooper must havs had Judge Harrison in his mind when he drew the picture of "Buzzing Ben," the bee hunter, though of course his portraiture may have included characteristics found in Towner Savage or other settlers.

Mr. Harrison took an active part in politics, and his name is found as a delegate in nearly all of the conventions held for many years. He was an original democrat, of the Jackson school, and had little confidence in the opposing parties until the formation of the republican party under the oaks at Jackson. So strong was his attachment for the democratic party that he could not give it up for the ties of kindred, and in 1840 he did not vote for his cousin for president. His first republican vote was cast in 1860 for Lincoln. There are many who remember his tall, slightly bent form and flowing white beard and his clear eye when he came down from the prairie to the political meetings. During the war he read the papers with great interest, with such assiduity, indeed, that his eyesight was nearly destroyed. He watched the course of the contest with the liveliest interest, and no one rejoiced with greater enthusiasm at the triumph of the government over its bitter enemies.

For several years past Judge Harrison has scarcely ventured away from home. His faculties were becoming dimmed by age, and the sands of his life were running low. He, however, has had days of brightness when he talked intelligently with his family and friends who came to visit him. Several times within the past two years has he related to us incidents of his early life, which stood clear in his memory, while later events were clouded.

Last year, at the meeting of the pioneers of the county, held at Schoolcraft, he was present and shook hands with many old friends whom he recognized, and talked freely. He said among other things, "I am 102 years old, and, thank God, I have not an enemy in the world!" This statement was true. He never did ill to any one. Just in his dealings and blameless in his life, he has passed from earth leaving no enemies behind. He was, for over seventy years, a consistent member of the Methodist church, and has related to us the story of his conversion. His habits of life were simple, and he enjoyed almost uniform good health. He was, until the later years of his life, of strong physical vigor, and unusual powers of endurance. He was successful as a farmer, and influential among his neighbors.

Grand old centenarian, around his long and eventful life how many associations cluster! In the hundred years of his life the grandest scenes in the

history of the world have been enacted, the brightest pages of progress have been written, the noblest men have fulfilled their missions and passed away. Far beyond the time allotted to man's life, he has lived to see his children grow to old age, and his children's children filling useful positions in the world. His days have been full of comfort and enjoyment, his lines have been cast in pleasant places, and peace, like a beautiful halo, settled around the lingering sunset of his life. Patiently, and with full confidence in the sublime promises of Him who created worlds and time and man, he awaited the welcome summons for this mortal to put on immortality, to renew his youth in the fountains of Eternal Life, and at last passed away,

> "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams!"

What changes have taken place since his birth—March 15, 1771! Our own republic was not born, American independence was scarcely dreamed of. The Boston massacre had aroused public excitement, it is true, but no general conflict of arms between the colonies and the mother country was deemed probable. It was thirty months before the tea was "put to steep" in Boston Harbor, and more than five years before Jefferson reported the immortal Declaration to the Continental Congress in Independence Hall. Washington, not yet forty years of age, was tilling his farm at Mt. Vernon, little imagining the great future before him. In 1771, Franklin was yet hale and hearty at 65; John Adams was 36, and John Quincy a boy of four; Jefferson was only 28; Madison was 20; Hamilton 14 and Burr 15; Monroe was 13 and Jackson had been born on the same day of the same month four years before. Every other president was his junior, as was Henry Clay by six years and Webster by eleven. In England, George III, aged 33, was on the throne in the eleventh year of his 60 years reign, with Lord North as prime minister. The first earl of Chatham was yet alive, and his son, the younger Pitt, a boy of 12, was fitting for Cambridge. Burke at 41 was in the zenith of his greatness, and Warren Hastings was in India, though not as governor general till three years later. Grattan was only 21 and not yet admitted to the bar; Charles Fox, though only 22, was in parliament, and had been for three years; Walpole had been out of parliament only three years, and Wilberforce, only 12 years of age, did not enter the House of Commons until nine years later. Nelson, who was killed thirty four years later at Trafalgar, was only 13 and serving as a midshipman on the Raisonnable; Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, an infant of less than two years, was doubtless creeping about Dungan Castle, and for years afterward a very stupid child, history says, giving no promise of future greatness but regarded as the "dunce of the family." Robert Burns, a dozen years of age, was using

his leisure time to read Shakespeare and Pope, but had yet to make his own first attempt at verse. Wordsworth was scarce a year old; Walter Scott was not born till five months later, and our centenarian was 17 years old when Byron first saw the light of day. Sterne had been dead only three years and Akenside one. Goldsmith, Hume, Samuel Johnson, Gibbon and Cowper were all living, and Coleridge, Charles Lamb and Southey all yet to be born. Watt had received his first patent for a steam engine only two years before, and his first engines on a large scale were erected four years later. The steamboat was not tried as an experiment until thirty years later, and Fulton's Clermont did not float on the Hudson until 1807. Our centenarian was comparatively an old man (sixty seven) when the first steamer crossed the Atlantic.

March 15, 1771, in France, Louis XV., the well-beloved, was still on the throne, and Napoleon an infant in his mother's arms at Ajaccio. Louis XVI. was only 17 years old, and the unfortunate Marie Antoinette whom he had married the year before was a year his junior. Lafayette, 14 years of age, was in college at Paris, Voltaire, Rousseau and D'Alambert were yet alive, and Madame de Stael, a little girl of six years. Murat was born March 25, 1771, and Ney only two years before. Frederick the Great was King of Prussia then, and for 15 years later; Maria Theresa Empress of Austria, Charles III. King of Spain, and Clerment XIV. Pope of Rome.

THE MICHIGAN AND OHIO BOUNDARY LINE.

BY FRANK E. ROBSON, ESQ., OF LANSING.

It is now nearly a century since the wilderness of forest and swamp, with now and then a bit of prairie, lying north of the Ohio river and west of the borders of Pennsylvania, and reaching to the Mississippi river, was permanently organized as the Northwest Territory.

This vast territory had been claimed for years by several states of the confederacy, under decidedly conflicting, and perhaps doubtful titles. "New

York claimed it under the Six Nations, who, by their martial prowess, had established a certain undefined and only partially admitted supremacy over the tribes of the region, and who had themselves acknowledged subordination to the jurisdiction of New York. Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed all or parts of it under the vague and uncertain terms of their charters, and Virginia claimed also by virtue of * * conquest."

New York, in March, 1781, was the first to cede its claim to the territory to the general government; Massachusetts in 1785 was the last. In the interval all of the states claiming jurisdiction over any portions of the territory ceded their claims to the confederacy, although the cession of Connecticut, which contained a reservation of the lands now a part of the state of Ohio, and known as the "Western Reserve," was not accepted by Congress until 1786.

The confederacy had thus, at this latter date, obtained title to all the territory, and July 13th of the following year, enacted the ordinance of 1787, "for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio." This act was undoubtedly more far reaching in its effects than any of its supporters conceived, and of it Judge Cooley speaks in glowing terms. He says, "This was the immortal ordinance of 1787, * * * * * ; immortal for the grand results which have followed from its adoption, not less than for the wisdom and far seeing statesmanship that conceived and gave form to its provisions."

It is with the provisions of the fifth article of this ordinance that we are particularly concerned in this inquiry. This article provided generally that "There shall be formed in said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states," and then went on to establish the boundaries for the proposed states. The boundaries of the three states first to be erected were, the Ohio on the south and Mississippi on the west, and the present boundary lines between Indiana and Illinois and Indiana and Ohio, extended to the territorial boundary line on the north. Then follows this proviso: "Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan."

Ohio was the first state to be erected from the territory, and April 30, 1802, Congress provided for its admission by an enabling act, under which the state was organized. This act described the northern boundary line of the proposed state in the following words: "and on the north by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan and running east

after intersecting the north line aforesaid, from the mouth of the Great Miami," (that is the boundary between Indiana and Ohio) "until it shall intersect Lake Erie, to the Pennsylvania line aforesaid."

After the organization of Ohio the balance of the territory went under the name of Indiana territory, and so remained until Michigan territory was set off by virtue of an act of Congress approved January 11, 1805. The boundaries of Michigan territory were described in the following terms: "All that part of the Indiana territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend, through the middle of said lake, to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, shall for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called Michigan."

All the congressional legislation, then, up to 1805, recognizes the line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, extending due east until it should intersect Lake Erie, or the territorial line, to be the established boundary between Michigan and Ohio and Michigan and Indiana. There would seem, then, to be no ground for controversy between the several states, at least so far as relates to congressional legislation.

A controversy did arise, however, based in part on the supposed intention and understanding of the members of Congress in regard to the legislation just cited. It was not exactly known where the line passing through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan would intersect Lake Erie, but it was supposed it would be very near the present northern boundary of Ohio. In fact, the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan was farther south than had been supposed, and a line drawn due east from it would intersect Lake Erie somewhere near the mouth of the Cuyahoga river. This fact was undoubtedly known to the convention which adopted the constitution under which Ohio was admitted; at least they considered it probable that it might intersect Lake Erie at some point *below* the mouth of the Maumee. In the Ohio constitution of 1802 the sixth section of the seventh article declares the state to be bounded "on the north by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, running east after intersecting the due north line aforesaid, from the mouth of the Great Miami," (that is the boundary line between Ohio and Indiana) "until it shall intersect Lake Erie or the territorial line," etc. "Provided, always, and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this convention, that if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south, that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect east of the Miami river of the lake, then, and in that case, with the assent of the Congress of

the United States, the northern boundary of this state, shall be established by, and extended to, a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, to the most northerly cape of the Miami bay, after intersecting the due north line from the Great Miami," etc.

The act of Congress of February 19, 1803, which recognized Ohio as a state, makes no allusion to the boundaries in the body of the act, but the preamble recites that, "the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the the river Ohio, did, on the 29th day of November" 1802 "form themselves a constitution and state government" * * * * "in pursuance of an act of Congress" * * * "whereby the said state has become one of the United States of America." The authorities of Ohio claimed this to be an implied assent on the part of Congress to the boundary proposed in the proviso of the article of their constitution already cited. They further based their claims on a supposed preference of the people residing in the territory in contest for the government of the state of Ohio; and a supposed intention of Congress to give Ohio the entire southern shore of Lake Erie, based probably on a further supposition that Congress, in selecting the line passing due east through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, believed it to intersect Lake Erie above the mouth of the Maumee, and thus laid it out under a mistake. Judge Campbell in speaking of this latter claim says: "It is a mere assumption to claim that the Congress of 1787 laid it out under a mistake, or intended to give the eastern state the entire southern shore of Lake Erie, or any specific part of it." And farther on says: "There is no evidence that Congress paid any attention to this question or cared where the line fell; inasmuch as it was subject to their future discretion whether to run the line at all or not."

The territory which was in dispute extends the entire length of the northern boundary of Ohio, until it meets Lake Erie, being about five miles wide at the west end and eight miles wide at the east end; and within its bounds is the mouth of the Maumee, now a valuable and important harbor, and the flourishing city of Toledo.

It is probable that the possible importance of this harbor had much to do in influencing the action of the Ohio authorities. Quoting from an address of W. W. Way, of Perrysburg, Ohio, read at Tecumseh, Michigan, in 1868: "The state of Ohio as early as 1825, contemplated the construction of a navigable canal from the Ohio river at Cincinnati to the navigable waters of the Maumee. The canal was constructed as far north as Piqua and there terminated for a number of years, * * * In 1835 * * * * the people in the northwest became clamorous for the extension of the canal north to its completion.

"By this time the navigation of the Maumee to the foot of the rapids, at Perrysburg and Maumee," two small towns about ten miles from Toledo, "was ascertained to be not as good as to Toledo, and therefore the authorities of the state deemed it of the utmost consequence to have the territory including Toledo, for the termination of the canal."

From the time of the admission of Ohio until it became certain that Michigan was about to become a member of the Union, the matter in controversy remained unsettled, neither party making any active effort to obtain the territory in dispute. The authorities of Michigan were exercising jurisdiction over this territory, and representatives of Ohio in Congress were making efforts on every possible occasion to have that body in some manner assent to the proposed boundary already noticed, and Congress as often striking from proposed measures, provisions looking towards that end. And every action taken by Congress in the matter up to the final settlement did recognize the right of the territory of Michigan to exercise jurisdiction over the disputed ground.

The land in contest was a part of Wayne county, and was so recognized by the authorities of Ohio in selecting delegates to form a constitution under the congressional enabling act of 1802. The act itself cut off Wayne county "from a voice or interest in the new state;" and delegates from Wayne county were not admitted to the Ohio convention.

An effort to have the exact line ascertained was provided for by an act of Congress of May 20, 1812, which provided "that the surveyor general, under the direction of the president, * * * * * cause to be surveyed, marked and designated so much of the western and northern boundaries of the state of Ohio, * * * not already * * * ascertained, as divides" Ohio "from the territories of Michigan and Indiana." Under the provisions of this act the surveyor general in 1817 directed one William Harris to run the line. He surveyed a line in that year, commencing at the easterly end of the most northerly cape of Maumee bay and running thence west towards the southerly bend of Lake Michigan until it intersected the western boundary of Ohio. This line is commonly called "Harris' line" in distinction from another line run at a later date under the supervision of the treasury department, which was dissatisfied with the line as run by Harris. This line was also run under the supervision of the surveyor general, by John A. Fulton and called "Fulton's line," and more nearly corresponds with what would be the correct line as declared in the congressional legislation already cited.

The running of "Harris' line" was of sufficient importance for Gov. Cass to take notice of it, which he does in a letter to Surveyor General Tiffin. The letter so fully states the claims of Michigan as subsequently asserted

that I have inserted some portions of it. Writing under date of November 1, 1817, he says: "Report says that the line, which has been recently run, purporting to be the line between the state of Ohio and this territory, was not run a due east course from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, but a course somewhat to the north of this, although how much I am unable to ascertain." Then referring to the steal perpetrated in the admission of Indiana, says: "And, although the boundary of Indiana was extended contrary to these provisions" referring to the acts of 1787 and 1805, "ten miles north, yet I believe it was done unadvisedly, and will, when this territory is heard in the legislature of the nation, be a subject for revision and examination." Following this he recites the proviso of the Ohio constitution and says: "This proposition has never been acceded to by Congress, and if the construction which was put upon the articles of compact," the ordinance of 1787, "be correct, no agreement even by that body, without our consent, could alter these lines." "Why should the boundaries of Ohio be enlarged at the expense of this territory? It is only adding strength to the strong, and making the weak still weaker. Even with the boundaries secured by the ordinance this territory must remain small in size and weak in population. By reducing it, its period of admission to the general confederation is indefinitely postponed. The country upon the Maumee has no natural connection with the interior of Ohio." Gov. Cass then puts some pointed questions to the surveyor general, and wishes to be informed: "How the line has been run? Why has it been run in the manner reported, if so done? and by whose instructions?"

The reply of the surveyor general under date of Nov. 21, 1817, would indicate that the line had been run for the sole benefit of the state of Ohio. A map of the survey was enclosed to General Cass, upon which the lines were drawn in the manner following: "You will observe that he commenced his operations at the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, and found that an east line, according to the most careful attention to his compass, etc., etc., struck Lake Erie seven miles and forty nine chains south of the most northerly cape of Miami bay. * * * He then proceeded to a direct line from the most northerly cape of Miami bay, to the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, until he intersected the line due north from the mouth of the great Miami river of the Ohio." The surveyor general then expresses his own opinion in the matter which clearly shows his own leaning. "By the map you therefore see the two lines, and let the proper authorities say which shall govern." "But I will confess to you, that it is my opinion, clearly, that the black line is the true line." The black line referred to is the "Harris line." In spite

of his opinion the Territory of Michigan continued to exercise authority over the land between "Fulton's" and "Harris' line."

Governor Cass in his message to the territorial council under date of January 5, 1831, again called their attention to the matter of the disputed boundary. No active steps were taken, however, on the part of Michigan officials to obtain a settlement of the boundary line and perhaps it was not considered essential, from the fact that the territorial authorities were actually in possession and exercising acts of government over the territory in dispute. Between this time and 1835 Ohio was making successive attempts to have Congress recognize the "Harris line" as the northern boundary of the state, but none of its efforts were successful.

In 1834 it became certain that Michigan would soon ask admission into the Union, and a census was ordered by the council, called together by acting Gov. Mason. This census showed that within the limits of the original territory of Michigan, as set off by the act of 1805, there were 87,273 free inhabitants, while but 60,000 inhabitants would entitle her to become a state.

January 26, 1835, an act was passed appointing an election of delegates to form a constitution and state government. In pursuance of this act an election was held in April, 1835, and the convention was to meet in Detroit in May. A constitution was adopted by this convention and submitted to the people in October.

This preparation on the part of the people of Michigan territory to establish a state government aroused the people of Ohio to take more active steps to protect what they conceived to be their rights. For some time prior to 1835 the counties of Wood, Henry, and Williams, in Ohio, had attempted to levy upon and collect taxes from the inhabitants of the disputed territory, but their action was repudiated by the people living there and nothing came of it.

Early in 1835 "Governor Lucas, of Ohio, sent in to the legislature of that state a message asserting jurisdiction of the territory south of the mouth of the Maumee bay and urging legislation to possess and control it." This action on the part of Ohio soon became known to the authorities of Michigan territory, and, as an attempt to forestall any further action on the part of Ohio, the legislative council on February 12, 1835, passed "An act to prevent the organization of a foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the territory of Michigan." This act provided that any person who should accept or exercise any public office in any part of the territory, except by commission from the United States or from Michigan, should upon conviction be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment

not exceeding five years, or both in the discretion of the court. These severe penalties did not frighten the legislature of Ohio to any great extent, for on February 23d "the Ohio legislature passed a series of acts and resolutions asserting jurisdiction over the land in question; declaring that measures should be taken by all the departments of the state government to establish it;" extending the counties of Wood, Henry, and Williams to Harris' line"; "and requiring all public officers to extend their authority over it."

Both sides already had supporters among the inhabitants of the land in dispute, and the two parties were equally zealous in keeping their principals advised of the situation. In March certain citizens of what was known as Port Lawrence township, which then included the ground on which Toledo now stands, advised Governor Mason that they were apprehensive of trouble and perhaps a riot on the occasion of holding the township meeting in April. The action of Governor Mason was characteristic; having at about the same time received from Columbus notification of the recent action of the Ohio legislature and of the endeavor of commissioners appointed by Governor Lucas to re-mark the "Harris line" to perform their duties, he communicates with General Brown, then in command of the 3d division of Michigan militia, and orders him to "use every exertion to obtain the earliest information of the military movements of our adversary, as I shall assume the responsibility of sending you such arms, etc., as may be necessary for your successful operation, without waiting for an order from the Secretary of War, so soon as Ohio is properly in the field." April 2, Governor Lucas, with his staff and the boundary commissioners, arrived at Perrysburg, and Major General John Bell, then in command of the 17th division of Ohio militia (within whose command were the counties of Wood, Henry and Williams), was directed to assume control to the "Harris line," "and to cause all persons residing therein" * * * "subject to military duty under the laws of Ohio, to be enrolled and organized under the laws of" the "state." Governor Lucas was determined to run the line and was ready with his commissioners backed by a force of militia if necessary. Governor Mason was equally determined, and issued orders to General Brown which were certainly energetic if not prudent. General Brown was given discretionary power to call the militia into actual service, and commanded to arrest the commissioners of Ohio, using the words of the order, "the moment they stick the first stake in the soil of Michigan." Anticipating the subsequent action of Governor Lucas, General Brown is also ordered, "the moment he may learn a military force of any description, ordered out by the authorities of Ohio, is about to approach the disputed territory, to place himself with a sufficient

force of like character, on the ground in contestation, and to fire upon the first military officer or man who persists in crossing the boundary line, as at present claimed by Michigan, with any hostile intention, or disposition, or determination, to prevent his execution of the previous orders."

Under these belligerent orders forces were assembled by both parties at Toledo, and feeling ran high. In a report to Gov. Lucas, Gen. Brown is reported to have assured certain citizens of the disputed ground, that before Ohio could extend her jurisdiction, "she would have to march over the dead bodies of that portion of her citizens who had heretofore been under the jurisdiction of Michigan."

In the meantime the territorial authorities had communicated the condition of affairs to the authorities at Washington, and President Jackson, through the Secretary of State, advised both parties to "the exercise of mutual forbearance and prudence," and as a further means of conciliation, appointed two commissioners, Richard Rush and Benjamin C. Howard, to confer with the governors of the belligerent states, and, if possible, effect a settlement. The entire matter had also been referred to the Attorney General, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, who, by an opinion under date of March 21, 1835, decided the Michigan authorities to be in the right.

The commissioners on the part of the United States met Gov. Lucas at Perrysburg, April 7, and there it is claimed by Gov. Lucas that an agreement was had which was entirely satisfactory. This in substance was that "the Ohio line should be run as claimed, and the people be allowed to follow their individual predilections as to which government they would obey, until the close of the next session of Congress." This arrangement was never in any manner assented to by the Michigan authorities, nor did they ever act in accordance with its terms. On the contrary, they continued to arrest offenders against the statute already cited, as they had done before, and, among others, a portion of the party of the Ohio survey commissioners. Several of the persons arrested made reports to the governor of Ohio by letter, which the governor subsequently submitted to the legislature. One of them writes as follows: "Here I am peeping through the grates of a loathsome prison for the *monstrous crime* of having acted as the judge of an election within the state of Ohio." "Have been here fourteen hours, and no refreshments of any kind furnished. It appears probable that it is intended to soften us by starvation." Then, referring to the troops of Gov. Mason, he says: "Those bands of ruffians * * * * hanging upon the northern border of Ohio require chastisement."

Up to the latter part of June an extended correspondence was carried on between Gov. Lucas and the authorities at Washington. The general tenor

of the letters from Washington is to the effect that the claims of Michigan were proper ones; and finally the president found it necessary to intimate to Gov. Lucas that he "might find it necessary to interfere with the power of the United States, if Ohio persisted in running the line with an armed escort." All of this correspondence was laid before the Ohio legislature by a special message, June 18, 1835. Two days later the Ohio legislature passed "an act to erect the county of Lucas," the boundaries of which included much of the territory in dispute and particularly the "seat of war," Toledo. The county was to elect its first officers in October following, and the first court of common pleas was directed to be held at Toledo on Sept. 7. Matters now remained quiet with only an occasional outbreak until it became certain that it was the intention to hold court at Toledo. This again brought matters to a crisis. The Ohio authorities had levied troops to protect the judges, and Gov. Mason ordered out the Michigan troops, and at their head marched to Toledo, and took possession of the town. The Ohio troops were not to be seen, although it is claimed that they had entered the town in the night time, escorting the judges who organized the court, and then immediately departed, the clerk of the court carrying away the record of the proceedings had, in his hat. Both parties soon withdrew and the troops were disbanded; and from this time on the people of the disputed district regulated things in their own fashion.

It was the intention of the boundary commissioners to finish marking the boundary line, a part of which had been marked earlier in the season, under the escort of the militia sent to protect the opening of the court at Toledo. They did not do so, however, but waited until November, when the line was run without molestation.

Thus somewhat ingloriously ended the "Toledo war," quoting from Judge Campbell: "It is not unpleasant to remember, that the only lives lost were those of two horses, one on either side, one—according to tradition—an Ohio steed slain by Gen. Stickney by mistake, and one lost in some unknown way, for which the state of Michigan paid Mr. Bailey," who claimed to be its owner. Mr. Stickney was also allowed $300 by the legislature of Ohio to soothe his feelings for being confined in Monroe prison, and for other damages claimed to have been done to his property and person.

Although the "war" was ended, the controversy was simply transferred, and Congress was now the battle ground. To enter into a discussion of all the questions arising upon the proceedings in Congress, and in the state, which led up to its admission, or to enter upon a full examination of these proceedings would be foreign to the purposes of this paper. I shall content myself with such reference to them as may explain the final settlement.

The presidential election was at hand, and it was of the utmost importance to the party of General Jackson that the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois be conciliated and the differences regarding their northern boundaries be settled to their satisfaction. Actuated by this view of the situation, Congress ended the controversy by act of June 15, 1836, which, among other things, gave to Ohio the northern boundary as claimed by that state, and after accepting the constitution of Michigan which had been adopted the previous year by the people, admitted the state with a proviso that the state should first assent by a convention of delegates elected for that purpose, to certain new boundaries proposed in the act.

These new boundaries gave Indiana and Ohio all that they had claimed, and gave Michigan in lieu thereof the larger part of what is now known as the upper peninsula.

Governor Mason called an extra session of the legislature, and the excitement over the question of accepting the provisions of the proviso was intense, and on the whole hostile to the action of Congress, which was looked upon as a piece of robbery. The legislature directed a convention to meet at Ann Arbor on the fourth Monday in September. This convention refused to purchase admission on the terms offered by Congress, which action very much disturbed the plans of leaders of the democratic party, and soon various anonymous and semi-official expressions came from Washington to the effect that it would be for the best interests of the state and particularly the democratic party, that a different action be had and that it be taken immediately. The interests favoring admission are very clearly expressed by Judge Cooley as follows: "The president's wishes on the subject were well known to his active partisans, who constituted a strong and growing party, and had chosen the state officers. A presidential election was pending and a very natural desire existed to participate in it. A distribution of the public lands or their proceeds was one of the issues of the day, and if it took place it would be unfortunate if Michigan should fail to receive its share. The senators and representatives chosen to seats in Congress were naturally anxious to occupy them, and politicians were equally anxious to be recognized in the distribution of federal patronage."

There was an evident determination to have the state admitted, and October 29, 1836, a democratic convention of Wayne county called for another convention, and a similar expression was made by a Washtenaw convention. The governor replied that the legislature could not be again convened for want of time, and intimated that a "popular" convention might satisfy the Washington authorities. Acting on this suggestion a call was issued for a convention signed by several individual leaders of the Jackson party. In

response to this call a convention, called in ridicule the "Frost-bitten Convention," met at Ann Arbor, December 14, and at once assented to the proposition of Congress and forwarded the result of their deliberations to Washington.

After considerable debate and much delay, Congress finally accepted the action of the "Frost-bitten Convention" as sufficient, by an act, the preamble of which recites it as a convention "elected by the people," and Michigan was formally admitted as a state with its new boundaries, January 26, 1837.

Michigan throughout the controversy was the weaker party, but having on its side all the right. I cannot close my story better than to quote the words of John Quincy Adams: "Never in the course of my life have I known a controversy of which all the right was so clearly on one side, and all the power so overwhelmingly on the other; never a case where the temptation was so intense to take the strongest side, and the duty of taking the weakest so thankless."

JOHN S. BARRY.

BY H. H. RILEY.

John Stewart Barry was born at Amherst, New Hampshire, on the 29th day of January, A. D. 1802. Horace Greeley was born in the same township. When he was a year and a half old his father moved to Bellows Falls, Vermont, and died there, leaving John Stewart, Charles H., and Aldis Barry, his sons.

Mr. Barry married Mary Kidder, who died on the 30th day of March, 1869. He studied law, and removed to Georgia in 1827 or 1828, where he practiced about two years, and finally removed to White Pigeon, Michigan. In 1831 he abandoned his profession, and went into the mercantile business with Isaac Willard, at that place. Afterwards, in 1834, upon a dissolution of the copartnership, he removed to Constantine, opened a store, and did a large business up to the time of his death.

At this time Michigan was endeavoring to arise out of its territorial condition into a state. Mr. Barry went into the work with all his might, and was one of the leaders in the movement. He was elected state senator, and took his seat in 1835, and was in the sessions of 1836, 1837 and 1838, and was also a senator in the session of 1841. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1835, and held the office of governor of the state three terms, from 1842 to 1844, from 1844 to 1846, and from 1850 to 1852.

It is no exaggeration to say that John S. Barry was one of the strongest men who ever resided in our state. No other man has done more in laying broad and deep the foundations of our government. No man was more competent to grapple with the questions that disturbed us when a territory and those which occupied our attention after we became a state. It was a work just adapted to his mind and he had the patient industry, and dogged resolution to probe every proposed measure to the bottom. He was very slow in coming to a conclusion, believed nothing that he could not demonstrate, and was never willing to express an opinion until every authority had been consulted and every fact examined. He was skeptical on all subjects. I have heard him say, more than once, that history was not to be trusted—it was written in the interest of some party or sect, and the only way was to read all, from all sides, and get as near the truth as possible. He was never carried away by the blandishments of men, flattery did not disturb him, and it may be remembered by some persons still living that he refused promotion to some of the most active democratic politicians who were instrumental in his election, because, as he said, they were unfit to hold office under him.

The public estimation of John S. Barry as a man has always been a mistake. I know that in the discharge of his official duty he was cold and reserved, and always held himself in check, and was careful not to commit himself, until he was ready to act. He had no friends who could bring him in conflict with what he regarded his public duty. But in private, at home among his people, in his own house, no man ever lived who was more approachable, who talked more, or who was more hospitable under his own roof. I have heard him time and time again, sitting in his store, a half a dozen farmers around him, discussing, as he could discuss, some important question before Congress; some problem in European affairs or some domestic matter, political, economical or financial, and I well remember what earnestness and enthusiasm he pressed into his arguments and how thoroughly he was posted in what he said.

There was no sentiment about him. He reasoned from the head, not the heart. Poetry did not trouble him much. He wasted no thought on the fine arts. He did not know one tune from another, and said he supposed that

what Shakespeare meant when he said that "a man who had no music in his soul, was fit for treason, stratagem and spoils," referred to the soles of his shoes, because a thief could thus move without making a noise.

I desire now to go into some particulars illustrating more forcibly, perhaps, the character of the man. While in Georgia practicing law, a conflict sprang up between the state and the federal government on the Cherokee question. Mr. Barry at the time was captain of a military company, and he was called out with the other troops to uphold the dignity of the state. A barbecue was held, an ox roasted, and among things done, the obnoxious act of Congress was burned. Mr. Barry said, in reviewing the history of this affair, many years after: "I knew, sir, that the general government was in the right, and Georgia was wrong—I knew that burning an act of Congress did not repeal the law. But what could I do, sir! I was the captain of a company and was ordered out. But I made up my mind, then and there, sir, that if it came to a fight, I would run, because, sir, Georgia was in the wrong, in the wrong, sir!"

During the Black Hawk war Mr. Barry was a justice of the peace, and resided at White Pigeon. About midnight he was aroused by a neighbor of very mercurial temperament, but a man of large influence, with the cry, "Black Hawk is upon us! Black Hawk is upon us! Get np Mr. Barry! Turn out! Arouse the neighbors! and let us defend ourselves!" Mr. Barry threw up the window, clad in his nightdress, and screamed out "Who's there?" Mr. —— replied, "It is I," and went over again the same story about Black Hawk.

"Is that what all this noise is about?" exclaimed Mr. Barry. "You go home, sir—go to bed, and go to sleep. Black Hawk is this minute on the other side of the Mississippi and will never cross the river. Go home, sir! Go home. Good night, sir!" and down went the window with a slam. Mr. Barry was right. Black Hawk was at that very time on the west side of the Mississippi river.

Governor Barry had a grim kind of humor, mixed with sarcasm, which he sometimes used to complete his purpose. In 1851, among the reports of the public institutions of the state was one in which, among other things, the agent congratulated the state upon the fact that his institution was out of debt. The governor was informed that this was not true, that there was quite a large quantity of unpaid scrip floating about against the concern, and that it might be well to look into the matter. "Send, sir," said he, "and procure for me some of this scrip," which was done.

The governor, armed with quite a large quantity of the stuff, sent for the officer in charge, who met him at his room at Lansing. He said to him that

he was rejoiced to know that the state owed nothing—that his report showed a clean record, and that as they were out of debt, he hoped he would keep out, and he then went on and talked about matters in general. The governor bade the gentleman good morning, walked with him to the door, and all of a sudden broke in upon him with "I had forgotten one thing, sir! Come back a moment; I wish to show you something. This state institution may be out of debt—you say it is," and opening his drawer, pulled out a handful of scrip and showed it to him. The joke was so good the victim himself told it afterwards, and seemed to enjoy it as much as any one. Governor Barry frequently resorted to this roundabout way to reach his end, and although it was awkward, it was effective, and often very severe.

Mr. Barry knew how to keep his secrets. I once asked him, while he was governor, to meet me in my office, as I wished to ask him a question. He came. I laid out the circumstances and reasons why I desired the information in my most happy, and as I supposed, convincing way. The governor sat quietly, his eyes fixed on the floor, listening most intently. I concluded my little speech. The governor jumped up, and pointing to a map of the United States which hung on the wall, said: "I think, sir, the finest climate in the country is along the Blue Ridge Mountains," and thereupon darted out of the office like a shot.

He was a strong writer, very concise and pointed, and he could wrap up an arrow in a paragraph that hit and stung like an adder. He labored over that kind of work, understood the force of words, knew how to use them, and no person had any difficulty in knowing just what he meant.

His messages were very affirmative, nothing compromising about them; he sat down squarely on every measure proposed and enforced it with all his power. Many persons now living remember how violently he attacked the banking corporations of the day in his first and second administrations. He never did anything for political promotion. He had too much pride of opinion to sacrifice his convictions to personal ends.

He kept his eye on the state, as a state. Whatever may have been the opinion of him politically—however much he may have differed with his opponents on many questions—his financial policy was endorsed and supported by all parties. It is not too much to say that he was the salvation of the state. He brought order out of chaos. He found the state practically bankrupt. Scrip was everywhere, and much depreciated, and credit was refused for iron to lay the road from Jackson to Marshall, until the governor gave his personal guarantee of the bonds issued for its payment.

While his mind was Websterian, and while he loved to study and handle wide and sweeping questions, especially those growing out of constitutional

law, he had a capacity for detail, and was very patient in such examination. These two elements are seldom found in the same man. They seem to be hostile to each other. But I know how exacting he was in small matters, and how much pains he was often at to satisfy his mind. I have known him to sit down with the statutes and re-tax costs in justice's court, to be sure they were right. We know he sold the hay in the capitol yard and put the proceeds in the treasury, and he did it from principle, too. It was just like him, to claim for the state what he would claim for himself.

He believed in doing just what was right. While a director of the Michigan Southern Railroad Company, a claim was settled by another director for killing a horse on the track. I was sent down to get at the facts and found it settled, although the company was in no way in fault, and I so reported. "Why was it settled, sir?" said he. "From policy," I replied, "to keep on good terms with the man who lost his horse." "Policy, sir! policy," he exclaimed, "what has that to do with it?" "Did you ever do anything from policy, governor?" I asked. He warmed up with, "Will you be kind enough to inform me why any man should?"

Governor Barry was always at work at some public question. He followed from day to day all the great measures before Congress. No man in the state was better posted in their history and progress. No man was more decided and outspoken in regard to them.

He was also well versed in European statesmanship and politics. It was always a pleasure to him to get a group of men around him in his store, and talk to them on these subjects, as he could talk, and there were not many men who could talk better. He was a lawyer by profession, and a statesman from study and practice. He was an out and out Jeffersonian democrat, and advocated a limited and rigid construction of the constitution. He believed that we were drifting away from both its letter and spirit; that we were governed too much rather than too little; that state sovereignty was being gradually usurped by the general government, and that the line of jurisdiction between the two was fast fading out; that corporations needed watching, and their powers kept within the limits of their charters; that the government belonged to the people, and not the people to the government; and no man who had not the pleasure of meeting him socially, has any idea of his great knowledge on these questions, and his skill in pressing them home upon the listeners around him.

Governor Barry was not an orator. He had none of the graces of rhetoric, nothing of the charm of delivery, which sometimes captivates an audience. He never tried to rouse the mighty multitude by clap trap, or melt the people down by pathos or sentiment. He was cold and rather awkward in his

delivery. He always brought to his hearers a mass of facts, and was always fortified with the history of his subject, and he gave his audience matter enough to think about for a month. He was once a candidate for Congress and canvassed our district. I was with him and had a good opportunity of seeing him at his best. A district was never better canvassed than this one by Governor Barry. More political history was scattered over it than was ever heard before. It required a good head to follow him in his argument, and a great many persons were unable to do that, and therefore failed to appreciate him. Once, I remember, he was thoroughly aroused. A political opponent frequently interrupted him, and plied him with questions, and the governor finally warmed up and grew eloquent and poured hot shot into the gentleman for half an hour, and silenced him, showing what he could do when wrought upon by the occasion.

We can learn very much about a man by looking into his home life, by finding out how he is estimated among his friends and neighbors. I have already said that Gov. Barry was not justly criticised, nor his character fairly understood by those persons who only knew him in public life. At home his whole nature came out. He was under no artificial restraint, and every one of his neighbors knew just what he was. He was a merchant, did a large business for a country store, bought and sold wheat and flour in large quantities, and ran his flour down the river in arks, built for the purpose, and from thence shipped it to Buffalo or New York. He was very methodical, and he was governed by time as closely as a clock. A time to rise in the morning, a time to reach his store, to eat his meals, and a time to retire at night. He occupied his evenings in his library. He was a good French and Spanish scholar, and somewhat versed in Latin. He was always at work investigating some question, and he loved to talk about the subject with persons who had a like interest. When he met his friends under his own roof he was very full of conversation, but never said very much on minor matters, dwelling upon leading subjects that were occupying public attention. He had, as I have said, a grim kind of humor, and he could tell a good story, and liked to hear one. He had no patience with many of the "isms" of his day, and usually cut off any debate about them, with two or three sledge-hammer retorts, every word of which seemed to weigh a ton.

He became a stockholder in the Michigan Southern Railroad Company, afterwards a director, and still later one of the three persons who constituted the committee of management of the western division. This trust threw a heavy work upon him, and a considerable portion of his time was spent in New York and Chicago.

He was always approachable by the humblest citizen and never carried

about him a consciousness of the high position he had occupied. He was active in all home affairs and very decided in his views about them. He was a lover of money, and knew how to make it. He could lose a large amount without a murmur, but never forgot the man who deliberately swindled him out of a small sum. Such was Gov. Barry at home.

A few years before Governor Barry's death he had a slight apoplectic attack while on an excursion with some friends on the upper lakes. Not much was thought of it at the time, as he was not seriously affected. Some two or three years after he had another, and finally he was prostrated in his store, in January, 1870. He was taken to his house, and died on the 14th day of that month. His mind wandered most of the time, though he had rational moments, and knew that he must die. The last words I heard him say (his mind wandering) were: "Meet me at the depot, to-morrow morning. I want you to go to Coldwater, and help me transact some business." The next day he was dead.

His funeral was large, and held in one of our churches, and we laid his remains away in our village cemetery, on a cold winter day, by those of his wife.

He was not a professor of religion, but sometimes attended church.

He left a fortune of $300,000 to $350,000 and divided it by will between Charles H. Barry, his brother, a resident of Pittstown, Rensselaer county, New York, who is still living, and he gave a life interest in the other half to the children of his deceased brother, Aldis Barry (three in number), including Charles Dudley Barry, an adopted child, equally with them. He directed that a farm should be purchased for each of his brother's children, and the fee in the land was devised to their heirs. He never had any children of his own.

Let us not forget the men who laid the foundation of our state government. A few of them still linger among us, and but a few. A new generation is upon us now, and it is well for them to know to whom they are indebted for their constitution and laws, who it was that brought us out of a territorial into a state government, who they were who built up the financial policy and the corporate bodies of the state, and I lay this poor tribute on the grave of Governor Barry, who was not least in the ranks of the early pioneers, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude that we ought to keep fresh in our memories, and in the memory of those who may follow us in the administration of the affairs of our state.

EDWIN HOWARD LOTHROP.

BY HON. G. V. N. LOTHROP.

Edwin Howard Lothrop was born at Easton, Bristol county, Mass., in the Old Plymouth Colony, on March 22, 1806, and was the oldest son of Howard Lothrop and Sally Williams Lothrop. He was of Pilgrim lineage, his ancestors having settled in the old colony as early as 1656, from which time the family had continuously lived there.

Howard Lothrop was a farmer of intelligence and influence, a good specimen of the old New England school, and for many years one of the prominent citizens of his locality.

Edwin grew up on his father's farm, and during all his earliest years, he was actively engaged in the labors of the farm. He thus acquired the tastes and practical knowledge which determined the pursuits of his maturer years.

In 1824 he entered Amherst college, where he graduated in 1828. For a short time thereafter he lived in Albany, N. Y., engaged in commercial business. While there his attention was drawn to the then little known territory of Michigan, but just beginning to draw to itself a part of the tide of western emigration. He resolved to go with it.

He reached Detroit early in the summer of 1830. Detroit was then a frontier outpost, with only the population of a large village. The interior of Michigan was mostly a wilderness, known only to hunters and trappers, and occupied by the scanty remnants of the Pottawattomies. But he had heard of the fertile soil and beautiful prairies of southwestern Michigan, and he was drawn thither. Procuring saddle horses, with only one companion, he set out on his journey. West of Ann Arbor there were hardly any settlements, or roads, and his way was principally by old Indian trails. Where now stands the beautiful city of Kalamazoo, if my memory serves me rightly, there was but one cabin, that of its first settler, Mr. Bronson. He then turned his steps southward to the beautiful Prairie Ronde. There he found a few settlers who had come in from Kentucky the previous year, and who had pitched their tents under the shelter of the woods along the western border of the prairie. They were a hardy frontier race, most of them loving

the sports of the chase and the turf. Among them was Mr. Harrison, who afterwards attained the patriarchal age of 106 years. I have heard Mr. Lothrop say that Mr. Harrison had told him he moved into the country with a wagon drawn by several yoke of oxen. He reached St. Joseph river, where Three Rivers now stands, on Christmas day, 1829. The river was much swollen, and there being no bridges, it was necessary to ford it. To do this safely he must go beside his team. Accordingly he stripped to the skin, and thus safely led his team through the wintry and swollen stream. I wonder if any one has since tried this as a recipe for longevity!

The fertility and loveliness of Prairie Ronde seem to have gratified all the expectations of Mr. Lothrop, and he did not hesitate to make it his home. He selected a spot on the southern margin of the prairie, and there, in the shelter of a projecting tongue of the forest, he built a log cabin, which was his first residence. He began at once to enclose and cultivate his farm. His original farm, with some later acquisitions, made a compact body of 720 acres, I believe. The greater part of it was prairie, but its value was much enhanced by some fine timber. It was also well watered, and I doubt whether there was ever a finer or more beautiful farm in Michigan.

Very soon after Mr. Lothrop settled on Prairie Ronde, the flood of emigration to Michigan swelled to very large proportions. Here his early farm training served him well. He saw at once what would be the immediate and absolute need of the new comers. They would need cows and oxen. He at once set about supplying this want. The nearest source of supply was far down in the interior of Indiana and Illinois, and for several years Mr. Lothrop was engaged in gathering up large herds of cattle and taking them to Detroit to meet the emigrants on their arrival there. I have often heard him say that, at that time, the ground was open all around the old capitol building (now high school), and here, right in the heart of the present city, was his mart for his cattle. During this time, however, he actively prosecuted the business of his farm.

But Michigan was fast filling up with an intelligent and ambitious population, and aspirations to become a state began to excite the public mind. Mr. Lothrop shared this public feeling. He was a very decided democrat, but a majority of his neighbors, and, as for that, a majority of Kalamazoo county, were whigs. But, in spite of this difference in politics, in such high esteem was Mr. Lothrop held by his neighbors and fellow citizens, that he was often called to places of public trust. He was a representative in the first legislature assembled in the state, and also a member of the house of representatives in 1836, 1837, 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1848. He was speaker *pro tem.* of the house in 1842 and 1843, and speaker in 1844. In 1838, I

believe, he was president of the state board of internal improvement, then having charge of the railroad system of the state.

But Mr. Lothrop's public duties did not withdraw him from his labors on his farm. His large farm was all brought under cultivation. One of the great difficulties under which the farmers then labored in southwestern Michigan was their remoteness from market. There were no railroads. Live stock became of little value. Wheat and flour, the only marketable staples, had to be taken to Lake Michigan and thence by the lakes and the Erie canal to market. Transport was slow and the charges heavy. In this state of things Mr. Lothrop conceived the idea that wool growing on a large scale could be usefully introduced into his farming. A bale of wool would be worth many barrels of flour and there would be a great saving in transportation.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1840, Mr. Lothrop went to southwestern Ohio, where he gathered a flock of about 1,200 sheep, and brought them to his farm. A second flock was brought in in 1841. In 1841 the clip of the first flock was sent to Boston, being taken by wagon to the port of St. Joseph, and thence shipped east by way of the lakes. This, it is believed, was the first wool ever sent to the eastern market from western Michigan, and probably the first lot sent by an individual grower from any part of Michigan.

When the Michigan state agricultural society was formed, it held its first exhibition in the city of Detroit, upon some ground then owned by the writer of this paper, on the west side of Woodward avenue, and a little north of the grand circus park. Mr. Lothrop delivered the address on this occasion.

He continued to cultivate his farm personally until 1855, when his health having become somewhat impaired, he removed to the pleasant village of Three Rivers, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was soon made a justice of the peace, in which capacity he was serving at the time of his death.

He possessed a mind eminently judicial, and the discharge of his duties as a magistrate was very agreeable to him. He had the unbounded confidence of the community at large, and his judicious counsels were sought by many persons, and especially by his fellow farmers. He was plain and simple in his manners, of pleasant temper, and easily approached, and his neighbors in their troubles and perplexities found in him a wise and sympathizing friend. He knew how to compose disputes before they had run into the bitterness of actual litigation. In these humble but most useful duties he spent perhaps the pleasantest days of his life. They were tranquil days, sweetened by the esteem of all around him, and by the consciousness of doing good.

Death came after a short illness on February 17, 1874. He was buried, as

he wished, at Schoolcraft, on Prairie Ronde. His sudden death made a profound impression on the people of Prairie Ronde and Three Rivers, where he was so well known and so much beloved. On the occasion of his funeral the business of Three Rivers was suspended and a great concourse assembled to pay their last respects to their old neighbor and friend. Many came who had known him as a benefactor; many who had found him a sincere sympathizer and wise counselor in their troubles; and many who had known him as a just arbitrator and judge.

He knew how soon we are all forgotten and how vain are all honors paid to the dead. One of his last wishes was that nothing should be spent for any stone or tablet at his grave, but that its money equivalent should be given to succor some one in need or distress. This wish, which had in view the happiness and welfare of others, was characteristic of the man.

The wish was respected so far as concerned his own estate. But there were those who loved and mourned him, who were not willing that the grave of this good man should remain unmarked. Should any one wandering in the cemetery at Schoolcraft look for the graves of the pioneers of beautiful Prairie Ronde they will find a modest stone inscribed with the name of Edwin Howard Lothrop.

St. Petersburg, June 17, 1887.

HOW LANSING BECAME THE CAPITAL.

BY FRANK E. ROBSON, ESQ., OF LANSING.

It is the purpose of this paper to present a sketch of the incidents connected with the permanent location of the capital of the state at Lansing, and, as a sort of preface, I invite your attention to the provision in the constitution of 1835, under which the state was admitted into the Union, relating to the seat of government. Section nine of article twelve reads as follows: "The seat of government for this state shall be at Detroit, or at such other place or places as may be prescribed by law, until the year eighteen hundred and forty seven, when it shall be permanently located by the legislature."[1]

[1] Statutes 1838, p. 43.

The provision was adopted in this form only after considerable debate and parliamentary war, if it may be so called. It is evident that even at this time there was considerable jealousy in the interior villages at what was then known and still thrives under the name of the "Detroit influence;" hence an apparent determination on the part of the delegates from the interior villages to remove the seat of government from Detroit to one of the prominent interior towns; undoubtedly other influences were also at work, but the jealousy of Detroit's power seemed to be the moving cause. Ann Arbor made a strong effort for it; through its delegate, Mr. Mundy, so much of the report of the committee of the convention appointed to draft a constitution as related to the location of the seat of government, was referred to a special committee.[1] On May 22d, the next day after the resolution referring to a special committee passed, the president of the convention appointed as such committee: Edward Mundy, of Washtenaw; Jonathan D. Davis, of Wayne; Samuel Colbath, of Monroe; Benjamin B. Morris, of Pontiac; Townsend E. Gidley, of Jackson; Titus B. Willard, of Berrien, and Hezekiah G. Wells, of Kalamazoo.[2]

The preponderance of opinion in the committee was against Detroit; it may be that the Washtenaw chairman had his committee well in hand, for when the committee reported on the 16th of June, the report gave all possible advantage to Ann Arbor. Its substance was as follows: "The seat of government shall be located at Ann Arbor, in the county of Washtenaw, until 1845, in which year the legislature shall permanently locate the same."

The consideration of the report was taken up late the next day. This was the signal for the "Detroit influence" to put on its armor. The report was but fairly before the house, when a Wayne delegate moved to adjourn; this was lost. Efforts then followed, on this and the next day, to strike out Ann Arbor and insert Detroit and other places, all of which proved futile. As a sort of compromise, or in order to satisfy some critic, Mr. Mundy offered as an amendment to the report a proviso to the effect that, should the supervisors or other authorities of the county refuse the use of the court house to the legislature without rent, then the seat of government was to remain in Detroit until 1840.[3] Whatever may have been Mr. Mundy's intention, the proviso proved of no avail, for the motion was lost.

Various other amendments were proposed, varying practically only in the time when the capital should be permanently located, all placing it temporarily in Detroit; the time when it should be permanently located ranging

[1] Journal of Convention, p. 42.
[2] Journal of Convention, p. 50.
[3] Convention Journal, pp. 190, 191.

from 1839 to 1849. Finally, delegate Jno. S. Barry offered the form in which it appears in the constitution of 1835, above referred to, which was adopted.

Thus for a time the question was disposed of, but, in fact, it was only a temporary suspension of hostilities, a breathing spell, preparatory for the greater conflict to follow. As the year 1847 approached the outcry against the "Detroit influence" grew louder and more pronounced, and this influence evidently did not consist solely in the legitimate influence of strong minds over the weaker. It was necessarily true that there were a greater number of able men in Detroit than in any other community in the state. The late Levi Bishop, in a paper read before one of the early pioneer meetings, mentions the other influences, some of which are not unknown to legislators of the present day. He says, "It was said that where important measures were pending before the legislature, the influence of the social circle and of ladies' society was brought to bear upon the members, and many will remember that the influence of 'quail parties,' and 'quiet suppers' was often alluded to as the principal motive for the passage of many important acts of legislation[1]."

The feeling that a more "healthy political atmosphere" was necessary, increased as the season of 1847 approached, and early in the session bills were presented in both senate and house providing for the location of the seat of government, also a supplemental bill providing for the removal of the departments of the state government, and other necessary matters connected with the location of the capital.

It would be tedious to give the details of the various motions, votes, references, reports and the action had upon them, hence I shall content myself with a short sketch of the progress of the house bill providing for the location, which was the one finally passed; at the same time noting only the more prominent features connected with its passage, also noticing some incidents connected with the passage of the supplemental bill.

The bill providing for the location was introduced January 6, and, as usual, read twice. It was first referred to the committee of the whole and then taken from that committee and referred to a special committee. Early in February the special committee reported a bill substantially the same as that passed, except that the place of location was left blank, and it contained a proviso that the county where located should provide for the necessary buildings and give them rent free to the state. This proviso was finally stricken off.

While the committee were a unit as to the proposed form of the bill and its provisions they were divided as to the proper place of location, and as a

[1] Pioneer Collections, vol. 1, p. 511, *et seq.*

sort of compromise reported the bill in blank, and upon this point presented three reports. The reports argued the necessity of removal from Detroit and seemed inclined to be in favor of Marshall, Calhoun county having presented to the legislature a proposition in substantial accord with the proviso as reported. Against the removal to Marshall it was urged that it was too far south, while the reply was that north of it was but a "howling wilderness." In one of the reports it was urged, among other things, that if the capital remained at Detroit no poor man could become governor, as the salary (then $1,500) could not support him in the gay city, while it was sufficient to enable the poor but ambitious man to live in the simplicity of the interior villages.

The bill to locate ran the usual course of important measures, and was many times before the house. The name of nearly every village in the interior was presented. Among them were Lyons, Byron, Saginaw, Eaton Rapids, Jackson, Marshall, Ann Arbor, Utica, Corunna, Battle Creek, and of course Detroit was continually urged. At one time it was agreed by a vote of 30 to 28 to insert "Lyons in the county of Ionia," and a motion made ordering the bill engrossed and read a third time, but by a piece of parliamentary jugglery Lyons was stricken out and the bill was again before the house. It is probable that in this deadlock, for such it was, practically, many names were presented as a joke, for among others we find "Copper Harbor" proposed. One morning after a fall of snow, a member arose and moved to take up the bill, offering as a reason that it would undoubtedly slide easily that morning.

Referring again to the paper of Mr. Bishop, he states that the proposition to fill the blank with "in the township of Lansing" was considered a great joke and received with much laughter. From other sources I learn that instead of its being a joke it was in fact a well laid scheme, brought about by a man from Kalamazoo, who had been instrumental in locating the lands of the Seymours and Townsends. He was a man who hung about the land office and had an interest in the lands located by these parties. It was through his efforts that the motion was made and passed in the house. It is undoubtedly true, however, that most of the members voted for the proposition, considering it simply in the light of a good joke to locate the capital in the woods. Immediately after the measure became somewhat assured he went to New York and urged the matter so strongly to the others interested, and placed in such glowing colors the immense fortunes to be made from their investments should the capital be located on, or adjoining their lands, that a powerful lobby was engaged to boom the proposition to locate in Lansing township. Mr. Bishop says no debate was had upon the question, but

it was put at once and carried, even members of the Wayne delegation voting for it. It was a sorry joke for them, however, as the bill was immediately sent to the senate. All the aspiring villages now became alarmed, and many of the delegates who had voted for the measure would gladly have recalled their votes. At once a powerful lobby surrounded the senate, and every county and village desiring the capital presented propositions for its location. Land, money and buildings were offered as inducements. It is probable that "quail parties" also flourished, although I find no mention of them in the records. Every known tactic was used to have the bill amended and then returned to the house in order that it might be killed off, but all of no avail, the bill passed the senate, was presented to the governor, and, receiving his signature, became a law.

The measure came from the house on February 13 and was before the senate until March 9, when it passed. Almost the entire of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th of March were taken up with the measure, and on the 8th the senate took fifty one votes upon the question in some form.

The arguments used against its location in the township of Lansing, then truly a "howling wilderness," is quite neatly summarized by Mr. Bishop, to whom I am again indebted. "What, shall we take the capital from a large and beautiful city * * * and stick it down in the woods and mud on the banks of Grand river, amid choking miasma * * * * *, where the howl of wolves and the hissing of massaugas, and groans of bull frogs resound to the hammer of the woodpecker and the solitary note of the nightingale?"[1] Undoubtedly this is but a fair picture of the situation as it appeared to the legislator's mind. One disgusted member offered a new section to the supplemental bill above referred to, which reads as follows: "The sum of one hundred dollars is hereby appropriated out of the five mill tax to erect guide boards to direct the members of the next legislature to the seat of government of the state of Michigan, to be expended under the direction of the said commissioners."[2] The bill also provided for an appropriation of ten thousand dollars with which to erect temporary buildings. This was evidently considered a piece of great extravagance by some, as a motion was made to amend the title by adding thereto, "and to absorb the building fund in temporary buildings, thereby preparing the way for taxing the people to erect permanent state buildings."[3]

The supplemental act provided for three commissioners to be appointed by the governor, to select a site, giving them the privilege of locating on school

[1] Pioneer Collections, supra.
[2] House Journal, 1847, p. 454.
[3] House Journal, 1847, p. 455.

section 16, or accepting some proposition which might be offered to them, and locating on some other section in the township. The commissioners examined sections 5, 9, 10, 13, 20, and 21, and finally selected section 16. Various propositions were made to them, those of James Seymour, to locate on section 9, now the north part of the city, and that of the Townsends, to locate on section 21, now the south part of the city, were the most prominent. The most interesting reading is, perhaps, the proposition of Mr. H. B. Lathrop, of Jackson. Speaking of the Townsend proposition he says, "One of the worst, in point of health, that could be adopted. You have dead water on each side of you, and agues and chill fevers would be as sure to the state officers and their assistants as would be their salaries."[1]

Mr. Seymour's proposition was in renewal of one made to the legislature and contains one phrase of prophecy which is worth considering here. Speaking of the Grand river valley, he says, "It will soon become one of the richest and most populous parts of the state."[2]

The report of the committee sets out fully their reasons for choosing section 16, and they seem worth repeating now. They say we "found it, in the main, an excellent section of land, exceedingly well timbered, and its soil of a very superior quality for the purpose of cultivation. * * * * Its centre is very handsomely elevated above the river, and is nearly equidistant from the two water powers in sections 9 and 21, at which points it is probable that extensive improvements will be made and, at no distant day, thriving villages spring up."[3]

The naming of the proposed village was the source of considerable sport in the legislature, and it was only after some contest that the name of Michigan was finally chosen. The bill, as it passed the house contained the name of "Aloda" which was changed by the senate to "Michigan." Among the names presented in the house are: Houghton, Bushridge, Harrison, Kinderhook, El Dorado, Thorbush, Huron, Marcellus, and the member who wanted sign boards erected proposed Swedenborg. In the senate the names proposed were those of eminent men of the times or of the revolution: Franklin, Washington, Lafayette, Cass, Tyler, Fulton and Wright being some of those proposed.

Frequently people are born with names not exactly to their liking as they grow older, or perhaps a whim of the parent provides one with a name that truly becomes burdensome to its owner. The village of "Michigan," we may suppose, became tired of its name and wanted a new one, for early in the

[1] Joint Documents, 1848. Report of commissioners.
[2] Joint Documents, 1848. Report of commissioners.
[3] Report of commissioners, *supra*.

session of 1848, the first session held at the new capital, bills were introduced in both senate and house to change the name of the village. The bills were introduced in January but it was not until April that the name was finally chosen. It would seem that so simple a matter as changing one's name ought not to cause any difficulty, but this inoffensive looking measure was the source of much trouble. The house wanted the name "Lansing," the senate wanted it "Okeema," and each amended the bill of the other to that effect. This brought conference committees who would not agree. The committees would report, be discharged and new ones appointed. Finally a committee was found which could agree and they reported the name "Algoma." This did not suit the members of the respective bodies, for we find several motions to strike out the name "Algoma" and insert others. Among these names were Glen, Lewis, Cass, Dallas, LaSalle, and Huron. One member proposed to burden the young village with the name of Pewanogawink, a name at that time belonging to a township in Genesee county. After much reporting and voting the senate finally agreed to concur in the name proposed by the house, "Lansing," and April 3, 1848, the governor approved the act.

There are undoubtedly many other interesting items connected with the birth of our present city which might be found with sufficient search among old files and by conversation with the oldest inhabitant. I trust, however, enough has been presented to interest you for a time, and perhaps awaken some sleeping recollections not recorded in official documents, but nevertheless of equal or greater interest, and of which I hope we may have the benefit.

BENJAMIN OLIVER WILLIAMS—THE FOUNDER OF OWOSSO.

[From the Owosso Weekly Press, Mar. 30, 1887.]

B. O. Williams is gone! How many thoughts rush through the mind with this announcement; thoughts of the time when this beautiful city of Owosso was the hunting ground of the Indian; days when the brothers A. L. and B. O. Williams swam the waters of the Shiawassee river, bearing upon their shoulders skins of fur-bearing animals, often heavy with icicles, their only associates the rude Indians with whom they became fast friends; days when these brothers owned the entire ground on which Owosso stands—thence onward till

now Owosso beams forth a prosperous town with its 5,000 inhabitants, in the development of which he has been closely connected.

What can we say of him? A man of state-wide reputation in pioneer annals; known throughout the length and breadth of Shiawassee county; kind hearted, benevolent, generous, ever ready with sympathy for the afflicted and aid for the distressed; an honest, upright, public spirited citizen; a tender and affectionate husband and father; one whose robust form was seen daily upon our streets until paralysis fastened itself upon him and withdrew him from our daily sight—this was B. O. Williams.

Alfred L. and Benjamin Oliver Williams were the first two white settlers in Shiawassee county, and their names are known, not only throughout this county, but prominently in the state pioneer history. As was said on the occasion of the death of A. L. Williams, to write the history of one of these brothers would be to give in great part (at least their early days) the life of the other also; and to give a sketch of the life of these two brothers would be to give not only a history of the founding and early days of Owosso, but would comprise also a volume of Shiawassee county pioneer history and much of the pioneer days of the state of Michigan. Enough in the way of pioneer sketches and reminiscences given by B. O. Williams at pioneer meetings, both county and state, has been printed from time to time to make an interesting volume of pioneer history. Side by side in the large volume of Ensign's history of Shiawassee county stand the portraits of these two pioneer brothers, leading the list of biographical sketches, as the first two white settlers in Shiawassee county.

Mr. Williams was born in Concord Mass., Nov. 18, 1810. In the fall of 1815, Major Oliver Williams, father of A. L. and B. O., emigrated from Massachusetts to Detroit with his wife and nine children, and in 1819 he removed thence to Oakland county. In August, 1831, the sons, A. L. and B. O., set out from Pontiac with two assistants and a double team loaded with goods, and passing through the intervening wilderness came to the Shiawassee river at the point where the river is now crossed by the Chicago and Grand Trunk R. R., where A. L. had entered an eighty-acre tract of government land. Here they opened a trading post and soon after built the building extensively known as the "Shiawassee Exchange," a double house one and a half stories high, used as a dwelling and a storehouse, and afterwards as a tavern. In the summer of 1833 they purchased lands at "Che-bocwating" or the "Big Rapids" of the Shiawassee (Owosso), which was the first purchase of lands in the north half of the county. In the spring of 1837 the brothers located permanently on their Owosso lands, where they at once commenced extending and adding to the improvements which had been begun under their direction

in the fall of 1835. In this removal from their old trading post above, on the Shiawassee, they retained the "Shiawassee Exchange" property, which they sold the next year to the American Fur Company. Henceforth their home and their interests were in Owosso, a spot whose lovely location charmed them at first sight.

When the California gold excitement broke out the brothers went to the gold fields, remained two years, opening the first hill digging in California, returned to Michigan and again made the journey to California; leaving their interests there in charge of their brothers, Alpheus F. and James M. Williams, they returned to Owosso. The close affection and business trust between the two brothers through long years, having as it was expressed, "but one pocket-book between them" was touchingly beautiful.

B. O. Williams was very friendly and familiar with the Indians and learned to speak their language, which he never forgot in later years. In the spring of 1835 he, in company with his elder brother, Gardner D. Williams, of Saginaw, went to Washington in charge of a party of thirteen Saginaw Chippewa chiefs for the purpose of concluding a treaty by which the Indians should sell to the United States the tribal reservation granted them by the treaty of Saginaw in 1819. This negotiation was ultimately successful. The deputation remained about three weeks in Washington, and the whole journey consumed about two months; the means of traveling at that time being by stage and canal.

In 1838 Mr. Williams was married to Miss Sophia A. Smith, of Canandaigua, N. Y., a lady of lovely character, who endured the privations of a pioneer life with cheerfulness, and who has since borne the luxuries of a succeeding life of wealth and refinement with modesty and unostentation. Their first dwelling was on a now vacant lot on Oliver street, between the A. L. Williams and the Judge Gould places.

A contract for grubbing and clearing about forty miles of the line of the old "Northern Railroad" (from the center of Shiawassee county westward to Lyons, Ionia county) was taken by the brothers A. L. and B. O., at $248.50 per mile, and one half of the distance was sub-let by them to Messrs. Kipp & Moore, of Ionia. The work was commenced in November, 1838, and was completed in the summer of 1839, but resulted in loss to the contractors. In 1839 B. O., in company with Daniel Ball, took the contract to grade ten miles of the same road, eastward from Lyons, but only a part of this work was completed before the definite failure and abandonment of the project by the state.

When A. L. & B. O. resolved to try the experiment of mining on the Pacific slope, in 1850, they migrated thither, took up a claim in Nevada

county, which they named Pontiac Hill, and commenced operations. These were the first hill diggings opened in California. The history of Nevada county gives to them the credit of finishing the first water race for gold washing in the county. It ran from Nevada to Rough and Ready. Gold was found within thirty feet of where they commenced work, and ten feet below the surface they took out a ten quart pan of earth which yielded 126 pennyweights of gold. They remained at this place for two years, then sold their claim and returned to Owosso. In May, 1852, they again went to California—sending a party of men with horses by the overland route—and purchased a water right in Sierra county which they worked successfully, and on which over half a million dollars have been expended; as has been stated, they left their interests there in charge of two brothers and returned to Michigan.

In 1863-4, B. O. accompanied Col. Hayden, of Ohio, on a tour for the discovery and working of gold and silver mines in Honduras, Central America. They made a very thorough exploration of that region, but no extensive operations resulted from the discoveries made.

B. O. Williams was always a staunch democrat, and, until bodily infirmities compelled him to decline, scarcely ever was a democratic state convention held without "B. O." as a delegate. From the casting of his first vote, in 1832, till his death he remained true to the democratic party. He was not ambitious for political honors; had he been aspiring he would have been foremost among those in political prominence in the state. At one time his name was mentioned as democratic candidate for governor, but he would not permit it. He was the third mayor of Owosso, has served as supervisor, and in various positions of trust and honor. He took great interest in our public schools and was a member of the school board for several years. Mr. Williams was a firm supporter of the Episcopal church, a vestryman for several years, and at the time of his death an honorary member of the vestry.

The Williams brothers gave Fayette Square to the city; to the Episcopal church the ground on which the church edifice stands; and to the Ladies' Library Association a lot for a building.

March 22, 1887, Mr. Williams passed out from these familiar scenes forever, leaving the faithful wife of his pioneer days and later enjoyment, and three sons, James A. and Charles S., of this city, and B. O., who is living at Denver, Col. A daughter, Mary, first wife of Hon. Wm. Kilpatrick, died in 1869.

Notwithstanding a severe storm on the day of the funeral the church was filled to overflowing by those who would do honor to Owosso's departed pioneer father. Many persons from other portions of the county braved the

storm to be present. Business places were closed and the city authorities and members of the board of supervisors attended in a body.

The city council at a special meeting passed memorial resolutions which will be found in the official proceedings.

AUGUSTIN S. GAYLORD.

BY HON. D. H. JEROME.

Hon. Augustin S. Gaylord was born on the 9th day of February, A. D. 1831, at Jefferson, in the state of Ohio. He came from sturdy Puritan stock and was the oldest son of Harvey Russell and Stella Maria Gaylord. The father was born in Harpersfield, in the state of New York, and the mother in the state of Ohio.

Mr. Gaylord, the subject of this sketch, was liberally educated in the best institutions of learning in Ohio, and when he reached manhood was energetic and untiring in supplementing his early advantages by choice reading and research of all that would enlarge and cultivate his mind. In addition to his labors in the solid branches of history, literature, and the sciences, he had a superb taste for, and knowledge of the fine arts, especially music, and to these he could always resort for recreation. His well stored private library was proof of an exquisite taste and of liberal accomplishments. These acquirements adapted him to mingle with the most refined associations. In his social relations he was generous, courteous, and always the intelligent gentleman. Mr. Gaylord removed from Ohio to Saginaw in the summer of 1851, when he at once entered upon a course of study for his profession, as a lawyer, and as an aid to his training in this regard, in 1852 he accepted the position of deputy county clerk of Saginaw county, which appointment was made by the venerable Sanford M. Green, the then judge of the circuit. So intelligently were the duties of this position discharged that he was several times elected as clerk of the county during the years that followed.

Politically he was a whig until the formation of the republican party, when he became a member of the latter. In religion he was an Episcopalian and an honored member of that church.

About the year 1854 he entered upon the practice of the law and soon formed a copartnership with the Hon. John Moore, with whom he had been a student. From the beginning as a lawyer, he was a success. In acquiring his profession, the work was pursued in the broader manner. He grasped and mastered the philosophy of the science of the law, and in after life was diligent to add to it, in which effort he was rewarded by success.

Mr. Gaylord was married to Emeline E. Warren on the 21st day of October, 1856, at Ripon, Wisconsin. From this union a large family of children were born, four only of whom survived infancy; two daughters, Carrie and Elizabeth; and two sons, Augustin J. and Harvey Russell.

Mr. Gaylord held many official positions; was United States commissioner for the years 1864–5–6, and a member of the state legislature in 1862–1863. In the latter position he will be remembered by his associates and his constituents as one of the leading minds in the house, and as a member of the judiciary committee rendered service characterized by care and intelligence. His integrity as a man and his learning in the law induced the Hon. Zachariah Chandler, then Secretary of the Interior, to ask President Grant to appoint Mr. Gaylord as assistant United States attorney general, and assign him to act as solicitor for that department; the appointment was made and the position was held until his death. During his incumbency of this office Mr. Gaylord wrought many important changes in the modes or methods of conducting the work in the different bureaus of this department, which are still being followed with advantage to the service.

Perhaps the most marked evidence of Mr. Gaylord's broad elementary legal education was demonstrated in his report upon a case of importance argued before the Secretary of the Interior, touching the title to lands in the city of Chicago. The property in question had become of immense value and was used for railroad depots and yards. The title depended upon the action of the United States government long anterior to the organization of a state government covering this territory together with old possessory rights that could only be determined by most exhaustive investigation and application of legal principles. The case was argued by the ablest attorneys on both sides.

Mr. Gaylord sitting with Secretary Chandler as the law officer of the department to hear the argument, the decision of course turned on the legal opinion covered by his report. This report in its application of the law, and the conclusions reached, was sustained by men strong in the law, and notably by some who had taken part in a prior argument of the same case, and whose

judgments were equal to any. This effort, supplemented by his entire professional work in behalf of the government, placed him unquestionably among the first men in the legal profession, and had he lived would have been a warrant for promotion.

In 1876 he was sent from the department by President Grant as the legal member and adviser of a commission to treat with the Sioux Indians for the territory known as the Black Hills in Dakota. This mission was successful, and the writer was present when the president paid a high compliment to Mr. Gaylord for the manner in which he discharged the trust thus reposed in him.

It is probable that from the exposures to which he was subjected on this journey in the west the fatal disease was contracted that terminated Mr. Gaylord's life in the following year. On June 21, 1877, Mr. Gaylord died at his home in the city of Saginaw, surrounded by a loving family, wife, two daughters and two sons.

He possessed the confidence of those who knew him, and was ranked among the first men of Michigan.

A HISTORY OF THE MILITARY RESERVATION AT FORT GRATIOT, WITH REMINISCENCES OF SOME OF THE OFFICERS STATIONED THERE.

READ BEFORE THE ST. CLAIR COUNTY PIONEER SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN PORT HURON, JUNE 23, 1887, BY WILLIAM L. BANCROFT.

When you requested me some days since, Mr. President, to make a few minutes' talk at this annual meeting of the County Pioneer Society on the subject of "Old Fort Gratiot," I readily consented, deeming it the duty of each member to contribute a share, however humble, in continuing and perfecting the history of our locality. I expected to limit my information, as you intimated, to a little talk which should be reminiscent in character, passing in rapid review the men and things of fifty years since, whose homes were within the old stockade, but whose social intercourse was largely with

denizens of our then little village. A noble galaxy of men flits before me. History unrolls her scroll, and I am impelled to inquire who were the predecessors of these men, when and why was this military post founded, what has become of its old landmarks, and what can be said to transmit the memory of those men and things, who made history, to those who are coming after us? There is too much for "talk," and notwithstanding my experience that there is sometimes too little in a memoir, I shall venture to offer a formal paper for your archives.

Ladies and gentlemen, Fort Gratiot is memorable as the site of one of the earliest military posts established west of Montreal, marking a reopening of that long and bloody contest between the French and English for domination on this continent. Denonville had succeeded the feeble La Barre as governor general of Canada. New Netherlands had just been restored to England and became New York, of which one Col. Thomas Dongan was appointed governor by the Duke of York, thus giving an Irish governor to an English colony, peopled by Dutchmen, with Frenchmen and Indians for neighbors. And herein you may note, Mr. President, that the Irishman was ubiquitous two hundred years ago, as he has been since, and this one seems to have been happy, as we all know a good Irishman should be, in finding himself environed with all the conditions favorable for an early fight. The French claimed a monopoly of the rich fur trade of the great lakes, the Dutch poached on the French preserves, and Parkman relates that Dongan did his utmost to promote the interests of his Dutch traders. Denonville desired to build a fort at Niagara. Dongan warned him against it. Their correspondence is spicy, and like good diplomats each veiled his real purpose.

"It's a thousand pities," writes Dongan, "that those Indians who have made such progress in the service of God should be disturbed for a little peltry."

"Think you," replies Denonville, "that religion will make any progress, while your traders supply the savages in abundance with liquor which you ought to know converts them into demons and their lodges into counterparts of hell?"

"Certainly," retorts Dongan, "our rum doth as little harm as your brandy, and in the opinion of christians is much more wholesome."

The outcome of this epistolary fusilade was an order from Denonville to his commander at Mackinac, M. DuLhut, (after whom, by the way, the fair and flourishing "zenith city" of Minnesota took its name) to repair to the straits of Detroit and erect there a military post. All the waters between Lakes Huron and Erie were known as a single strait, although the names of "Sainte Claire" had been given to our beautiful little lake ten years before,

by La Salle. DuLhut promptly obeyed the order of his chief, which bears date June 6, 1686, and the same year, according to Parkman, "built a stockade at the mouth of Lake Huron on the western side of the river," the exact location of Fort Gratiot.

I ought to mention that the "History of St. Clair County," published in 1883 by the Western Historical Company, states that this fort was built under the orders of Count Fontenac, as governor general of Canada, seven years after La Salle made his famous voyage in the "Griffin," schooner, which is stated to have been in 1669. This writer (page 607) must be in error, because Parkman refers to the original letter of Denonville dated in 1686; besides Frontenac had sailed for France and been superseded by Denonville in 1682, and did not return to Canada until 1689. The "Griffin" was launched in August, 1679, so could not have made its trip in 1669. This latter figure is probably a typographical error, but none the less misleading in a history which exhibits patient research and abounds in most interesting historical facts regarding not only St. Clair county but the state of Michigan.

Dongan, not to be out-generaled, sent out two trading expeditions which returned successful, and the next year organized an expedition to capture Mackinac; but it was captured by DuLhut's and Durantaye's forces on Lake Huron. Fort St. Joseph, as the post on the St. Clair was named, was maintained only eight years, and Cadillac having soon after established a fort at Detroit, that point became thenceforth the principal focus of events affecting the march of history in Michigan and the northwest.

During the last war with Great Britain additional protection for the frontier was deemed necessary, especially against the Indians who were incited to hostility by the British; and on the 14th day of May, 1814 Major Thomas Forsyth arrived at the site of Fort St. Joseph with small detachments of the 4th infantry and territorial militia, for the purpose of establishing a military post. The work was done under Capt. Gratiot, of the U. S. engineer corps, and his name was given to the fort. Gen. John McNeil commanded there in 1816, and it was occupied until 1822, and then vacated until 1827, when Major Thompson and Capt. Beall, with detachments of the 4th artillery, were ordered there from Green Bay. The subsequent commanders, as near as I am able to ascertain them, were Major Payne, in 1834, Major Huffman, in 1837, Col. Gardner, in 1840, Col. McIntosh, in 1843, Major Ben Alvord, in 1849, and Major G. A. Rains, in 1850. On the breaking out of the rebellion the troops were ordered off, but the fort was the rendezvous for the 27th Michigan Infantry under Col. D. M. Fox. Detachments of the 17th, 43d and finally the 22d Infantry, under Capt. F. Clarke, successively occupied the fort,

and it was not finally abandoned until April 14, 1879. The buildings known to this and to two preceding generations were mostly demolished in 1882.

The grounds forming the original military reservation extended from what is now known as Michigan street, in Fort Gratiot village, on the north, to Suffern street, on the south, and from the St. Clair river, on the east, to Black river on the west. An old government plat in my possession shows it as containing all the land lying above the mouth of Black river to Michigan street, and it also included the light house reserve. The recommendation of Gen. Macomb, then commander in chief of the army, indorsed on the plat is, "that all the land unsold and unpatented be reserved for military purposes." The recommendation was concurred in by Gen. Peter B. Porter.

The fort was repaired in 1849, one Smock being the contractor, though the work was mostly done by the late Obadiah Gardner, one of the early pioneer millwrights of the county, whose son, John Gardner, still lives among us, being a respected resident, I am told, near Marysville. It is possible that the fort originally comprised small earthworks, as "bastions" are referred to as landmarks in papers seen by some of our older cltizens.

A considerable portion of the reserve was owned by Andrew Westbrook, who sold it to the government for the consideration of $800, May 7, 1833. This is described as "a tract of land fronting on the river St. Clair and extending back in a line with the present Fort Gratiot to Black river, being the lower or southern moiety or half part of a tract of land which was confirmed by the board of land commissioners for said territory to Pierre Beaubien, and afterwards conveyed by said Beaubien to Charles Larned, Esq., and by said Larned conveyed to said Westbrook." This tract covered the northerly part of the reserve, and the plat referred to indicates that one Desnoyers owned, under one Bonhomme, a building situate to the south of the Westbrook land and west of the fort, but I have been unable to learn anything about this building. The Bonhomme land was conveyed to the United States by deed dated September 2, 1834, for the consideration of $468.50. This deed conveys the north half of a tract of land confirmed to Beaubien by act of Congress, April 17, 1828, and describes the land as "containing six arpents in front on said river St. Clair by forty arpents in depth, and being the same tract of land on which Fort Gratiot is situated." This forty arpents, it appears from the plat I have referred to, also extended to Black river, covering about forty acres, and inasmuch as Beaubien conveyed the north half only of his claim, it seems safe to infer that the south line of the part he did convey, formed also the south line of the reserve, though the lines indicating his claim on the plat are neither parallel with Michigan

street nor at right angles with the St. Clair river. I have been unable to find a conveyance of any other tracts to the government.

Gen. John McNeil, from whom the "McNeil tract" takes its name, and of which the village of Fort Gratiot once formed a part, made several visits to Port Huron after I became a resident. He was a very large man and then of venerable appearance, and lame from a wound received at Lundy's Lane, in the war of 1812, in which he bore a very gallant part. The tract comprised about 1,200 acres, the larger portion of which he purchased from one Antoine Laselle, June 5, 1826, for the consideration of $1,500. The original plat of the village has disappeared from the county records, worn out, I presume from the appearance of many of those left, from continued use.

In 1853 William L. Bancroft and I. D. Carleton made a survey of the lands included in the stockade, the gardens and the parade ground, and Mr. Bancroft made the first application through General Hestor L. Stevens, then a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, for a sale of the balance of the reserve. Nothing practical was reached and the reserve remained intact until about the year 1855, when there was an order made on the application of Martin S. Gillett and others granting to the village of Port Huron a portion for a burying ground known as Pine Grove cemetery, which was enlarged June 20, 1860, by an act of Congress granting thirty acres for that purpose.

The Chicago, Detroit & Canada Grand Trunk Junction Railway Company entered on possession of a portion of the reserve under a permit of the Secretary of War in 1857, and on February 8, 1859, an act of Congress was approved granting to any company that might construct a railroad from Detroit to or near Port Huron, the right of way and privilege of erecting depot buildings and workshops on the reserve, conditioned among other things that the buildings should be of wood. This act was amended February 25, 1867, requiring that the buildings should be either wood or fire proof, and it is worth noting that the railway company had already erected its passenger depot, which is not of wood nor yet fire proof.

In 1868 Gen. Wm. Hartsuff prepared a bill authorizing the sale of so much of the reserve as lies south of a line extended from the south end of the Grand Trunk railway wharf on the St. Clair river to a point of intersection with the Lexington road, and all that portion lying east of that road; and so much of this tract as lies east of a line extending due south from such point of intersection, was required to be platted and sold at public auction, the remainder to be sold at auction in the discretion of the Secretary of War. That bill was carried through Congress by Hon. Rowland E. Trowbridge, and the first sale occurred December 14, 1870, and the last one August 30, 1881.

Pine Grove Park was donated by act of Congress, March 18, 1870, the sale of a part of the lighthouse reserve was authorized January 24, 1873, and the sale of Pine Grove cemetery March 3, 1873, and on March 3, 1879, the Secretary of War was authorized to sell to the Port Huron & Northwestern railway company all the remaining portion of the reserve. These lands are shown in the plat of that company's addition to the city of Port Huron.

This completes the record of the lands originally included in the reservation. The "Lexington road" referred to in the act of Congress, July 20, 1868, started from the north line of Huron avenue and ran along the line of what is now Pine Grove avenue to Kearney street, where it bore westward to Washington avenue and distant at that point about eight roads from Pine Grove avenue, thence it deflected toward the north to about the center of the block between Sedgwick and Thomas streets, nearly touching the present hose house on Stone street, thence it followed Stone street to Scott avenue, there it deflected to the eastward and touched Michigan street at the foot of what is known as Third street, directly on the spot now occupied by the carriage and wagon shop of James Brown, in Fort Gratiot village. Third street is of more modern origin, and the road continued on easterly to the corner of what is now First street, where stood a little church, afterwards converted into a store and occupied for many years by Raymond J. Wright, a son of William Wright, one of the oldest and worthiest of the early pioneers of St. Clair county.

When I first saw the reserve, in 1844, the stockade stood east of St. Clair street and near the north line of Scott avenue. A road led southwesterly from the fort enclosures to a point on Black river near the west end of Lyon street. The garrison gardens lay between the stockade and the Lexington road, extending to the south line of the parade grounds, which covered all the space to the river bank east of the gardens and south of the stockade to a line running west from W. N. Botsford's elevator. There was also at the end of the Black river road and on its banks a clearing of several acres, which had been leased several years to Amzi Botsford, a brother of John S. Botsford, who, with his estimable lady, continue with us, venerable and highly esteemed citizens. Other than this the reserve was open woods or dense bush. A road ran near the river bank between the fort and the town, which washed away in patches where the swift current of the St. Clair and the consuming swells from old Lake Huron combined forces for its erosion, and again it wound among drooping shades and pleasant nooks. It was never decided, I believe, whether this road or that leading from the fort to Black river was the true "Lover's Lane," which every enlightened community is expected to offer to the young and enterprising of both sexes. I can

only testify in behalf of the St. Clair road, that many a time and oft, before narrow buggy boxes were invented to squeeze young couples together, willy-nilly, I have in one of the old time vehicles snuggled close to my "best girl," where now flows from ten to forty feet of water, and esteemed it the pleasantest road that ever led to Cupid's charmed bowers!

I think the first onslaught on the timber was made in 1870, when Daniel B. Harrington opened up Pine Grove avenue, or what is known in the acts of Congress as "Harrington avenue," a name which it seems to me it might appropriately bear to-day, as we have a fill of the "Pine Grove" nomenclature, and Mr. Harrington was one of the founders and large proprietors of our beautiful city.

The fort cemetery was located in a delightful grove a few hundred feet southeasterly from the elevator site, and in the northeast corner of Pine Grove park. It was abandoned in 1884, and its mouldering tenantry removed to Lakeside. Pine Grove cemetery has undergone the same transition, and already over the remnant dust of its thousand dead the fleeting drama of life goes briskly on.

In an angle to the northward from the fort cemetery and west of the elevator stood a large, square, two storied, porch fronted frame dwelling of considerable pretentions to achitecture for the times, of which we shall have to take fuller note presently. To the west of the Lexington road and perhaps eighty rods from it, and I should think near the fifth ward schoolhouse, stood an humble dwelling, the home of the mother of James A. Clancy, erroneously put as James Ward in our county "History." Clancy is, as he has been for many years, a trusty mail agent on the Grand Trunk railway between this city and Detroit and I shall have occasion to refer to him again. Not far from Mrs. Ward lived a Mr. Hazlewood, now and for many years past a faithful and respected employé of the Grand Trunk. These were the only tenements tolerated on the reserve, and finish its original picture as presented in my mind's eye.

The personnel of the story which remains to be told may be more interesting. All of the officers whom it was my good fortune to know, were worthy gentlemen, and a visit with many of the fort families was for a young man at once a delight and instruction. Col. McIntosh was a sturdy Scotchman, a soldier as rigid in discipline as he was brave in the field. He was bayoneted through the face in the battle of Palo Alto, and wounded again the next day at Resaca de la Palma, in Mexico, and returned to Fort Gratiot during the period of his convalescence; that accomplished he returned to the war and was wounded again at the taking of Mexico and died in that city in 1847.

Major Alvord's name became the synonym for official promptness and integrity and he was for many years the paymaster general of the army, and held that office until his death, which I think occurred only last year. Mrs. Alvord was a lady of fine personal appearance, supplemented by the most kindly manners and lovely disposition. They took a lively interest in village matters. The major was one of the organizers of the first lyceum in Port Huron, attended regularly its meetings with Mrs. Alvord, invariably walking from the fort to the Methodist church, near the corner of Water and Sixth streets; and they also contributed liberally towards the lyceum library, which was established and flourished during several years. May the flowers bloom brightly above both their honored graves!

Lieut. Montgomery covered himself with glory in several battles of the Mexican war, as did also Lieut. Russell. Both were tall, fine looking gentlemen. Montgomery married a daughter of Gen. Northrup, an early settler, identified with both the political and religious interests of the county, and for several years its treasurer. Russell was treacherously slain with poisoned arrows by the Indians, in California, March 24, 1853, and Montgomery died in Oregon, November 22, 1854. Lieut. Staughter was of puny appearance, but gentlemanly and brave hearted, and was shot by the Indians while in discharge of his duties in Washington territory, Dec. 4, 1855. Lieutenant Lugenbeel, who was stationed at Fort Gratiot about the date of my arrival here, reached the rank of major general for meritorious services. He married a daughter of James Williams, formerly a well known citizen of Detroit, where I believe she is still living.

Major Rains, I have heard, became General Rains, of the Confederate army. His quarters at the fort were the favorite resort of the young people, and for that matter of the older ones too, on all holidays, when his elegant lady dispensed prodigal hospitalities. Their popularity was great, and they left with the best wishes of our community showered upon them. Of their whereabouts since the war I have heard nothing. But I have for them only pleasant memories.

Lieut. Drum was another of the officers whose home for a season was at the fort. I am told he is the same officer, now adjutant general of the army, whom you will all recognize from his too zealous care for confederate flags.

Dr. Charles W. Keeney was surgeon at the fort in 1844, and until succeeded by Dr. Tripler, who was here with Maj. Rains and became surgeon general of the army. Both practiced in the village, and both were popular with our people. Dr. Keeney was a native of Detroit, and Dr. Tripler married a Detroit lady, one of the daughters of Judge John W. Strong, all of the judge's daughters being noted for their beauty.

During the intervals when the fort was vacated by the troops it was left in charge of a post sergeant. The first of these whom I knew was John T. Townsend, a native of Duchess county, New York, and a soldier who had then served through several enlistments. He left the service about the year 1855, and removed to Clyde, where he lived many years, a thrifty farmer and neighbor to our well known citizens, Michael Plant and Edward Vincent. He died October 18, 1883. Mr. Townsend was an upright, exemplary citizen and good man, and he merits honorable mention in the records of this society. He left two sons and one daughter, all now residents of the county.

Sergeant Townsend was succeeded by Mrs. Jane Montgomery, the widow of Lieut. Montgomery, of whom I have just made mention. Mrs. Montgomery left for Washington about 1858, and has since been employed in the war department. Her successor was Thomas H. Hunt, later a captain in the Seventh Michigan Infantry, where he served bravely and faithfully. He was well known to all our citizens of those days, and is now a resident of Alpena. I think the last of the fort keepers were Samuel Edison and Henry Hartsuff, the latter of whom died in ——, and the former is still with us, a hale old gentleman of over eighty years, with whom we are all happy to exchange daily greetings.

With Major Hoffman's command came a worthy soldier and citizen now among the most venerable of the little band of remaining pioneers; Charles Flugal, who enlisted in the 13th Infantry in 1813, and was a drummer boy in several of the engagements with the British on the Niagara frontier, and re-enlisted again in 1818, finally left the service in 1837, and settled in Port Huron, where he resides on Pine street with his wife, to whom he was married in 1822. I saw them both a few days since, Mrs. Flugal a sufferer with rheumatism, but Mr. Flugal as erect as when he beat the drum for the deadly charge at Niagara. They bid fair to remain with us until their pretty great-granddaughter, whom they proudly showed me, blooms into womanhood.

The sutlers were important adjuncts of the fort, of whom I am enabled to recall Messrs. F. Cicotte, A. Norton, jr., and Geo. Watson, of Detroit, and Willard Orvis and Chas. Bancroft, of Port Huron. Mr. Orvis married a sister of the late Col. Wellington Davis, and I believe she is now living in Little Rock, Arkansas. Charles Bancroft was for several years a merchant here. During his sutlership the store was burned and rebuilt. He returned to Detroit in 1852 and engaged in the transportation business, establishing the first line of propellers between Ogdensburg, N. Y., and Chicago. He died September 26, 1859.

Mr. Jenkins was a conspicuous figure during his stay and left various

reminders of his career. He was identified with the original canal projected to connect the waters of Lake Huron and Black river, which was once embalmed in verse and still lives in story. Together with Mr. Ayrault he built a saw mill on McNeil creek, somewhere above the McArthur House, on what is known in our county records as the "Mill Tract." He brought as his bride the daughter of a distinguished family in New York, and must needs have a finer dwelling for her than any hereabout. Accordingly the "Jenkins House" referred to was built, with lumber from the new mill, as was also the Ayrault house, now forming a principal part of the hotel standing on the corner of First and Michigan streets, in Fort Gratiot. As tradition has it, the house was the seat of profuse and gentle hospitality, the young couple having their day of flattering popularity. But the revulsion came and nothing was left of his speculative schemes but this house. It passed into the ownership of L. M. Mason, I must be allowed to say here one of the best and most remarkable men who ever made a home in St. Clair county and who ought to have a prominent niche to his memory in the gallery of this society. From Mr. Mason the house passed to B. C. Farrand, who resided in it several years subsequent to 1845, and was succeeded by Samuel Edison, who tells me he occupied it until 1864, and in 1865 it was burned.

In 1853 Mr. Edison built an immense tower just south of his house, which, though now a subject of tradition, was then an object of wonder. He has never told me whether he erected it with a view of shaking hands with the lightning which his son has since made talk as friend with friend, whether it was to have been surmounted by a telescope which should solve the problem of the comet's tail, or whether it was merely to facilitate occult calculations on the succeeding transit of Venus. But there it stood, towering a hundred feet, solitary as the pyramids and useless as a sphinx, until 1864, when, owing to some differences of opinion between himself and the Secretary of War, he laid the ax to its foundation, trusting to friendly winds to topple it to the ground. The tower stood, however, in spite of both Edison and the Secretary, until late in the fall of the next year, and it left a history not likely to be soon forgotten.

In 1861 Thomas A. Edison was a lad engaged as a newsboy on the Grand Trunk railway between Port Huron and Detroit. The war increased his business so that he must have a helper, and he selected his only boy companion on the reserve, James A. Clancy. They lived about half a mile apart, and Thomas found communication often necessary, but sometimes difficult. The latent genius of this lad of fourteen was fired. He stretched a line of No. 10 wire on trees between the houses, a few bottles with a little blue vitriol completed his battery, a couple of cast away instruments were found and

repaired, and lo! Edison had constructed a line of telegraph, making his first success in a field later emblazoned by his dazzling and immortal achievements. This line was soon after extended and utilized to quicken the demand for newspapers by giving Clancy advance headings of the reports of battles, then feverishly looked for with every arriving train.

But even youthful genius has its rivals and clogs. In this case it was the boys from town who interfered with batteries and instruments. To outwit them our young newsmen dug a hole in the ground large enough for their purpose and deep enough for them to stand upright in. This they roofed with boards and covered with earth, making connections with their wire some distance away by the aid of a piece of submarine cable of which they had become possessed. Hither were removed their batteries and a store of chemicals with which young Edison was already experimenting. All went well until the family cow unwittingly wandered upon the structure and went crashing through to the bottom of this singular laboratory. There the boys found her on their return from town, connections broken and laboratory and materials destroyed. The genius of Thomas was not equal to the task of getting her out again and outside aid had to be invoked. Mr. Edison helped them through the difficulty and hearing what was needed constructed for them a comfortable and secure room on the ground floor of his famous tower. There the boys set up their lines, renewed their battery, added to their stores, and there Thomas A. Edison continued his experiments and added to his knowledge, laying foundations for the wonderful revelations he has since given the world, so that the old tower and its improvised laboratory are as much entitled to immortal mention as are the kite and iron key of old Ben. Franklin.

At this time Thomas pondered seriously on the study of medicine and actually procured and read several books on the science. But the bent of his mind took its way again. An old electro-magnetic battery was got hold of, repaired so as to be useful, and the boy's efforts in the healing art were directed to its use, and thereby he actually received many dollars. A favorite amusement, and quite a source of profit too, was to carry his little battery to promising places in the village, insert one of the wires in a glass of water, in which he placed a quarter of a dollar, to be the property of any one who would take hold of a handle with one hand and pull the quarter out with the fingers of the other, or to forfeit a quarter if he failed. The water being a good conductor, and Thomas being careful to have his little battery well charged for the occasion, he never lost.

There were many other men and incidents connected with the fort well worthy of mention. I have related such only as I thought worthy of historic

mention, or as might interest some of those present, and have already extended this paper too much for your patience. I ought not, however, to close without reference to the cholera episode of 1832.

Gen. Scott was then on his way to Chicago to assume personal command of the troops in the Black Hawk Indian war. Arriving at Detroit, he found the cholera raging with fearful violence, and, losing some of his men there, pushed on in the steamer Sheldon Thompson, Captain Augustus Walker, who built the first steamer, "Empire State," at St. Clair, about the year 1848, and was well known to several whom I see before me. The epidemic increased so rapidly and was so fatal that Gen. Scott felt obliged to stop just below Fort Gratiot to land the sick and bury the dead. He finally left 280 troops as a garrison at the fort. Thirty two officers and soldiers were either left here dead or died soon afterwards, all of them victims of that dreaded scourge, Asiatic cholera. The place of landing was near the present site of the city water works. A considerable point of land projected into the St. Clair there and it was known for years afterwards as "Cholera point." It disappeared years before the water works were located. The victims were buried in the old fort cemetery, and their remains removed, with the others, to Lakeside, in 1884, an appropriation having been made by Congress for that purpose, and also to defray the expense of a suitable monument to the victims of the scourge of 1832. A beautiful and appropriate structure marks their final resting place, the work of our worthy townsman, Philo Truesdell.

The fact that I have referred to Duthan Northrup and Martin S. Gillett seems to make a few words in regard to them indispensable. They came here nearly together, Mr. Gillett the first, in 1839. They were both conspicuous in church matters and helped to lay the foundations of Congregationalism in this part of the county. Both were fond of music, and both used to sing in the little, old, rustic, wooden church that stood on the southwest corner of Fort and Butler streets. It was the church of my fathers, and hence thither I often repaired, so that the full, resonant voices of both of them, mellowed by the sweeter tones of Mrs. Gillett, Jane Montgomery, Mary Clark and Mary Boughton, as they joined in "Coronation" or "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," seem to me at times still floating in the air. Mr. Gillett left monuments to his memory in the corner stores of the large "Merchant's Block" and in a life of nearly thirty years spent here in usefulness and honor. He was postmaster from 1861 to 1865, and died November 7, of that year. General Northrup removed from the county about 1856 to Mentor, Ohio, where he died from the effects of a fall in 1884, having attained the age of nearly 90 years. Both of them had their faults, and weaknesses as we all have, but

whenever I recall the memory of either of them, the passage occurs to me, "The memory of the just is blessed."

I must close this paper with thanks to Mrs. Montgomery, Hon. E. W. Harris, J. S. Duffie, Thos. Sutherland and I. D. Carleton for assistance in regard to many facts essential to its preparation.

OUR PIONEER DEBATING SOCIETY.

BY HON. ENOS GOODRICH.

The town, or village, of Goodrich, built up by the family whose name it bears, is situated on the banks of a beautiful stream called the Kearsley, which heads in numerous small spring branches in the hill regions of the northeastern part of Oakland county, and, winding in a northwesterly direction, crosses into Genesee county and forms a principal tributary of Flint river. Whether this beautiful stream derived its name from old Major Jonathan Kearsley, or the major from the stream, I am not prepared to say, for when I first made their acquaintance it was difficult to form an opinion which was the older of the two. And now, as the old one legged major is so well remembered by our early land hunters, thousands of whom received the "duplicates" of their homes from his sturdy hand, I trust you will indulge me in a brief anecdote, in which he was the principal figure.

Old settlers will not forget the rush of immigration which took place in 1836-7, bringing to our western wilds so many thousands of denizens of the eastern states, and more than all from the Empire state of New York, to which so many of us early pioneers are proud to look back as our fatherland. It is a well known characteristic of the Yankee to banter and beat down, and not unfrequently those men of the east would try their hand upon the old major. They thought it very strange that when he sold the choicest lands in all Michigan for ten shillings an acre he would charge them just as much for an eighty or a quarter section that cornered in a lake or was half swamp. In vain did he tell them that such was Uncle Sam's way of doing business—their reason told them it was all wrong. One day, after having exhausted

all other arguments with a refractory customer, he tried the argument of his heavy crutch over his antagonist's head. The refractory customer, not pleased with this method of debate, turned upon him, and, piling him upon the land office table amidst books, papers and ink stands, began to belabor him with a pair of very large sized fists. A third person stepped upon the scene of action, and attempted to restore peace, but at this critical crisis the fourth character in the drama rushed upon the scene and exclaimed, "Let him alone, he is doing land office business."

If you will pardon this episode we will now turn from the man Kearsley to the wild stream on which was to be built the future town of Goodrich. Soon after bidding adieu to the county of Oakland the stream in its northerly course goes winding across section 22 in town 6 north, of range 8 east. At the spot where our scene is laid the east bank of the stream rises fifteen or twenty feet above its bed, while on the west is a broad flat. Along this bank was a dense body of woodland, stretching far away toward Lapeer, and thence onward toward the rising sun. On this high bank and in the midst of this dense forest it had been determined that the first edifice of the coming town should be built. Well do I remember that beautiful afternoon, late in September, 1836, when I started alone, with my ax on my shoulder, from the new family homestead on section 20, walking two miles through plains and timbered openings to the stream, which was the well marked boundary between the extensive openings on the west and the equally extensive timber on the east. Stimulated by the visions of youth and animated with the bright hopes of the future I struck boldly and alone into the woods, where solitude had brooded since the day of creation, and the way the ax resounded and the tall aspens crashed and tumbled, till long after the bright September sun went down, was a caution to the wild denizens of the forest. I turned my back upon the scene to wend my way homeward, as the rays of fading sunlight were being supplemented by the rising moon, but the scene was not long deserted. I had invaded one of the worst wolf haunts that the moon ever shone upon, or the dark woods overshadowed. Scarcely had I reached home when the doleful howlings of the discomfited wolves were wafted to my ears on the soft breezes of the evening. There was no mistaking their temper—they were mad, and during the "indignation meeting" then and there held they raked the leaves, tore the turf and made the ground tremble with their hideous and unearthly howlings. First a low, sad moan, like the voice of a child, but soon rising to a higher key, it was answered in other parts of the woods; up the stream, down the steam, and away back in the McNeil swamp, until finally these calls and answers drew them together, and when they were assembled and fairly organized for busi-

ness the demonstration was truly appalling. From the low whining of the whiffet whelp to the deep bass of the grizzly old bull dog, with every mingled note between, the woods literally trembled, and the voice of the whippoorwill was hushed amid the discordant and unearthly sounds. But the night passed and the morning came, and nature in her wild beauty was still and serene. The wolves had skulked away to their hiding places, for they are great cowards in day time.

Time rolled on, and the wolf and wild deer, the bear, the wild cat and the Indians retired from the field; and, as usual, the Caucasian held the ground. "Onward, still onward," our pioneer labors advanced, and at length the day of raising came; but where were the men, and who would do the heavy lifting? was the next problem to be solved. Far and near the woods and plains were ransacked for help, and when the appointed day came it was interesting to behold the hardy pioneers, armed with axes and rifles, winding along the Indian trails or following the lead of the blazed trees and lopped bushes to the scene of action. And there was help, and help enough, for a true pioneer always responds to the call of a brother, and pioneers are all brothers.

Eighteen feet north and south, and thirty feet east and west, stood the framework or body of the first edifice in the future town of Goodrich. Though primarily intended for a boarding house, it afterwards, with its long "leanto," served a variety of purposes, among which was that of a "hostelrie," a dry goods, grocery and provision store, a postoffice, and last, but by no means least, a hall for the "Atlas Debating Society."

The year 1837 brought a vast accession to the population of the new town of Atlas, among which were over thirty families of our old neighbors from the town of Clarence, in the state of New York. There were no places of public amusement then. Even the common school and house of public worship had not reached us. When the summer and autumn had passed, and the "breaking up plow" was either frozen fast in the furrow, or laid up in winter quarters, and the work of improvement in a measure suspended, there arose among us a desire for some intellectual and social pastime, and after due consultation, it was decided to organize a "debating school," and, as it turned out, we did not lack for timber.

Three miles down the Kearsley was the embryo village of Davisonville, or Atlas, as it has since been named. There was Judge Norman Davison, with his four intelligent and vigorous sons, and around them half a dozen pioneer families. West and south of the stream, a stirring settlement of pioneers had sprung into existence like magic. Two and a half miles east, in solid woods, on the farm since owned by John Brigham, was a rude log cabin in which three young men from Cayuga county, in the state of New York, were

keeping bachelors' hall. Their names were: William S. Goodrich, Michael Bower and Moses Wisner, or "Mose Wisner," as he was then universally called. To the northeast, about the same distance, in another bachelors' hall, were the two stalwart Vermonters, John L. and Charles McNeil.

Two miles to the southwest, in a comfortable house of tamarack logs, my brothers had their abode, where they were earnestly engaged in opening up a new farm, or rather a constellation of farms, as future homes for the Goodrich family. The household was presided over by my mother and only sister, who have long since passed away. My father was still lingering in the state of New York, where he remained to close up business both of a public and private character.

The day, or rather the night, was set for our first debating school, and our rude hall was filled to overflowing. With rifles stacked in the corners or hung upon the beams, this audience of sturdy pioneers, seated on solid plank benches, before a blazing fire in the broad, old fashioned fireplace, proceeded, in due form to elect officers and form a constitution and by-laws. All were intent on the business. Most were participants, and all were earnest listeners, and there was scarcely a speech but brought forth some bright and original idea, which, though dressed in ever so rude and uncouth language, was not sneered at, but was, in the final summing up, given its proper weight. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so the countenance of a man sharpeneth that of his friend," saith the Bible, and in like manner does the genius of a man sharpen that with which it comes in contact, and, in that crude sylvan hall, the human mind was as free and active, as vigorous and unchained as in the more gorgeous and ostentatious halls of modern days. There was "Mose Wisner," the embryo governor of Michigan, fresh from his ample library of books, which he had brought from old Cayuga, and the books were well studied, for "Mose" was a most indefatigable student. There, alone in his cabin, he would sit by the hour, in a grotesque arm chair formed of crooked sticks and mossy limbs, studying his lesson, and writing out his "brief" for the debate. It is doubtful if, in after life, he ever took more pains in preparing a case for the supreme court than he was then wont to take in preparing for the weekly debate. As his cabin mate, Bower, expressed it, "he was always armed to the teeth." Pitted against him was generally my brother, Aaron Goodrich. He never seemed to take any pains in preparation, but on hearing the argument his rapid thought was never at a loss in preparing a ready answer. He was then, as now, a rapid and original thinker. Sarcasm was always his strong hold, and, when he had discovered the weak points in his adversary's argument, his missiles would strike like flashes of lightning, and, under his telling assaults, the carefully prepared arguments of the future

governor were knocked into a cocked hat. The result was that in nine cases out of ten the Honorable Mr. Wisner came out second best. It was this peculiar trait in my brother's style of logic that in after years enabled him to vanquish the illustrious Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, in a contest for the office of presidential elector, and to cast his electoral vote for "Old Rough and Ready," in the contest of '48.

But other men of strong mind and ready thought were not wanting. There was Judge Norman Davison, with his masculine intellect of the older school. He was first, or one of the first county judges of Lapeer county. There, too, was his son, Paul G., with an intellect and iron will not inferior to his father, and there, too, was a second son, Oliver P. Davison, afterwards a member of the legislature from Oakland in 1847, and one of our "Macedonian Phalanx" when we moved the capital from the city of Detroit to the woods of Ingham. There, too, was the Hon. John L. McNeil, afterwards an honored member of the house from Genesee, in 1849, being the second session held in the new capital. There, too, was John S. Goodrich, my lamented brother, who was afterwards the law partner of Col. Hanscom, and Col. Broadhead's instructor, and was elected circuit judge in 1851, under Michigan's second constitution, which constituted the circuit judges the supreme court of the state. There, too, was my other brother, Reuben, senator from Genesee in 1855–56, and member of the house in 1857–8; and there, too, was your humble reader, whose lot it was to represent Genesee county in the house of '47, and toil in the memorable struggle for the removal of the capital, and finally, in the last democratic legislature that ever sat in Michigan's capital, it was his honored lot to serve that noble county in the senate of 1853. Others there were who then or afterwards held honored and useful minor offices in our rising community, and with this corps of debaters, is it any wonder that when organized and in full blast, the howling of the wolves in the surrounding forest was unheard or unheeded?

Brother pioneers, since those entertaining and eventful nights near half a century has rolled away. Broad fields, fertile farms and comfortable mansions now occupy the ground where then the wolf and the wild deer trod. The wolf, the wild deer and the Indian have long since passed away. The Neshinguak trail, which was the great thoroughfare of the Indian between Detroit and Saginaw, has been turned under by the ruthless plowshare of the white man. I have not time to tell you of the strides to empire that have been made by my own adopted state. But while all this has been going on I too have changed. I was then in the prime of life and youth and hope. The labors, the vicissitudes and privations of half a century are written indelibly in my countenance, upon my frame, and in my whitened locks.

Like the Indian chief Shanandoah, well may I exclaim, "I am an aged Hemlock, I am dead at the top." But I desire to assure you—and especially would I be pleased to assure the youth of our land—that throughout my long and arduous life, and to this day, the teachings of that primitive debating school have not been forgotten. With my limited opportunities of early education it was one of the best schools I ever attended, and hesitate not to say that its teachings did much to qualify me for that other more advanced school, the legislature of our state.

But where now is the debating school of former days? and what has consigned this most useful and interesting institution to "the tomb of the Capaulets"? A little reflection will suggest the answer. Then we had no other places of amusement, nothing to direct our attention or prevent us from collecting our thoughts and concentrating them upon the subject. Now it seems as if the world around us lived only for amusement, and some of the amusements of the day are of the most frivolous character. Michigan boasts loudly of her school system, and her wonderful enlightenment, but I ask you, my pioneer friends, can you tell me to-day which are our greatest educators, our schools and colleges, or our saloons, our base ball fields and our skating rinks? And how can you expect to get up and maintain an interest in an intellectual debate while the giddy world has so many objects of attraction? Even the religion of our one God is frittered into fragments. With a Presbyterian church on the hill and a Congregational church in the valley, a Free Will Baptist church here and a Close Communion Baptist church there, a Catholic church up town and a Universalist church down town, a Methodist Episcopal church on this corner, a Protestant Methodist church on that corner and a Free Methodist church somewhere out in the bushes; with a skating rink opposite one church, a saloon opposite the next, a sewing circle up town and a prayer circle down town, who has time to think about a debating school?

Like you and me, brother pioneer, the debating school is a relic of the past, it belongs to a former epoch. Debating is rapidly becoming, if not already, a lost art. With all our boasted education good public speaking in our state and national councils is less common now than in former years, and in our courts it is becoming lost in technicalities and quibbles, and the lawyer who can best abuse a witness is the champion at the bar.

But to glance once more at our Atlas debating school—where now are the speakers and the listeners of that dim, distant, and primitive past?

Probably nine tenths of all that composed our assemblages are resting "beneath the clods of the valley." The restless, the ambitious, the indefatigable Moses Wisner, having by his persevering efforts become one of the

first real estate lawyers in the state, and a wily and successful politician was, in 1858, elected governor, just in time to retire from office when the war clouds of rebellion threatened to engulf the country in our gigantic civil war. Exchanging the pursuits of the civilian and the statesman for a soldier life, he raised a regiment and moved to the front, but death from disease soon ended his earthly existence, and his honored dust reposes in a Pontiac cemetery, near his old home.

Judge Norman Davison, who first saw the light of day in the valley of the Susquehanna on the 11th day of August, 1786, and who came from the Genesee Valley of the Empire state to the wilds of Michigan, in the month of June, 1831, was the first settler in the woods between Grand Blanc and the St. Clair river, was one of the framers of our first state constitution, and under its provisions became one of our first judges, died at Davisonville in the town of Atlas, and county of Genesee, on the 26th day of March, 1841. His dust reposes on the site of his sylvan home. The soil of Michigan holds no more honest heart than his, nor any more indefatigably determined in the cause he considered right.

Paul G. Davison, the judge's oldest son, who was born in Monroe county, New York, on the 13th day of April, 1809, and partook the noble traits of his father's character, was a strong hand in all the labors of pioneer life, and did much in shaping the destinies of our early settlements. Among other important offices he held was that of county commissioner of Lapeer county, the duties of which he discharged with credit and honor. When I had the honor to be first elected to the legislature Paul G. Davison was my competitor, and in him I found a "foeman worthy of my steel;" and had he been the successful candidate I take pleasure in recording the fact, that the interests of the state would not have suffered in his hands. He died in California on the 28th of November, 1851, and as the setting sun sinks in the broad waters of the Pacific it looks out upon the grave of one of the noblest of Michigan's pioneers.

Oliver P. Davison, who was born at Parma, New York, on the 31st of August, 1810, was also one of the pillars of that united family in developing Michigan's northern wilds. It was he who gave the name of Atlas to his adopted township when it was organized in April, 1836. Having subsequently removed to Highland, in Oakland county, he was elected to the legislature of 1847, and, as before stated, was one of my co-laborers in removing the capital from Detroit to Lansing. After having honored many minor offices he died at Milford, in the county of Oakland, on the 6th of March, 1879.

Dewitt Clinton Davison lived and died a farmer of Atlas, and is the only son whose dust reposes beside that of his father, the judge.

Benjamin Franklin Davison, the youngest and only surviving son of the original Davison family, still lives upon his farm in Highland, and as his age is now sixty six years it cannot be long till the last member of that pioneer family will have passed away.

John L. McNeil, with his strong Green Mountain constitution, still maintains a healthy existence, and is just ready to tally seventy four. He has served with equal credit in the legislature of Michigan and the many minor offices he has held, but his greater honor arises from the fact that he is "An honest man, the noblest work of God."

Charles McNeil, after having diversified his pioneer life in Michigan with an episode to Lake Champlain, boating, and another to California, mining, is now calmly, serenely and independently settled beside his brother on the old pioneer home in Atlas, at the age of seventy two.

Michael Bower and William S. Goodrich, Gov. Wisner's companions of the log cabin, returned to their old home in Cayuga county, New York, many years ago and were long since lost sight of by their Michigan friends.

Roswel Preston, who was a diligent and active participant in all our debates, still lives in competence on the same farm he has occupied for the last fifty years, and if careful precision and scrupulous regard to health does its work as well in the future as in the past, he is likely to be there fifty years to come.

Of the rank and file of our interested audiences want of memory and space would debar me from speaking further. Of the different members of my own father's family, the truth of history compels me to speak, though modesty might otherwise forbid it.

Moses, our oldest brother, who, like Moses of old was "slow of speech," though always sound and deliberate of thought, was an earnest and consistent devotee of the pursuits of the farm, and I candidly believe he has performed more hours' labor in his lifetime than any other man in Michigan. Now in his eighty fifth year, he is enjoying the fruits of his industrious life, on the same farm he has occupied since the spring of 1836.

Aaron, the next brother, whose age will reach eighty in July, is living in quiet and secluded retirement in the city of St. Paul. Among the incidents of his eventful life I can only allude to his law practice and legislative services in Tennessee, his office of presidential elector of that state in 1848, his official services as chief justice of Minnesota, and his eight years' diplomatic service in Europe.*

*NOTE—While this address was being read before the Pioneer society of Michigan in the city of Lansing by Hon. Enos Goodrich, it transpired that his brother here spoken of was prostrated upon his dying bed in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, and that on

Levi, the next brother in order of age, died many years ago, as he had lived, upon the farm, beyond which his ambition never lured him, as his health was always poor.

And I, who now stand before you, am next in age. I am almost four years beyond my "three score and ten," and if hard labor of body and mind would have made me either rich or illustrious I should have got there before to-day, but we are told that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor yet riches to the man of understanding, but time and chance happeneth to all men." As I have been too busy and too independent minded to seek for office, and the office has been too modest to "seek the man" I have generally pursued the walks of private life. My service in the house of representatives of 1847 and in the senate of 1853 have been exceptions to the rule, and in my limited public service there is no act of my life in which I can take more just pride than in the part I took in removing the capital from the city of Detroit to the wilds of Ingham county.

John, the next brother, was called from his earthly existence in the prime of life. The sun of his existence was full orbed at its setting, "like the suns of the Morea." His history may be thus briefly written: He was in boyhood a farmer, in youth a mathematician, in manhood a student and practitioner of law, and at his death a judge. He died at the Michigan Exchange in Detroit on the 15th of October, 1851, at the age of thirty six years, and the Detroit bar, assembled for the occasion, paid a glowing tribute to his memory. Amidst the graves of parents, kindred and early friends, his dust reposes on the flowery banks of Kearsley's winding stream.

Reuben is the last and youngest of the brotherhood of our father's six sons, who fifty one years ago struck for homes and fortunes in the wilds of northern Michigan. The fact that four of us are still living is pretty good evidence that it is not easy to kill a man with hard work, who has plenty of grit. In business, now as heretofore, he is the busiest of all busy mortals. Though the baby of the family, sixty eight winters begin to whiten his locks, though they have not yet destroyed his relish for active employment. He has mixed with his labors a little of public life, having besides various other

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the 24th of the same month the Hon. Aaron Goodrich, who was Minnesota's first chief justice, Tennessee's presidential elector in 1848, and U. S. Secretary of Legation to Belgium from 1861 to 1869, was called from the scene of his earthly labors, being twelve days less than eighty years of age. On Sunday, June 26, 1887, a most imposing funeral was held in St. Paul; and the remains, having been embalmed, were conveyed to Michigan and buried in the Goodrich cemetery beside his brother, who died in 1851. There the two judges rest side by side, their requiem being the ceaseless murmurs of Kearsley's waters, and the breezes of heaven wafting odors from the surrounding grain fields and meadows of Genesee.

positions of trust and honor, been a member of both branches of the state legislature. In the legislature as well as out he was always an active worker, and to none of his public acts does he revert with more satisfaction than when in 1857–8 he labored side by side with Bush and Blair and Conger to prevent the stealing of the swamp lands from the new counties.

And now, farewell to the Atlas debating school. Like most of its votaries it is a thing of the past. I hope and trust that my brother pioneers will pardon this humble effort of mine to snatch its memory from oblivion. Kearsley, the major, has long since gone to setle his accounts and balance his books before a tribunal from whose decisions there is no appeal—but Kearsley's stream in its perennial brightness flows on forever. Often in days long gone by have I strolled beside its limpid waters and thought of the words of Tom Moore, the poet, as he wandered in the dark woods of the Mohawk, nearly a hundred years ago—

"O, I have thought, and thinking sighed,
How like to thee, thou restless tide,
May be the lot, the life of him
Who roams along thy water's brim—
Through what alternate shades of woe
Or flowers of joy my path may go—
How many a humble, still retreat
May rise to court my weary feet,
While still pursuing, still unblest,
I wander on, nor dare to rest;
But, urgent as the doom that calls
Thy water to its destined falls,
I see the world's bewildering force
Hurry my heart's devoted course
From lapse to lapse till life be done
And the last current cease to run."

Yes, my pioneer friends, throughout my long life

"I have felt the world's bewildering force
Hurry my heart's devoted course,"

until to-day, as I stand before you, I am admonished that life with me will soon be done,

"And the last current cease to run."

To me the wild scenery of nature has always been dear, and its communion has sweetened my pioneer life with all its trials and all its toils; and were it ordained that our lives might be renewed, if anything would tempt me to live my life over again it would be the pleasure of settling and improving a few more new countries. But, as said the poet Ossian, "The time of my departure is at hand, and the blast that shall scatter my leaves." At the end of my long life of toil there is a place of rest awaits me—away back near my

former home, on the green banks of the Kearsley, where I shall be surrounded by friends and kindred who have gone before, in the Goodrich cemetery.

SKETCHES, REMINISCENCES, AND ANECDOTES OF THE OLD MEMBERS OF THE CALHOUN AND KALAMAZOO COUNTY BARS.

BY A. D. P. VAN BUREN.

The period of which we write embraces most of the pioneer epoch of central Michigan. At this time, from 1836 to 1848, Judge Epaphroditus Ransom, one of the chief justices of the supreme court, was *ex-officio* presiding circuit judge. His circuit then "embraced nearly one fourth of the present inhabited area of the lower peninsula, commencing with Branch county at the southeast, thence north to Montcalm, and including all the territory between that line and the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Most of this vast tract was hardly more than an unbroken wilderness, the courts of which were held in the primitive schoolhouses and reached by the judge on horseback." There were two associate or side judges, elected in each county, who sat with the judge during the term of court in their own county seat.

Many interesting incidents are given of Judge Ransom and his legal cortege making their accustomed journey through the woods from county seat to county seat, in rude cavalier style. The early settlers, those true founders of this state, first reared the log house, then the schoolhouse, the meeting house, and lastly the courthouse. These four, the home, the school, the church, and the court of justice, constitute the four corner stones in the fabric of our civilization. The mechanics were at first the most needful class, then came the professional men, and among them the lawyer.

"I have a great reverence," says Kennedy, "for the profession of the law and its votaries; but especially for that part of the tribe which comprehends the old and thorough paced stagers of the bar." For the present these

reminiscences will bide with the old stagers of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo county bars. Perhaps no profession abounds with so great a number of social, companionable fellows; free lances, ready at any time to discuss, in their shrewd, quaint, off hand manner, the faults and foibles of mankind, especially of that class with whom they have been in such close intimacy. And what a fund of material for the *raconteur*, rich in anecdote and incident, they have gathered from their experience in "trying cases," which, as they meet in the bar room, or congregate in the courts, they weave into admirable stories. A knot of old lawyers thus assembled reminds one of a set of players in the green room, breaking their "unpremeditated jokes in the interval of business." And what a contrast between such an encounter of rival wits and the after meeting of these same rivals, in an encounter of serious and almost tragic earnestness on the boards. The old lawyer seems to resort to colloquial life for diversion, or for relaxation from the strain of hard labor. Here he finds leisure, and a tonic that invigorates him for his accustomed business routine and severe mental contests in the court room. But the old stagers are gone. Their eloquence is a thing of the past. The old forums, now occupied by their successors, no longer echo with the brilliant oratory of the old days. The decline of oratory in America is very apparent. There is scarcely a lingering trace in our courts of the forensic eloquence once so potent at the bar of Lexington in Henry Clay's best day, or at the Mississippi bar in S. S. Prentiss' day, or at the Columbia county (N. Y.) bar in Elisha Williams' time. Not that we now lack genius or talent in the profession of law, but that there is a lack of enthusiasm to kindle that genius and talent into a blaze of eloquence. Not that there is a lack of logic or learning at the bar of to-day, but that we need the intense passion to set that logic and learning on fire, before we can have genuine eloquence. Bradley, Stuart, Littlejohn, Chipman, Church, when aroused, and Van Arman at his best, were eloquent men. They, as younger men, belonged to the epoch of oratory we have referred to, and may be said to have been among the last orators of this period of eloquent speech.

The power of public speaking is probably the most transitory of all kinds of intellectual influence, for it dies with the death of its individual auditors. The artist leaves behind him his picture, the author his book, for the world to enjoy, to profit from, and judge them by, long after they are gone. But the orator whose speech is never reported leaves only a recollection. No description can reproduce his eloquence, no tradition can do more than repeat the glowing story, and murmur of that wonderful power, that fascination which once drove audiences wild with delight. It is gone—vanished like a glory from the earth. Gone as completely as an ended song, a forgotton

dream. What do the people now know of Mrs. Siddons' grace, John Kemble's dignity, Booth's pathos and passion, Henry's marvelous eloquence, or the wonderful power of the orators of forty years ago. The young generation begin to smile when we who have heard Bradley, Stuart, Littlejohn, Chipman, and their compeers, praise them so highly, and reply that we are overpraising past orators. And how can we prove anything? We can only say, "It was so."

The great theme, which is necessary to make the great orator, is gone, or divided up and become sectional in its application. We have no broad national questions as in the past, and without the great theme we cannot have the great orator.

The old members of the Calhoun county bar were, intellectually, strong men and able lawyers. Among them were men who aided largely in establishing the institutions of this state. The bar, in its best days, was conspicuous for its legal talent; and for that which is the glory of any profession—character above reproach. Bradley, Pratt and Van Arman were self-made men. Crary, Church and Gordon had the benefit of a collegiate course, and a thorough legal training.

ISAAC E. CRARY.

Crary was born October 2, 1804, at Preston, New London county, Ct. He was of genuine Puritan stock of the Scotch border. He was the great, great grandson of Elder William Brewster, of the Mayflower company. His early youth was spent on the farm. He graduated at Washington (Trinity) college, and read law with Henry W. Ellsworth; practiced two years at Hartford, Ct., and at the same time assisted Geo. D. Prentice editorially on the New England Weekly Review. He came to Marshall, Mich., in 1832, where he commenced practice. Here he was appointed general of militia; was a member of the constitutional convention of 1835 and also in 1850; the same year (1835) was elected delegate to Congress from this then territory; was representative in Congress from 1836 to 1841; was member of the state legislature and speaker of the house in 1842. He died in Marshall, May 8, 1854. Isaac E. Crary was the friend and able adviser of Rev. John D. Pierce in founding the educational system of Michigan. Dr. Horace Bushnell, in his lecture on the historical personages of Connecticut, pays a high tribute to Mr. Crary in placing his name among the eminent historical characters of that state, and further says, "he is now using that talent for which he was honored here, in helping to form a new state in the west." Mr. Crary became law partner with Abner Pratt in Marshall. He was a well read lawyer, safe counselor, clear, logical reasoner, and known

more for his able management of suits than for forensic eloquence. Law, education and politics found in him an able and sterling exponent. A democrat of the old school, during the first epoch of politics in Michigan, whenever he appeared at the hustings his recognized ability and umblemished character gave great weight to his speeches. He "took the stump" for Van Buren in 1840, and for Polk in 1844, and in the unwritten political history of that day are many sound, logical speeches from Isaac E. Crary.

'Tis said that every man has his weakness. Achilles had his in his heel. Isaac E. Crary showed where his was when in Congress, by his persistent attack on Gen. Harrison, the President. This aroused John Quincy Adams' ire, but instead of himself punishing the "Wolverine" member for his temerity, he handed him over to Tom Corwin, who in that masterpiece of wit and ridicule, so used up our representative that "the old man eloquent" the next day in the house, referred to the "late Gen. Crary." Crary and Corwin are both dead, but that inimitable speech of the latter will ever live in the humorous literature of this country. "Never was speech couched in droller vein."

JAMES WRIGHT GORDON.

James Wright Gordon was born at Plainwell, Conn., in 1809. He earned his B. A. in 1829, and his M. A. in 1830, at Trinity College, New York; was professor in Geneva College, New York, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He settled in Marshall in 1835 and soon attained a deservedly high position at the bar. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1839, and by retirement of Gov. Woodbridge in 1841 became governor, and held the office during 1841–42. He died at Pernambuco, in South America, where he held the office of consul, December, 1853, aged forty four. Gordon was naturally endowed with a strong intellect and good hard sense. His attainments, untiring energy, and a character above reproach, placed him among the ablest and most influential members of the old bar. There were but few important suits during the early days of the Marshall bar in which he was not retained as counsel on one side or the other. And he was nearly as well known at the Kalamazoo bar as at home. A defect in his palate rendered his voice husky. But while one noticed this defect as he began his speech, one soon became so interested in what he said as to forget the defect and only listen to the argument of the speaker. The writer has often heard Gordon at the bar and "on the stump," and has invariably found that the charm of his reasoning made one oblivious to this defect. It was a triumph of the reasoning powers over a poor voice.

Gordon got his political education at the feet of the Gamaliel of whigism

at Ashland. The old whig party in Michigan had no abler nor bolder leader than he was. His opponents in the political field were usually the same that he had met at the forum—Bradley, Pratt, Church, Stuart, Balch, Chipman and Van Arman. He was a foeman worthy of their steel in either contest.

Gordon, in 1847, was the whig candidate for Congress, against Bradley, the democratic candidate. I remember that the news of Bradley's election came to Gordon while he was addressing the jury in an important case in the old court house at Marshall. Every one present noticed the change wrought on his countenance as it was announced to him that "he was defeated for Congress!" Van Arman was his opponent in the case, and Gordon had been making one of his most powerful arguments against the strong points and skillful logic of his wily antagonist. He was nearly half through and seemed determined to win the suit. But no sooner had the news of his defeat reached him than his looks and manner of speaking evinced it. He continued and concluded his speech, but there was a perceptible difference between the first and the last half of that address to the jury. It was addressing a jury under great difficulty; his inspiration was gone. Gordon lost the case, and his client always maintained that if he had not been told of his defeat until after his speech he would have won the suit. Two defeats in one day, and both by democrats, nearly used him up.

EDWARD BRADLEY.

Edward Bradley was born in the year 1808, in East Bloomfield, Ontario county, N. Y. He spent his boyhood on the farm, where he received the benefit of a common school education. He attended the academy at Canandaigua for a short time. Here he made, for the time, rapid progress in his studies, and caught the love of study in this old seat of learning that stimulated him to higher attainments in knowledge in after years. At twenty-eight he was appointed associate judge of the common pleas court of Ontario county. In 1839 he came to Michigan and began the study of law in Detroit, completing the same with Gibbs and Sanford, in Marshall. With them he began his practice. He was a member of the Michigan senate of 1842, elected to the lower house of Congress in 1847, and died in New York city, August 5, 1847, while on a tour for the benefit of his health.

Edward Bradley possessed rare natural gifts, was eminently social, and had ready wit and humor. Although limited in his early education, he had, by study, made high attainments in law. Self-made men are the readiest and strongest men, because they learn how to use their education in getting it. The value of learning is in knowing how to make the best use of it. The same is true of the possession of genius or talent. Bradley had chosen the

profession for which his genius best fitted him, and in that profession he won the highest honors. He had a firm will, imdomitable energy, and, in every inch of his being, was a pioneer. As a speaker he was earnest, impassioned, and had the rare talent of inspiring an audience with his own enthusiasm. He had an intuitive perception of the avenues for reaching the sympathies and feelings of his hearers. Here lay the source of his great success as an orator—of his great power in swaying the multitude.

In height he was about five feet, ten, well proportioned, had a fine eye, light complexion, and a curly, bushy head of brown hair. There was a modest, unstudied ease about his manner, an air of *bonhomie* that won his way successfully among the masses, with whom he was always a great favorite. The humorous stories and anecdotes that he told with such *riant* effect, not only enlivened but strengthened his speeches. He could make them most powerful agents in carrying the crowd. His face had a natural reading, or, as the deaf man said of Garrick, "his face is a language." His conclusions were so striking, his descriptions so perfect, his objects so ludicrously exposed to view, that gravity was out of the question; it was Hogarth acting and *describing*, not drawing his pictures.

Bradley had all the elements of the orator; he was logical, argumentative, endowed with that regal faculty, the imagination, fluent speech, and, says Senator Stuart, "in wit and ridicule I never knew a man who equalled him." He was the orator of the pioneer epoch, the most eloquent one during the best days of the old democratic party in Michigan Thoroughly read as a lawyer, deeply versed in political lore, extensively acquainted with the varied topics of the day, and gifted with the power of improvisation as a public speaker, he had no equal among us in addressing a public gathering, especially a gathering of democrats.

I never listened to a man who was so perfect a master of the art of public speaking. It seemed to be a natural gift. Called out at any time, he came before the people and began his speech as readily as if his subject had been the study of a lifetime. He appeared never to want a word, or to recall one. They came as naturally as notes to a bird. He said the right thing to begin with, and every sentence he uttered seemed to come readily into its proper place, as an outgrowth from his subject, until they were all fashioned into that perfect thing of its kind, a full, rounded speech. His diction was easy, clear and sparkling as a New England trout stream. It was enlivened by wit, made keen or severe by ridicule, or widened out into broad sympathy with the masses, when, rising with the occasion, he would, in an eloquent appeal, carry the multitude to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

Let it be known that "Ed. Bradley" was to speak in any part of the

county, and the people turned out en masse. If the anecdotes and witty things that abounded in his speeches were gathered together they would fill a volume. We have space only for a few. Who of the old residents will ever forget his story of "the old democrat in Ontario" who once voted the whig ticket, and the next day goaded by his sins, bought half a dozen sperm candles, took them home "to light them and sit up and hate himself by them."

In a suit tried before Judge Ransom at Marshall, a young lady sued a bachelor for breach of promise of marriage. Bradley defended the bachelor. The nature of the suit gave him a fine field for the display of his power of wit and drollery. Senator C. E. Stuart says that Bradley's speech at this time, was equal to the celebrated case of Charles Philips in the case of Blake, vs. Wilkins. Judge Ransom laughed at his sallies of wit till his sides shook, and the whole court room was convulsed with his wonderful power of humor and ridicule. The changes he rung on "Hepsey," the young lady's name, added an indescribable mirthfulness to the speech. Bradley won the suit; and, 'twas said, mainly by the effect of his ridicule and droll humor on court and jury. This case was one in which ridicule, or humor, could be used as a legitimate weapon, and perhaps was the only effectual one for the occasion. In such a field Bradley had no rival. There was not a member of the old bar who could so "steal away the technical heart of the stern judge, and weave seductive tales in the honest ears of sworn jurymen."

In 1844 the whigs had a mass meeting at Marshall. The next week Gordon, too full of whiggery to stay at home, came to Kalamazoo and made one of his most telling speeches. In it he gave a glowing description of the monster mass meeting of whigs at Marshall. This aroused the jealousy of the Kalamazoo democrats, and Bradley was sent for. He must come and answer Gordon. He came. The meeting was held in the old court house. Gen. H. H. Comstock presided. George Winslow sang his famous song "Old Roanoke," and Hiram Underwood, Kalamazoo's gifted singer, sang a rousing democratic ballad. As Bradley came forward he was greeted with thundering applause. He was never in finer spirits. As he began to speak we could see the *gauda certaminis* (the joy of battle) beaming from his face. Nothing could equal his speech in trenchant logic, ridicule and burlesque. It seemed that the thought most desired and the most fitting illustration came just as he wanted them. Quotations from scripture, Shakespeare, Jefferson, Tom Moore, or whatever author his memory could draw from, added strength, enlivened or gave point to his discourse. The whigs in the audience grew uneasy and alarmed as he proceeded. The shafts of logic and ridicule flew thick on every hand till whiggery, like a huge elephant bristling with them, staggered and fell. Gordon was answered. But the *coup de*

grace of his speech was his description of the great whig mass meeting at Marshall. We can only give the closing sentence: "Fellow citizens, I was there and saw the entire whig procession, and it was large! Why, counting all that were there, whigs, native Americans, old men, women and children, strangers and stragglers, I have seen funeral processions larger, but none ever so mournful!"

ABNER PRATT.

Abner Pratt was born in Springfield, Otsego county, N. Y., May 22, 1804; was admitted to the bar in Batavia, N. Y., and afterwards practiced at Rochester; removed to Marshall, Mich., in 1839; was member of state senate, 1844–48; associate justice of supreme court, 1850–52; circuit judge, 1852–58; chief justice, 1856; consul at Honolulu, 1858–62; member of state house of representatives, 1864. He died at Marshall, March 7, 1866. Abner Pratt held a prominent rank in the Calhoun county bar. He was a man of peculiar traits of character. His views, impulses, likes and dislikes were of the most decided kind and assumed the control of his conduct. He gave his whole energy to whatever principle or policy he espoused. This made him a bitter opponent or an unflinching friend. He could not do things by halves. He would have been a hypocrite to himself had he held in check opinions or views when their avowal was demanded. There was no compromise in him. He always had the courage of his opinions, and gave them without stint on every occasion. He probably never uttered a doubtful sentiment in his life, or took back one he had uttered. His power over the masses was great because they saw that his whole soul was in his work. As a speaker he was argumentative, and often vehement; while his severity of expression frequently detracted from the effect of his logic. When assailed he was acute in discovering the faults of his foe, and delighted in exposing them with bitterness. This made him dreaded as an enemy. As a judge on the bench he was prompt, decided, and fond of dispatch. He cleared the calendar of the Kalamazoo court for the first time since its organization. As he knew what work was he knew how to keep those crafty disciples of Coke and Littleton at their legitimate business. His perceptions of justice and equity in a given case were almost intuitive, and always very clear. It was often said that an off-hand decision of Judge Pratt was nearer right than the studied opinions of other judges. He was educated in the school where Lincoln, Douglas and Greeley graduated. Being a man of keen observation he had acquired that kind of learning that sharpens the wits. Abner Pratt had in him much that made up the character of Gen. Jackson. In temper, iron nerve, moral courage and faith in democracy, he and the hero of the Hermi-

tage were kith and kin. A self-made man, he was unencumbered by the formalities and stiffness often engendered by the training of the schools. He was ready equipped for almost any public occasion. Sarcasm was a trusty weapon in his armory, but invective—that "javelin of rhetoric"—was his keenest lance, "and those who would know how he gave it point" should have seen him fully aroused in debate before the bar, at the hustings, or in the halls of legislation.

While Pratt was examining a witness, in a trial at Marshall, Judge Miles presiding, he could get no definite answer. The question was repeated. The witness, who was a prominent member of the bar, did not remember. "Don't *remember* such and such facts?" "No." "Well by ——— I do!" exclaimed the exasperated lawyer.

Pratt hated abolitionism as John Knox did popery, and always went armed to battle it on every occasion. Nothing daunted him in this controversy. If circumstances were in his way so much the worse for circumstances. Rev. Mr. Cleaveland preached this political heresy in Marshall. Pratt was aroused, and, like "old Put," seized his gun—so to speak—and started out after this abolition "wolf." He assailed him the first chance he had in getting before the public. Cleaveland came to Battle Creek and preached the "heresy" there. The excited democrat tracked him down to that place, and in one of his bitter pro-slavery onslaughts, assailed this disturber of the public peace again. In this fight Pratt gave no quarter. At such times, like Tristam Burgess, he had no humor "but an infernal sarcasm."

"Renze" Coe, of Climax, had sued Jim Pierce for sheep killed by his dog. The case was tried before Judge Pratt, without jury, at Kalamazoo. The judge objected to Coe's being sworn, as he was a party to the suit, the general law then not allowing either of the parties in a suit to testify. The plaintiff's lawyer claimed the law allowed Mr. Coe to testify. The judge said he knew of no such law. The lawyer then produced a special law that covered the case. Judge Pratt took the book, read the clause referred to, and replied: "That is the most damnable law on the statute books; it is a premium on perjury!" Then turning to Coe, he said, "You can swear if you want to, but I shall not believe a word that you say." Mr. Coe did not swear. Pratt read enough in the man's face to justify what he had said in regard to not believing him under oath.

In 1848 Pratt and Hughes were at Cassopolis looking up testimony in the "Kentucky slave case." Geo. B. Turner, of Cassopolis, was assisting them. Pratt, always an inveterate joker, had at this time played several severe ones on Hughes. One day Turner espied Dr. Lamborn in the streets. Dr. Isaac Lamborn was learned and erratic, and keen in analyzing character. Politi-

cally he hated Pratt, although he had never met him. Turner seeing a "good thing" ahead, invited the doctor into the office. Pratt was lying on a lounge in the back part of the room taking his ease. "Now," said Turner, "Dr. Lamborn, I would like to hear your opinion concerning three prominent democrats of Michigan. First, what do you think of Judge Ransom?" Doctor—"What do I think of Epaphroditus Ransom? I will tell thee. He is not a great man; but I think him an honest one, and a good judge. In politics he is a mere boy." "What of Judge Felch?" "Alpheus Felch has proven himself to be an excellent judge. He is a man of culture, but too honest for a politician." Turner—"Now, doctor, what is your opinion of Abner Pratt, of Marshall?" Doctor—"Well, I will tell thee (raising his voice and accenting as only the doctor could), when Abner Pratt was born they were destitute of souls, and they gave him a gizzard." At this point Turner and Hughes became convulsed with laughter. The doctor looked first at them, then at the stranger on the lounge, who was getting red in the face, and seemed to ask what this boisterous merriment meant. At last Turner, sobering down, said: "Dr. Lamborn, permit me to introduce you to Abner Pratt, of Marshall." Then it was the doctor's time to get red in the face. But he proved equal to the emergency. Extending his hand to the judge, he remarked: "Abner Pratt, what I said of thee I only meant politically." The judge swore some, but the stern features finally relaxed, and he acknowledged "beat." During the rest of their stay in Cassopolis Hughes was master of the situation. This anecdote is given substantially as Geo. B. Turner gave it to the writer.

THOMAS B. CHURCH.

Thomas B. Church was born in Dighton, Bristol county, Mass., graduated at Trinity college, Hartford, Conn., studied law at Marshall, Mich., with Gordon and Woodruff, 1839–41, and was licensed to practice in the Kent county circuit court, at Grand Rapids, where he early removed and where he has since lived. He was elected a representative to our state legislature in '51 and '55. Mr. Church says: "I was not really a member of the Calhoun county bar; while in Marshall I acted as clerk and agent principally." But, as he first located in Marshall, and as he was so well known there, we give a sketch of him here. He, as I remember him, was tall and commanding in person, evincing the man of intellect and thought. He was known as a lover of books. His attainments in science and literature are of a varied and extensive range. His public efforts, both at the bar and on the rostrum, have been marked by occasional exhibitions of extraordinary power, with passages of thrilling eloquence. Mr. Church has ever been a man of social and genial turn of mind,

but of a lymphatic temperament. Hence his interest has not been easily aroused, his sympathies awakened, or his enthusiasm kindled. As a natural consequence, his public efforts have been quite unequal in their effect and power. The first half of his speech may be dispassionate, or cold, logical argument, but, if his feelings then warmed to the subject, his action became impressive, his words, animated with intense thought, came with increasing force until they flowed with the resistless power of a tornado. His best efforts, as said, were born of great occasions. He is now living at Grand Rapids, and is about retiring from active public life. The old veteran lawyer and politician, were he inclined to use the pen, could give many valuable and interesting reminiscences of his forensic and political contests during the forty five years of his professional career in Michigan. He is a fully equipped lawyer, strong both before court and jury.

JOHN VAN ARMAN.

John Van Arman came when a youth from the Hudson river country, near Plattsburg, N. Y., to Marshall, Michigan. He had attended, for some time, an academy in his native town. He was of a mixed German and French descent, and inherited the logic of the one nationality with the versatility and enthusiasm of the other. His command of language was copious; his delivery fluent and impassioned and often both persuasive and eloquent. His skill in the use of words was remarkable. He could "drive a substantive and six" in a style that turned rhetoric into trenchant logic. At the bar and on the rostrum he exhibited alike a wonderful power of irony and withering sarcasm. His bitterness of invective was often unsparingly used in those hand to hand fights with opposing counsel, or toward an obdurate witness at the bar, or a political opponent at the hustings. This severity of expression sometimes detracted from his public efforts. He was fully equipped for a legal or political contest. There was no weapon known in forensic strife, or in political battle, that was lacking in his "repertory of debate." Adroit, tactful, cool and self poised, a keen and skillful debater, ready for the "occasion sudden," he was sure to command the eager attention and admiration of his audience. He had almost absolute sway over a popular assembly.

Van Arman seemed to possess the lawyer's art by natural instinct. He evinced that art in a masterly degree in fitting a case for trial. No one could surpass him in training witnesses for their part in the court room, or in managing them when on the witness stand. And he was equally skillful in handling witnesses on the other side. He sometimes made them more serviceable than his opponent did. He had a skill in cross-examination which few lawyers can rival. It may be doubted whether he had an equal at

the bar in the mystery of cross-examination. It is certain that in what may be called legal diplomacy, in all that pertains to the management of a difficult case *out* of court, on which success *in* court depends, Van Arman was at the head of his profession. The old *habitués* of the court room enjoyed Van Arman's conducting a trial as highly as they did a play in the theater. The examination of witnesses is usually the dullest part of the trial to the spectators. But they would "go over to the court room" to hear Van Arman in the examination of witnesses, as well as to hear him "sum up the case." He was a superb trial lawyer, as he had the love of contest in him. The most valuable attainment of a lawyer is the art of asking questions. Lincoln, like all great lawyers, asked but few questions, but they covered the whole subject under consideration. The world has had but one master of this art—Socrates—and although he has left no successor, the legal fraternity has produced the only proficients in this art, or the best we have. And among them Van Arman held a high rank. His impromptu speeches to the court, on some point of evidence, were masterpieces of their kind. And in those close encounters with his opponents he showed his rare powers as a debater. In this arena he was a dextrous Saladin, armed with keen analysis, legal acumen, and ready wit, any one of which he wielded with telling effect. We said that in "trying cases" he held the crowd like an old player. He did. For, from the time the case was called, to its close, unlike the great player who appears in but few acts of his play, Van Arman appeared in every "act" of his, and in the last scene he gave a grand summing up of the whole performance. Van Arman was not merely a lawyer. If he excelled at the bar, he was just as able and eloquent at the hustings, or on the platform discussing temperance, education, or any of the important questions of the day. He was one of the ablest democratic orators in Michigan. His address at Battle Creek to the volunteers about to go to the Mexican war under him as captain, had the bugle blast of military ardor and eloquence. By the power of his temperance, logic and oratory he twice closed up the liquor saloons in Battle Creek, and he did the same effectual work for the people of Augusta. For many years he has lived in Chicago. He has attained the foremost rank as a criminal lawyer.

In the presidential election of 1856, Buchanan and Breckenridge were the democratic standard bearers, while Fremont and Dayton led the young republican party, in its first effort to win presidential honors.

At a democratic mass meeting in Marshall, in the fall of '56, after Stephen A. Douglas had spoken, John Van Arman was "called out." And the democrats were proud, on an occasion that had been honored by a speech from the "little giant," to introduce their favorite orator. Van Arman was equal

to the occasion. He delivered a masterly speech, dealing heavy blows to the young political "upstart" that had dared "to cross swords" with a foe that had vanquished older and stronger rivals on many a battle field. It seemed that the whig element in the young republican party, inspired by the memory of 1840, had broken out into song again, for the best singers that could be found in the country were secured, a Fremont glee club was organized and sung at all their meetings during the campaign. Van Arman in his speech turned his wit and ridicule against this nondescript party that instead of arguing its cause before the people was going to *sing* itself into power. "Ask them," says he, "for a declaration of their principles and they will sing—

'The mustang colt has a killing pace,
Du-da-du-da;
He's bound to win in the White House race
Du-da-du-da-day.'

"Speak to them of the question at issue before the people and they *warble* forth—

'I'm bound to run all night,
I'm bound to run all day;
I'll bet my money on the bob tail nag,
Will any body bet on the gray?
Du-da-du-da-day.'

"Thus," said he, "I have quoted from this favorite republican campaign song to illustrate the new party's principles and argument, the pith and burden of which is simply, *Du-da-du-da-day.*" His sallies of wit and ridicule in thus "taking off" the republicans shook the sides of the little giant with laughter.

I remember that, one evening during this campaign, after hearing Conrad Eberstein deliver a rousing republican speech to a large gathering in the old M. E. church in Battle Creek, I, with a number of republicans, went over to Wakelee's hall to hear John Van Arman, who spoke at a later hour. He had got fairly started as we took seats among his eager listeners. And as we did so, we became at once interested in every word that he uttered. In fact, from that moment he held us the most delighted of listeners during his entire speech, while at its close, and at times during the speech, we found ourselves applauding him with all the admiration of democrats. We *were* democrats as far as the power of his oratory over us was concerned; he held *us* captive just as he did *them*, till his speech was delivered, and then it set us free. Such was the magic power of his oratory. This was in Van Arman's best days, before that severity of manner and language set in, which has, at times, so much detracted from some of his later public efforts.

An incident of his practice over forty years ago has been related as follows:

"A stranger paced back and forth on the platform at the Union depot yesterday afternoon. It was Col. John Van Arman, the well known lawyer of Chicago, and a representative of the Telegram-Herald walked up and greeted him. 'Colonel,' asked the reporter, 'how about that poisoned cake you are alleged to have eaten once upon a time in Michigan in order to convince a jury that your client was not a poisoner?'

"The great criminal lawyer laughed. 'That story has always been mixed up, and I'll tell you the real facts of the case for the first time. It was in 1842. I was then twenty two years old, and had been admitted to the bar two years, and was in partnership with Attorney Brown at Marshall, Mich. A woman had been indicted at Hillsdale for poisoning her husband. He lived more than a year after the poisoning, and of course she could not be indicted for murder; yet giving poison was a penitentiary offense—amounting to a life sentence then—and I was engaged to defend her. The woman's husband was a witness against her, although he died soon after the trial.

"Chemists in those days were few, and the prosecution subpœnaed the only one within a radius of 300 miles. It was proven on the trial that the husband had eaten a cake in which arsenic had been put, and he testified that one grain was a fatal dose.

"Well I took the chemist, judge and jury to a bakery and had the baker mix a cake in their presence and put in two grains of arsenic and bake the cake while they looked on. When done it was brought to the court by the judge.

"I began by saying that the celebrated chemist had sworn that one grain of arsenic would produce death. In this cake were two grains, a fact which judge, jury and chemist acknowledged. I thereupon ate the cake, after which I began my address to the jury and spoke for three hours, at the end of which time I drew their attention to the fact that I was not dead yet and demanded the acquittal of my client, which the jury did without leaving their seats.'

"'How did you account for your escape?' asked the reporter.

"'Oh!' laughed the jolly Colonel, 'at that time I was used to eating from six to seven grains of arsenic without feeling the worse for it.'

"The case was a celebrated one in Michigan and as yet remembered by old settlers, particularly in and about Hillsdale county, and it was the making of Col. Van Arman."

Van Arman was an honest lawyer; let the following vouch for it:

Charles Lay, now of Chicago, was justice of the peace in LeRoy, Calhoun county, when, in 1843, John Kewney, of Battle Creek, was tried befor him for the crime of burning the barn of William Wilson. His brother-in-law, Van Arman, was Wilson's counsel. During the trial Justice Lay, after listening' to the discussion of a point of law by the lawyers, for an hour or more, and

still being so fogged that he could not come to a clear decision on the point, finally called Van Arman aside and asked him which one was right on the question. Van Arman* replied, "My opponent is right, and I am wrong." "This convinced me," says Justice Lay, "that Van Arman was an honest lawyer; he was so to me at any rate."

We give a little incident to show how the justice got out of an unpleasant "fix' during this trial. Mr. Lay, having no blanks, had written out the warrant for Kewney's arrest, from memory, and had failed to put in the first sentence: "To any sheriff or constable in the county, etc." While the lawyers were discussing the defect in the warrant, he was writing a new one, which, when finished, he gave to Ira Case, the constable, with instructions as to its use. And when the lawyers had finished their wrangle over the defective warrant, he formally discharged Kewney from the suit. The latter, overjoyed at his supposed release from the trial, was leaving the room when constable Case re-arrested him. He was then tried, the suit lasted nearly a week, found guilty and bound over for final trial in the circuit court at Marshall, where through Van Arman's able management he was convicted, and sentenced to five years in the state prison. He was not long there, for, while out of prison one day, with a squad of convicts, quarrying stone, he escaped from the officer in charge and was never re-arrested. It was afterwards learned that he went to Mishawaka, where he died a number of years ago.

I give the following incident which led to one of the most remarkable trials in central Michigan. While Mr. Chas. Lay, in 1841 or 1842, was building a barn for Mr. Bishop, brother-in-law of Ephraim Harrison, he boarded with the latter a part of the time. This was in South Climax. Harrison, knowing that Lay was fond of reading, said to him: "You will find a lot of newspapers in that trunk which will afford you all the reading you want." One day while he was searching for new reading matter among the papers, he discovered that the bottom of the trunk was covered with silver dollars—bogus dollars, that had been struck off, but had not yet been *milled*. He quietly slipped two into his pocket and, putting the papers back in the trunk, closed it and went to his work. The next day he consulted Daniel B. Eldred of Climax. The result was that constable Ira Case was soon equipped with the proper papers, and search was made on Harrison's premises, which led to the discovery of all the tools and implements for making bogus money. And to the astonishment of the people in central Michigan, John Gove Bean, deputy sheriff of Calhoun county, a well known and highly respected citizen of Marshall, was arrested as the head of this gang of counterfeiters. He was

*After the trial Van Arman said to Justice Lay, "When we lawyers "fog up" a point of law, and you can't see your way clear, just cling to the common sense of the case and you'll come out right."

tried, found guilty and served his sentence out in the state penitentiary. Harrison, on the alert, escaped to the western country. Van Arman, I think, was on the side of the prosecution, in this trial.

As a proof of Van Arman's high standing as a lawyer we have only to refer to the celebrated cases, in Michigan, in which he has been leading counsel. In the celebrated railroad conspiracy case, he represented the Michigan Central railroad against Abel Fitch. Mr. Fitch had secured William H. Seward for his counsel. This was a long trial, and drew the attention of the whole country, from the eminence of the counsel engaged in it, and for the great importance attached to the charges brought against the defendant, Abel Fitch. It is not too much to say that it was the masterly manner and great ability he displayed in conducting the prosecution that won this case for his clients. William H. Seward said that Van Arman's final speech on this trial was one of the ablest forensic efforts of the day. He was counsel in the noted trial of White and Ulum for the murder of Estabrook, which was held at Centreville. He was also counsel for Vanderpool in his trial at Kalamazoo, where he was acquitted. Since he has lived in Chicago he has added still fresh laurels to his fame as a great lawyer. But his declining health has, within a few years, interfered much with his legal practice.

HENRY W. TAYLOR.

Henry W. Taylor, another member of the old bar, came to Marshall from Canandaigua, N. Y., some time in the thirties, and, after practicing in Marshall a number of years, returned to his old New York home. He was a good lawyer, but was too much of the old style gentleman to stand the "rough and tumble" of a new country.

DAVID L. JOHNS AND OTHERS.

Mr. Johns came from Ontario county, N. Y., to Marshall, Mich., in 1838, and, after a few years' sojourn, returned to New York.

There were two brothers by the name of Willard, who, about 1839, came to Marshall from Oneida county, N. Y. They were called promising lawyers. They died a few years later in Marshall. Wm. Brown, J. Noyes, P. S. Hewett, Judge Woodruff and J. Wooley are among the old lawyers, who (save Hewett, who died many years ago) are living in Marshall. D. D. Hughes, O'Brien, and Fitzgerald removed from Marshall to Grand Rapids.

JOHN S. CHIPMAN.

Of the St. Joseph County Bar.

John S. Chipman was born about 1800, in Bennington, Vermont, where he was reared and educated. He was a relative of the well known author, Chip-

man, who wrote the work on Contracts so much used by the legal fraternity. Amos Chipman, an early settler of Pavilion, Kalamazoo county, was of the same family. John S. Chipman, I have been informed, had a classical education. He must have been thirty eight years old when, in 1838, he came to Michigan, settling in Centerville, St. Joseph county. He was a member of our legislature in 1842, and elected to Congress in 1844. At the expiration of his term in Congress he located at Niles. Some time in 1849 or '50 he removed to San Francisco, California, where he died some twelve years later. From a returned Californian I got the following incidents connected with Chipman's life while in the land of gold: While digging for gold with some fellow miners he learned that one of the miners had a "claim" that was valuable, but it needed a lawyer and money to carry it to the courts and substantiate it. Chipman, not known among his fellow miners as a lawyer, made arrangements with this "claimant" to secure this valuable property for him, on condition that he, if he succeeded, was to have half of it. He then began to work up the case; and soon found, that, in miner's phrase, "he had struck a rich lead." He began the suit, carried it to the courts, and won it. His portion, says my informant, would have been called a fortune in Michigan, but he, with his habits of dissipation, amid the temptations of California life, soon lost it all.

S. C. Coffinbury says of him: "Mr. Chipman was a remarkable man. In person he was tall and straight, above six feet high and slender. His head was large, complexion very dark, hair black, straight and thick, forehead low and broad; his eye dark and piercing; his appearance was that of an Indian sachem. You will see at once why he was universally called "Black Chip." He was a natural orator. His presence was commanding and impressive. His oratory was more forcible than pleasing; his metaphors and figures bold and clear, but coarse and impractical. He was apt to lash himself into a fury of eloquence, and, like an angry lion, lacerate himself and his auditors by his own violence of language, of which he had great command in contentious debate. He was quick tempered and impatient under antagonism. His words contained not only ideas but feelings likewise, consequently he was wont to inebriate himself, if not his listeners, by means of passionate language. In private intercourse Chipman was a man of great dignity and courtesy, until his habits of life became impaired by means of his immoral conduct. His legal education was good; he ranked high as an advocate, but as an orator his powers were more versatile. He tried cases with a good deal of legal ability, and as a counselor stood high with the members of the bar. He became a politician and democrat from conscientious convictions, and his ascendancy as a politician was marked by his declination as a lawyer, as well

as morally and socially." From the late Judge J. F. Littlejohn I received the following estimate of Chipman: "He was a man of strong elements of character. His notions were often erratic and visionary. His impulses gave the hue and complexion to both motive and conduct. His eloquence before public assemblies was at times of a high order; but its effect was frequently obscured by reckless assertions, and inconsequent deductions. His moral faculties were not properly developed." This portraiture agrees substantially with that drawn by Mr. Coffinbury. Chipman had in him all the passion and enthusiasm of the orator. Listening to one of his eloquent speeches was like reading from one of Cooper's novels. You were moved by the startling incident, the grand description, the dauntless spirit, and thrilling passages and scenes in which the speaker seemed the hero in real life. Chipman had something of the stern bearing and dignity of Chatham; something of Burke's love of the sublime; combined with these were the immoralities of a Wilkes.

I was in the democratic convention at Kalamazoo in 1844, that nominated "Black Chip" for Congress. After the nomination he was "called out." As he stepped upon the rostrum, and looked upon the convention that had so honored him, he caught the inspiration for the occasion. In his speech he defined liberty. As the thought occurred to him his face lighted up, and who that saw him can forget his words, look, gesture, as he exclaimed, "Whence came liberty?" A pause, as he looked upward, and, in language as poetical and grand as Drake's on "The old Flag," he gave the answer in a magnificent burst of eloquence. Tumultuous applause greeted him as he finished his speech and thanked the convention for the great honor they had conferred upon him. His misfortunes in speech were sometimes more than metaphorical. When he said, in his speech in Congress, that "*Education was at war with democracy,*" the expression was caught up and repeated all over the land, and soon came echoing back from "across the waters." Blackwood's Magazine, never at any time liking us, after giving a graphic description of our Congress, in a critical paper on "The Model Republic," and, after enumerating the leading statesmen in our national council, Webster, Clay, Calhoun and John Quincy Adams, the Nestor of this model republic, the article closed with the dramatic performance of a "rude western member, who exclaimed in a grandiloquent speech—'Education is at war with democracy!'" to which the editor added, "*Magnifique—superbe*—PRETTY WELL!"

No one who ever saw "Black Chip" in debate, when fully excited by the enemy's fire, can forget his remarkable appearance. At such times he was imperious, overbearing and defiant. I saw him in such a mood at the Centreville bar, in 1848, Judge Osborne presiding. H. H. Riley, of Constantine,

then "on his first legs" as prosecutor for St. Joseph county, had taken a bold position against him in a suit they were trying. At this, "Chip" in all his stern dignity, addressed the court on the law in the case. Riley resolutely and ably maintained his position. The old barrister grew furious at being held in check by "this stripling in law," and, turning to the court, he exclaimed, "Am I, your honor, an old veteran, grown gray at the bar, to step aside and yield to the dictum of this *upstart!*" Nothing could equal the look of mingled scorn and defiance with which he said this. But Riley was not cowed by it. He then showed that he had in him the material of which lawyers are made. And when he thus, single handed, defiantly bearded the old lion in his den, we thought he had won his professional "spurs" in thus withstanding the most formidable foe he would ever meet at the bar of western Michigan. Riley, I think, gained the suit.

'Tis said that the lawyers in the olden time who lost their case in court, were accustomed to go over to the nearest tavern, and "take it out" in swearing at the judge, and abusing the opposing counsel. Black Chip, when he was defeated in court, used to take it out "by swearing at" the judge on the spot. He hated Judge ———. At the close of a trial before him at Centreville, after having worked himself into a frenzy of feeling, he took a stand at the door of the court room, and waited for the decision from the bench. The decision came adverse to him. He, on hearing it, gave a fierce glance at the judge, and exclaimed in bitter, sarcastic tone, "The devil!" and instantly walked out of the room.

At another time this judge's rulings against him had so excited him that he arose in his anger, and, addressing the court, said: "Now, by way of illustrating the point at issue, we will suppose that your honor is a d—— fool." The judge, indignant, called him to order. Chipman turning to the court, with an imperious tone replied: "I know that I am out of order, but I was merely *supposing* that your honor was a d—— fool," when the judge, exasperated beyond endurance, declared that he would fine him for contempt of court. But he did not.

The following will illustrate his impatience. An old man remarkable for his piety and parsimony consulted "Chip" professionally. Getting the pith of the matter he informed the old gentleman that his case had no merit. The latter still argued that he had a good case. Finally, the old barrister losing all patience with this would-be-client, indignantly retorted, "I have told what the law is, and that you have no cause of action, and have told you truly. Now, G—— d—— you, give me ten dollars, and I will manage as you want, and commence suit for you!"

The Kalamazoo county bar was distinguished for its able lawyers. I have

often seen its leading members pitted against those of the Marshall bar, as well as those from the Allegan, St. Joseph and Berrien county bars. This old forum has been the arena where many of the most important trials in western Michigan have taken place. Here Gordon, Bradley, Pratt and Van Arman have met Stuart, Balch, Belcher, Clark and Mower in legal conflict. Here Littlejohn, "Black Chip," Bacon and Dana have broken many a lance with some member of the old Kalamazoo bar. The surviving members of the old bar are Stuart, Balch and Breese.

The lawyers who came here in the territorial days were men of adventurous spirit and sound legal ability. Chief among them were John Hascall, Lyman I. Daniels, Jeremiah Humphrey and Cyrus Lovell. The pioneer lawyer's first practice was before his honor, the justice of the peace, and it continued there till the district or circuit courts were established. The justice courts were usually held in log houses, and although as a rule there "was no superiority of law or learning, justice was substantially administered." Five dollars was the accustomed fee for a lawyer, and this was often paid in "dicker," as money could not always be obtained even by those rich in lands. And the technicalities of law were held to with somewhat less veneration than what was regarded as the essential claims of justice. Judge Ransom's advice to his brother Roswell, who was a territorial justice of the peace, was, "Avail yourself of all the clear law that you may have or can get, in regard to the matter at issue, and all that the lawyers on either side may bring out, but, whatever that may be, much or little, always stick to the facts and the common sense of the case, and you invariably will come to the most just conclusion." In fact, our pioneer justices were relieved from their lack or limitation of legal lore by relying on their own good sense and that of the jury to carry the case through right. A corrupt jury was a thing unheard of in the pioneer days. The infirmities of the jury system had not set in, and hence no difficulty was experienced from it, as a stern sense of justice not only prevailed among the early settlers of the state, but also in the court room, and largely governed the conduct of the lawyers who, thus restrained, did not descend to the mere technical arts of their profession, but took rather the broad ground of justice and right.

GOVERNOR EPAPHRODITUS RANSOM.

Epaphroditus Ransom was born in 1799, in Hampshire county, Mass., but removed when young, with his father's family, to Windham county, Vt. He was educated at Chester Academy, and read law with Peter B. Taft. He graduated from the law school at Northampton, Mass., in 1825, and went into practice in Windham county, Vt. He was twice elected to the Vermont

legislature. He came to Kalamazoo, Mich., in 1834, becoming a law partner with Charles E. Stuart. In 1836 he was appointed associate judge of the supreme court, and afterwards chief justice of the supreme court, which office he held till 1847, when he was elected governor of Michigan. From 1836 to 1848 he was ex-officio circuit judge of the western district of this state. He was a member of the state legislature in 1853–5. He removed to Kansas in 1856, having been appointed receiver of the U. S. land office located at Fort Scott, where he died Nov. 9, 1859, aged 63 years. Judge Ransom was a man of great probity. His perceptions of equity and justice between parties were clear, and upon them he generally relied. Upon the bench his practical common sense, aided by his desire to subserve the substantial ends of justice, were valuable supports. It was largely upon these qualities, and upon his clear knowledge of the law, that he ranked so high as an upright judge.

Hon. L. W. Lovell, of Climax, says of Judge Ransom: "I recall his majestic appearance, the dignity with which he presided on the bench, which never left him in any of the walks of life. The people of Kalamazoo county early came to love him for his amiable and blameless life; to esteem and honor him for his strong common sense as a man, his ability and uprightness as a judge. And they can point with pride to the example of their first circuit judge under the state constitution, as worthy of imitation by his successors in time to come."

Judge Ransom on the bench always appeared to me like a Sir Matthew Hale, presiding over the deliberations of those crafty disciples of Littleton and Coke, then practicing at the old bar, and, like the great English jurist, he would, with clear and just discrimination, trace out from the intricate course of the trial the truth of the matter at issue, and administer impartial justice to the parties in the suit.

I remember among the important cases tried before him, the following: A case that was tried two or three times for heavy damages to land and timber from the building of a mill dam; the noted malpractice case between Mr. Beals and Dr. N. M. Thomas, of Schoolcraft; the trial of Whiteman, of Battle Creek township, for the murder of his wife. When Whiteman received his sentence of twenty years' imprisonment, he replied to the judge: "Very well, I shall cheat you out of half of the sentence, for I don't intend to live but ten years." How near he came to this calculation, I do not know, but he died in prison before his time was out.

CHARLES E. STUART.

Charles E. Stuart was one of the ablest and most eloquent members of the old Kalamazoo bar, and stood in the front rank of the eminent lawyers of the state. He was born November 25, 1810, at Canaan Corners, Columbia county, N. Y. His father, some few years later, removed to Waterloo, Seneca county, N. Y., where Charles began and finished his educational course, taking his degrees in the "three R's" of the common school curriculum, with the additional attainment of grammar. This is all he ever got from the schools. He is preëminently a self-made man. At the age of nineteen he hung up his hat as a student in the law office of Birdsall & Clark, of Waterloo. He was admitted to the bar in Seneca county.

He came to Michigan in the spring of 1835. When he came, he had no special place of settlement in view. Starting from Detroit he went first to Monroe, where he received tempting inducements to stay. Thence he passed, on his tour of observation, through Dundee, Tecumseh, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Jackson and Marshall to Kalamazoo, arriving there June 23, 1835. He at once decided to make that place his home, and soon after formed a law partnership with Judge Ransom.

In the fall of the same year he returned to Waterloo, Seneca county, N. Y., his former home, and on the third of November was married to Miss Sophia S. Parsons, of the same place. Immediately after marriage the happy couple started for Kalamazoo, which has since then been their home.

His native talent, legal ability and captivating address soon brought him abundant employment in his profession, in this and all the surrounding counties, and it need hardly be said that he was eminently successful and soon became distinguished.

In the fall of 1841 he was elected a representative to the state legislature, with Hon. Edwin H. Lothrop (brother of Hon. G. V. N. Lothrop, now minister to Russia), Judge F. J. Littlejohn, of Allegan, being elected state senator at the same time from the same district.

In 1847 Col. Stuart was first elected to represent this district in Congress. The election was special, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Edward Bradley, of Marshall. In 1848 he was defeated of reëlection, but was again elected in 1850.

In the winter of 1852-3 he was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate, and served in that body till March 4, 1859. He is, to date, the last democratic senator from this state. As representative and senator, in Congress, he was distinguished among distinguished men, for great parliamentary knowledge and skill, and for ability and vigor in debate. Because

of his parliamentary ability he was often called to preside, temporarily, over the deliberations of the Senate. He was also president pro tem. of the Senate.

In 1859 he was made delegate at large to the national democratic convention which met first at Charleston, S. C., and adjourned to meet at Baltimore, Md. In this convention he was the chosen leader of the "Douglas men," and on the floor of that convention directed their parliamentary tactics and debate. In the campaign that followed he was an earnest and vigorous advocate of the position of the Douglas democracy.

In 1862 he was commissioned by Gov. Austin Blair to raise and equip the 13th regiment of Michigan Infantry, which did gallant duty during the war, and of whose history and achievements Kalamazoo will always be proud. In 1866 he was elected a delegate to the union convention held at Philadelphia. In 1868 he was delegate at large to the national democratic convention held at New York, by which Horatio Seymour was nominated for the presidency. This was the last occasion on which he represented the people of Michigan in the capacity of a representative or delegate; but, during the seventeen years that have followed, his interest in public affairs has never waned, and on many occasions, by speech and pen, he has discussed public questions with his old time vigor and ability. Few who heard his speech at Union hall one year ago will forget the pungent force and thrilling eloquence with which he discussed the political situation.*

While a member of the House of Representatives, he was instrumental in procuring a law of incalculable benefit to Michigan industries. A distinguished associate member of the Senate has said that Mr. Stuart was the ablest presiding officer of a deliberative assembly that he ever knew. "I never had time," says Senator Stuart, "to read books when I was young, and since I began my profession I have been too busy to read outside of my practice." He likes books that treat of scientific subjects, philosophy, logic, poetry and music. Of the latter he is passionately fond. Burns is his favorite poet. It has been said that he never made a speech in which he did not quote his favorite bard. Stuart's professional life has been a school in which he has been an apt and diligent pupil. He reads a book rapidly, if you would call it reading, glancing at the top of the page and running his eye down it, and he has gathered its whole meaning, without the labor of getting it line by line. He, as was said of S. S. Prentiss, "read two pages at a time, one with his right eye and one with his left;" and, like Prentiss, he was a lawyer of quick perceptions, of clear ideas upon any case in hand, while no one equalled

*The above is mostly from a sketch of Senator Stuart's life read by Dr. F. Pratt on the occasion of the golden wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart, in Kalamazoo, November 3, 1885.

him "in the faculty of thinking on his legs." He had a fine command of language, and a charm in delivery that sent each word with its distinct message to his hearers. Speech has three parts, words, look and tone; to the parts of oratory, gesture must be added, and in Stuart's gesture was an art carried to its highest finish. There was talent in his manner of speaking; there was argument in his diction, in the clearness of his utterances, given with an impressiveness that stamped them on the memory. And the effect of his words and of his logic was improved by a natural arrangement, and the effect of his rhetoric by a natural style. His personal appearance was faultless; he was at once commanding and graceful, just above the medium height and compactly built. A fine eye lighted up a classic head and face. "His voice was both clear and full; its lowest tones distinctly heard in cadences of peculiar charm, while in its highest compass it captivated all with its Ciceronian flow." There was a persuasive eloquence in the movement of his lips. This was before the day of the *moustache*, or the habit of public speakers wearing a hirsute mask over the mouth, concealing the expression of the lips, the smile, and the entire facial language, which constitutes the charm and soul of delivery. There was something peculiarly pleasing in Stuart's countenance and features, "something indicative of intellect, humor and good sense." And, in support of all these merits, was a suavity of temper that seemed to set at defiance all attempts to ruffle or discompose it. His cause or his client never suffered from his rashness, legal tricks, or abuse, or severity to a witness or an opponent, so much in vogue among lawyers nowadays, for, in the hottest contests with his professional foes, he never lost poise or temper, but, even when hardest pushed, evinced a moderation that was wonderful. From this arose much of his success as an advocate.

It has generally been acknowledged that, in those forensic contests with his opponents he wielded a blade whose ring and gleam and cut proved it to be of gennine Damascus steel. He never used manuscript or notes. In the most complicated trial his retentive memory held all the evidence. Stuart's genius had led him to the study of law, and he had followed that genius so closely that it revealed to him the secret to success in his chosen profession, thus enabling him to master all its difficulties, and to win the highest honors attainable in that profession.

As a debater Stuart approached the question by a natural reasoning. He was adroit in shifting his ground when attacked in time to avoid a blow from his enemy, while his keen glance detected any defect in the armor of his foe, and his ready blade soon found the weak part. And most valuable of all, as a debater, he had the intuitive perception to discern the pith of the matter at issue, the courage to seize it, and the intellectual power to maintain his

possession. High intellectual endowment, keen perception and courage naturally qualified Charles E. Stuart for the highest attainments at the bar or in the political arena. In his arguments before the court or jury, on the stump, or in legislative halls, he has evinced wonderful fertility in resources, and has always proved himself equal to the occasion. His style of speaking, his logic, and his rhetoric are so peculiarly his own that they have become classic to his hearers. Those who have thought Stuart a mere jury lawyer little understood him. He was strong both before court and jury. He knew how to reach both, for he was a logical reasoner as well as a successful advocate.

A well known writer who knew Mr. Stuart well, says of him:

"On coming here in 1835 he arose at once to the head of his profession in western Michigan. The courts of this and adjoining counties show his name in connection with nearly all the important cases during 1836 and the succeeding fifteen years. His brilliant political career is a matter of history. As an advocate Mr. Stuart had few if any superiors in Michigan. He seemed to be able to take the jurors into his confidence and by his talk win them completely to his cause. He was a natural lawyer and a self made man, his inherent gifts seemed sufficient for any emergency, legal propositions were as readily grasped as the simplest problems. The fame of his remarkable success as an advocate still lingers, though nearly all of those who knew him as such have passed away. Col. Stuart in many other ways became prominent. He was a close friend of Douglas, and no man in Michigan enjoyed more the confidence of the democratic leaders of the nation than he. Very few of the older citizens of Michigan but know him as the devoted agriculturist, the successful lawyer, and the pure and patriotic statesman."

Mr. Stuart, on account of ill health, some number of years ago retired from the practice of his profession. His mind is yet clear and vigorous. Like Fox, in his retirement he gives himself to his books and friends. He is the social, genial gentleman at home; a fine conversationalist and an interesting *raconteur*. In the noted "malpractice case" of Beals vs. Dr. N. M. Thomas, tried at Kalamazoo before Judge Ransom in 1844, Stuart was at his best. A young daughter of the plaintiff had injured her arm, Dr. Thomas treated it as a fracture; the plaintiff claimed that it was only a dislocation at the elbow, and brought suit to recover damages, as the arm was yet partly useless. The jury was an unusually intelligent one. When a trial of importance was on, the students of the "Old Branch" used to take some text book and go over to the court room, and "hunt out their lessons" in the dull intervals of the trial. Although I had heard Stuart in most of his great efforts at this bar, yet at this time he surpassed himself. Always admired as

a model orator by the students, here he was to us a *Cicero in real life.* His power over that court and jury was a masterly achievement of argument and oratory. He often had them in tears, and we remember that the sturdy old pioneer clergyman, Rev. Mason Knappen, one of the jurors, *cried like a child.* The whole court and attendant crowd hung with breathless attention on every word he uttered, and when he had finished, it seemed to us that there were no higher forensic honors in his profession for him to win, and that he could then retire with fame enough. He won the case. His opponents were N. A. Balch and James Wright Gordon. As this was a case of malpractice, the highest medical or surgical authorities in the west were summoned as witnesses. All the noted physicians in central Michigan were present, besides Dr. Zina Pitcher, of Detroit, the learned and erratic Dr. Lamborn, Prof. Meeker of the La Porte school, and President Brainard of the Rush Medical College of Chicago, who were on the witness stand.

Fitch and Gilbert, of Marshall, had attached Judge Lee's goods for debts, and in taking out the attachment Gilbert had made a great mistake, in swearing that Judge Lee was about to defraud them of the debt in removing his goods. This was not true, and Pratt, Lee's law partner, had Gilbert indicted for perjury. The case now became serious, as Pratt's hatred of Fitch, who was a radical abolitionist, now took a more violent political turn. Gilbert, alarmed, speedily secured Gordon, Bradley, Van Arman, and Stuart as his counsel. Bradley and Gordon withdrew, and Van Arman, whom all wished to retain, was considered too aggressive to get along with Pratt, for the case was lost unless Pratt was pacified. It was an admirable stroke of policy in giving Stuart the management of the suit. To add to the difficulty the "sworn twelve" were known to be bitter democrats. Pratt seemed to have the case entirely in his own hands, and thoughts of the penitentiary loomed up in Gilbert's mind. Stuart's defense was a masterpiece of legal tactics in managing Abner Pratt when *mad.* He based that defense on the proposition that his client did wrong in attaching Judge Lee's goods; that Pratt did right in indicting Gilbert. But the question with the jury was—did Gilbert intend to commit perjury? To convict him they must have proof of that. There was no proof that he even intended to swear false, or to misinterpret the case against Lee. It was a mistake, a blunder of an impulsive young man, with no intention of committing a legal or a moral wrong. Before he had been talking twenty minutes he had judge and jury in tears. Had that speech been preserved, says one who heard it, it would have been called the greatest forensic achievement of Stuart's life. Mr. Stuart himself is inclined to this belief. Stuart's style was eminently persuasive. It enabled him at this time to enforce the essential facts in the case

with a pathos that carried both judge and jury. And it set at naught the idea that his strength lay mainly with the jury, and in the blandishment of his oratory. This would excite laughter in those who knew Judge Pratt. To think that the tactful blandishments of oratory could move *him*. No, the reverse of this was true. There was so much hard sense, sound logic, and law, in the defense of his client, that the Achillean wrath of Abner Pratt was subdued by it, court and jury carried, and Gilbert acquitted.

This case reminds us of this fact, that a client's cause, as well as truth and justice, often suffer in the court room nowadays, by the harsh and overbearing manner of practitioners toward opposing counsel, or adverse witnesses. Many lawyers show a lack of common courtesy, as well as common sense, in the management of their suits; and if they only knew how much they go at discount, for this very reason, with judge and jury, they would not only mend their pleas, but also their manners, at the bar. We think the old lawyers clung closer to the law and the facts in the case, than their successors at the bar do. The practice was simpler then, less text-books to study and authorities to quote, and they plainer and more direct. The old lawyer seemed to try the case more on its merits, and seemed less inclined to resort to legal technicalities to win his suit. Stuart not only knew how to present his client's cause and argue it before judge and jury with consummate ability, but to do it in such a manner as to win favor even from the opposite party for his fairness and candor in trying the case. He has said that it took him forty years to learn how to make a speech. In this saying he evinced the true idea of the orator, for although he soon learned how to make a good speech, yet, like the true artist, he was not satisfied till he had produced the masterpiece of his art. This he has done.

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Since the above sketch was written Mr. Stuart has passed away. He died at his late home in Kalamazoo on the 12th day of May, 1887, in the 77th year of his age.

NATHANIEL A. BALCH.

Nathaniel A. Balch, the Nestor of the Kalamazoo bar, was born at Athens, Windham county, Vermont, on the 22d of January, 1808. He fitted for college at Chester academy and graduated at Middlebury in 1835. He was principal of the Bennington academy for two years. He read law with Gov. John S. Robinson, of Bennington. He also read medicine and quite extensively in theology before he left his native state.

He removed to Kalamazoo, Mich., in 1837, and became a law student of Stuart & Webster. He had charge of the Kalamazoo Huron Institute for

some time, and in 1838 became principal of Marshall college, where he remained two years. He was admitted to the bar in 1842; was prosecuting attorney for Kalamazoo and Barry counties, and member of the state senate in 1847. Mr. Balch is an able Greek and Latin scholar, and has been a diligent student in acquiring knowledge during his entire professional life. His broad and thorough reading has fully equipped him for the discussion not only of law questions but of all others. Hence at the bar he has been a formidable opponent—one strongly entrenched in argument and very difficult to defeat. He has been called the metaphysician of the Kalamazoo bar. A close reader, he thought over his cases profoundly. He had the faculty of not only working up a strong case for his client, but of so identifying himself with his client's cause as to make it his own. His language is good, his address forcible and commanding; for behind all his legal learning and attainments one recognizes the intellectual power of the man. Mr. Balch when fully aroused was a master in argument. He brushed aside technicalities, when in his way, as mere cobwebs; and, on the other hand, made them strong as iron if his case needed their support. During forty years' practice he has been counsel in most of the important trials in western Michigan. Mr. Balch is an able impromptu speaker on almost any subject, holding the closest attention of his audience at all times. The same may be said of him as a conversationalist. He can draw from his rich stores of knowledge something to entertain and instruct any company. He has been president of the Kalamazoo bar association from its earliest organization. He has now retired from practice.

ELISHA BELCHER.

Elisha Belcher was born in Rhode Island, in 1800; came when a child to Massachusetts, and when a young man removed to Ohio. He was a student in Kenyon college where he got enough of the classics to aid him in his profession in after years. In 1826 he located at Ann Arbor, Mich., and later removed to Ionia. He must have picked up his profession along the way between Massachusetts and Ionia, for he appears as attorney in some of the early cases in the latter place. He came to Kalamazoo in 1834, and soon became one of the leading lawyers of the west. He removed to Otsego in 1850 and died there in 1852.

Mr. Belcher was a man of close observation and an apt student in the common school of life. Having worked up from the ranks of hard toil he had retained the plain manners of, and the close sympathy with, the class from which he sprung. And when he became an able lawyer his plain habits made him hosts of friends. His unadorned speech, sincerity and candor, won

their way to the hearts of the jury, and were potent in establishing his own convictions upon their minds. Belcher had a large, muscular frame, and great vigor of body and mind. A clear, logical reasoner, his argument was marked more by strength than beauty of diction. And when he had once presented his case to the "sworn twelve," if the verdict was not in his favor, his *defeat* never hurt him; for, as lawyer and man, he stood high with court, jury, and people.

It is sad to reflect on what Belcher might have been. There was enough native talent, legal ability, solid attainments, genial humor, and sterling manhood enslaved by the habit of strong drink to have placed him in the front rank of our western bar, and to have made him distinguished among his fellow citizens, and in the councils of the Nation. Belcher's office was always a pleasant resort for the Branch students, in whom he was ever interested, and always took pleasure in giving them advice in their studies. Many a delightful reminiscence did he give them from his life in Kenyon college. And, speaking of his habits, he freely acknowledged that he was a slave to "rum," and warned them *never to take the first glass.* That was their only safety. Kind recollections of the old barrister are yet fresh in the memory of his student friends.

JOSEPH MILLER.

Joseph Miller was born in Litchfield county, Ct., Dec. 13, 1816, and got his education in an academy at that place. He began reading law in his father's office; completed his course and removed to Kalamazoo, Mich., in 1837, where he was admitted to the bar. He was a law partner of C. E. Stuart for many years, and was made United States district attorney for this district, by President Buchanan. He died April 6, 1861. Mr. Miller displayed marked ability in the preparation of his cases, was correct in citations of law, accurate and concise in argument, logical and effective in his brief speeches before the bar. Getting the pith of a client's case, if there was a possible chance for friendly adjustment between the parties he always urged it. How much bitter feud and money "Joe" Miller has saved citizens of this county, by such sound advice, who can tell? The old law office of "Stuart & Miller" in 1843 was on the east side of Portage street, Kalamazoo. It was in this old office that Joe Miller, as the legal Vulcan, forged the weapons for his partner, Stuart, to use in combat with their foes in the court room. Let Miller fit the case for trial, and let Stuart present it to the jury, and the verdict of the "stubborn twelve," it was usually thought, would be given in their favor. Miller was a lawyer of close and profound research. With him knowledge came by analysis and close inductive reasoning. If

there was an imperfection in the law, or a flaw in the argument of his opponent, his eagle eye detected it at a glance. He excelled in the "weightier matters of the law." He was at first merely a court, but eventually became a *jury* lawyer as well. As he grew in practice his reading became more extensive, till in the zenith of his fame he was the peer of the foremost jurist in western Michigan.

HORACE MOWER.

Horace Mower was born in Woodstock, Winsor county, Vt. He graduated at Dartmouth college, read law with Hon. Andrew Tracey, of Woodstock, and came to Kalamazoo in 1838; was a member of the state legislature in 1847, and appointed judge of New Mexico, and served two years. He had a fine classical education, and was the finest *belles lettres* scholar in Kalamazoo. He was affable, gentlemanly, social, and had wit and humor. He was an astute lawyer, and, in his best days, was the pride and ornament of the Kalamazoo bar. As a lawyer he was not as logical, as a thinker he was not as profound as some of his compeers, but he was endowed with extraordinary tact and was full of expedient and resource. He was not noted for sustained oratory, but with an occasional burst of genuine eloquence he would carry his audience by storm. His irony and satire were inimitable, and often fell with withering effect upon his opponent or an obstinate witness. He was compactly built, of medium size, had an aquiline nose, and an eye like a falcon, was always neatly dressed, walked with an elastic step, evincing the energetic, stirring man. He was quick to see the weak point in an enemy's argument or design, and as quick to give a thrust, which he did so dexterously that surprise and discomfiture came at one stroke. The old whig party had in him a leader, strong, eloquent and brave. No man in this entire border had more influence among the old whigs than had Horace Mower. Says Hon. Gilbert E. Reed, of Richland: "Horace Mower was the sharpest lawyer in western Michigan. Had he lived and remained free from dissipation, he would have been one of the first of the bar of this state. In his best days he was the strongest man in the old whig party in this part of the state." He died Dec. 11, 1860.

MARSH GIDDINGS.*

Marsh Giddings was born Nov. 19, 1816, in Sherman, Fairfield county, Connecticut. He was the son of William and Jane (Ely) Giddings, who removed with their family to Richland, Kalamazoo county, Michigan, in 1830. His father died that same year. Marsh early manifested a fondness for books

* See vol. 5, page 375.

and study. In 1834 he entered Western Reserve college, at Hudson, Ohio, but lack of means prevented him from completing his course. At the age of twenty one he was elected justice of the peace for Richland township, and held the office for many years. As justice of the peace he gave general satisfaction, being always just, thorough and exact. He was elected to the state legislature in 1849. His thorough acquaintance with the wants of the locality and hearty identity with its interests, combined with his parliamentary ability and ready talent for debate made him a valuable representative. In 1860 he was a delegate to the republican national convention, held at Chicago, and was earnest in his efforts to secure the nomination of William H. Seward. He was a presidential elector the same year, and was also elected probate judge of Kalamazoo county, which office he held for eight years. From 1864 to 1868 he was a member of the national republican committee. He was a member of the convention which revised the state constitution in 1867. In 1869 he was commissioned consul general at Calcutta, but, fearing the effect of the climate on his health, he declined the appointment. One year later he was appointed governor of New Mexico. This position he accepted, and held at the time of his death, which occurred at Santa Fé, New Mexico, June 3, 1875. He married, in 1836, Louisa Mills, daughter of Augustus Mills, of Richland. His wife and two children survive him. He was an esteemed member of the Congregational church for many years before his death. Judge Giddings was a man whose physical weakness was the more marked by contrast with his rare intellectual strength.

A quick, retentive memory made him an invaluable assistant in historical and legal research, and, coupled with his gift of clear expression, made him an effective speaker and a powerful advocate. He was a well read lawyer, and his cool judgment and knowledge of human nature made him a safe counselor. Poor health compelled him, in later years, to avoid the excitement of litigation in the courts. He excelled in the thorough preparation of his cases. He disliked to be tied to law precedents—looked upon them as old, lacking common sense. As a public speaker, he was forcible, argumentative, often sarcastic, and sometimes eloquent. Much of his time was devoted to politics, and few men in the state were better known, or better versed in the political history of the country. A zealous whig, he took a prominent part in the formation of the republican party. He was a partisan from conviction, and was very influential in molding the course of the party which he had espoused. He was at home in a political convention; here "his foot was on his native heath," and he was master of the situation. He was unsurpassed in doing effectual work for his party among a body of its representative men. Although outspoken in his political opinions, he had

few enemies; since even when party feeling ran highest, he rarely allowed himself to speak unkindly of any one. He was eminently social in disposition, and everywhere genial and companionable. Those knew him best who knew him at his home. His wide familiarity with literature, his love of poetry and music, his quick appreciation of character, his exhaustless fund of anecdote, all contributed to his rare gifts as a conversationalist, and made his home a charming place. In all his relations, official and private, his influence was exerted in behalf of the best public interests; and his loss was sincerely regretted, not by his personal friends alone, but by multitudes who valued highly his public services.

As a rule it is always the easiest to do the best thing. Giddings knew how to try a lawsuit, because he went at it in the most natural and easy way. The *habitués* of the old court room of thirty five years ago say that he tried a case in the coolest, fairest and pleasantest manner of any lawyer they ever knew. He never lost anything by excitement or anger during the conflict of the trial. He would get along with the most difficult matter, the most obdurate witness, the most disagreeable and carping opponent, in the easiest manner possible. Trying a lawsuit, after all, is an affair in which the equable temper and manner of the lawyer have so much to do that they may be said often to turn the suit in his favor. Giddings carried his accustomed *suaviter in modo* into the court room, and made it as effectual in the conduct of business there as he did in social life. Knowing that mankind everywhere recognize "fair play as a jewel," he made a lawsuit no exception to its use. While he respected and got along well with an honest pettifogger, yet he repudiated the "pettifogging" so much in vogue among a certain class of lawyers. Said he to one of the latter class, in a suit he was trying with him: "Now, B——, don't let us *pettifog* this case, but let us reason it through, like lawyers." At another time he said: "E—— is a *pettifogger*, but he always argues his case like a lawyer; while, on the other hand, M—— is a lawyer, but he always *pettifogs* his case, whether in a justice or in a circuit court, and he always makes a long plea in every trivial suit, and bursts into rhetoric over every trivial incident."

The judge's family were all gifted with a natural talent for music, and culture had given them rare attainments in this art. The writer, who for many years had been an occasional guest in their delightful home at Galesburg and Kalamazoo, still remembers with pleasure the rich musical treats he has enjoyed there, and how he and his cherished friend, the judge,

> "Long, long through hour, the night and the chimes,
> Would talk of old books, old friends and old times."

A few years ago, while traveling in the southern part of this state, I met

many people who still spoke with enthusiasm of the old political campaigns when Marsh Giddings and "Charley" Stuart were "stumping it" in that part of the country; and as political orators they yet held the highest rank in their estimation. Giddings was thoroughly versed in politics. He was master of his subject, and when he appeared at the hustings was always ready to make an able and effective speech. He used to remind me of Daniel S. Dickinson, the celebrated political orator of New York. Like Dickinson, the very soul of a genial nature beamed from his countenance, and, like him, he had wit, a natural vein of drollery, aptness in illustration, a love of scripture quotations, and a rich fund of anecdotes and poetry, all of which enabled him to illustrate his argument, give point to his logic and carry conviction to the minds of his hearers. He would often win over or carry the crowd by persuasive humor where others would fail by mere serious argument. Let him speak in whatever place he would, there was a kindly manner, an air of sociability about him that won his way to the hearts of the people. He felt at home at the hustings and made his hearers feel that he was their friend. Of all political speakers that I ever heard none surpassed Marsh Giddings in the peculiar power of winning over his hearers by "putting himself in their place." "My democratic friend," he would say, "may differ from me as to whom he will vote for at the coming election. This comes from our viewing the matter from different standpoints. Now if he will listen, and I know he will, while I present the matter from my standpoint, and give the reason for my voting the whig or republican ticket (as the case might be) this fall, he will have this advantage, he will have a republican's reason for the faith that is in him, which, when fully understood, may be strong enough to influence him to vote right hereafter." Thus he would reason and hold a democrat interested and instructed till his speech was finished, which, in many cases, has brought the democrat to see the matter as the speaker saw it, and to vote as he voted. As has been said of a distinguished American orator, in regard to this peculiar power in influencing an audience, we can say of Giddings: "In whatever crowd or assembly he might be his mind would catch with marvelous facility the general tendency of the mind of the audience, and a chemical process, as it were, would take place within his mind. How could he fail then to force attention of those to whom he returned their own thoughts strengthened, broadened, and adorned with superb flights of eloquence."

A REMINISCENCE OF THE OLD WHIG DAYS.

Horace Mower and Marsh Giddings were the popular whig orators in central Michigan. And it was largely due to their zeal and eloquence in the

whig cause, that the whigs of Kalamazoo county rallied in such large numbers, and were so well represented in the great whig mass meeting at Marshall in the presidential campaign of 1844. The old whig party in this campaign tried to repeat the political *coup d'etat* of 1840, and carry the election by public parade and song. Kalamazoo county whigs outdid themselves in their efforts to get up a large delegation for Marshall on this occasion. The towns in the county seemed to vie with each other in their endeavor to muster the most men. The procession that left the "burr oak city" was one mile long, and took the banner for the largest delegation. But the Portage delegation, all things considered, took the banner for Kalamazoo county. A. K. Burson, of Prairie Ronde, drove a four horse team, tricked off with banners and bells in real Canestoga style. Richland furnished a four horse team, with whom went Giddings and Gilbert E. Reed. From the latter I got this reminiscence. Grand Prairie sent an eight horse team, gay with banners, and lively with music. An unique feature of the procession was a delegation of native Americans from Kalamazoo, led by Selkrig and Joy, bedizened in war paint and feathers, sitting in a monster canoe on wheels, drawn by four horses. The procession stopped at Battle Creek and the orators, Mower, Giddings and Dr. Isaac Lamborn, made speeches from the old Battle Creek house balcony. The "old Doctor," who spoke for an hour or more, in his whig enthusiasm made this remarkable declaration: "Fellow citizens, there are really but three great men in America. Daniel Webster is one, Henry Clay is another, and the *third, modesty forbids me to mention!*" At Marshall the great whig orators, Frank Granger, of New York, and Thayer, of Boston, and others, addressed this rousing whig mass meeting. Ossian E. Dodge, the famous singer, sang his most popular whig songs, and, among others, "Such a nominee, as Jimmy K. Polk, of Tennessee." A misfortune met the procession at Battle Creek. Some unfriendly persons stole the canoe. Of course the whigs laid the theft to the democrats. The Richland delegation did not get back from Marshall under three or four days.

FLAVIUS J. LITTLEJOHN,*

Of the Allegan Bar.

Judge Littlejohn's ancestry was Scotch on his father's side, and English on his mother's side. His grandparents came from England and settled near Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Littlejohn's parents removed from Worcester, Mass., to Litchfield, Herkimer county, New York, where all but the two oldest of a family of twelve children were born. The names of the children

*See vol. 3, page 310.

are, John, Tilley, Levi S., Mary (Mrs. Amasa Pratt), Silas F., Augustus, Flavius J., Lydia (Mrs. Wells), Philo B., Elizabeth, Charlotte (Mrs. Marsh), and Gilbert H. The writer of this sketch remembers John, who was a Presbyterian clergyman and revivalist, and Augustus, clergyman and temperance lecturer, a sketch of whom will be found in volume 5 of these collections.

Flavius Josephus Littlejohn was born in Litchfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., July 20, 1804. He remembered the war of 1812. He had the benefit of the common schools of Litchfield, and fitted for college at the Whitesborough academy, in Whitestown, Oneida county. He entered Hamilton college at Clinton, N. Y., in 1824, and graduated in 1827 with the valedictory and first honors of his class.

He read law and prepared for his profession in Herkimer village with Hoffman & Hunt, and entered upon his practice in 1830 at Herkimer. His first suit was at Utica, Oneida county, and his opponent in this trial was the celebrated Alvan Stewart, who was the James Otis of the moral revolution of his day. And despite the able counsel opposed to him he won the suit. He practiced law two years at Little Falls, Herkimer county. In one of his suits he was taken with bleeding at the lungs in the court room. This compelled him to abandon, for a time, his chosen profession. In the spring of 1836 he came to Michigan for the benefit of his health, and to improve it he sought out door work. Having first settled at Allegan, which was then nearly an unreclaimed wilderness, he became surveyor, engineer, geologist and lawyer by turns. He surveyed the west end of the proposed routes of the Clinton and Kalamazoo canals. At the end of eight years he returned to the practice of his profession in Allegan.

In 1842 he was elected to the legislature, where he made his mark and was reëlected twice, and then, in 1847, was sent to the state senate, and was president pro tem. of that body during the long session of 1846, when the revised statutes were discussed and adopted. In 1848 he was again elected to the house, and sat in the first legislature which assembled in the then new capitol at Lansing. He was also a member of the legislature of 1855. In the interval he practiced law. In 1858 he was elected circuit judge, and tried the first case in the new county of Muskegon in 1859. His circuit was one of very large extent, when there were but few roads; and it entailed on him the most severe labors. In 1866 his circuit was changed to Van Buren, Kalamazoo and Allegan counties.

He was at first an anti-slavery man of the old school. Then he became a free soiler, and ran on the first free soil and whig ticket, in 1849, for governor against John S. Barry, democrat, receiving 23,540 votes against 27,837 for his opponent. He finally became a democrat. But in whatever party

he was, while he remained in it he was an ardent and able advocate of its cause. He was one of Michigan's pioneer politicians and jurists, and a man who, at various periods, has occupied a conspicuous place in public estimation, and who, had he been less erratic in politics, might have been a notable power in the state and nation. He died at his home in Allegan on the 21st of May, 1880.

In person Littlejohn was tall and commanding, and had a dignity of bearing that made one think of Chatham, while a dark, piercing eye revealed the man of intellectual power. And, as was said of Pinckney, he had enough intellectual jewelry to have equipped two or three orators.

The first utterance claimed your attention; the orator held you through his entire speech subject to his control, for there was a glowing warmth of feeling which communicated itself to his auditors and carried them with him whether they agreed with his argument or not. As his eloquence sprang from the inspiration of great thoughts he carried his listeners, in the discussion of his theme, through the higher intellectual realms. His imagination was vivid and clothed his subject with beauty and grandeur. By some he was called a florid speaker. But his rhetoric, be it ever so florid, always gave point to his logic. The picture was not overdrawn, for he was always clear and well understood. The orator is a painter, merely using words instead of colors, to depict the scene. Littlejohn was in his best days a Rubens who painted grand pictures that were always faithful and true to life. He spurned affected phrase, his words flowed with an inherent force, and the simplicity of a bird song, each one carrying a message to the mind of the hearers not to be forgotten. "The best things in his speeches were the sudden flashes and the thoughts not dreamed of before." Here is where Littlejohn, as an orator, found his great opportunity; when these new thoughts inspired him his language would have "the power of prose to take poetic tone, the power which loads a sentence with impressiveness" and enabled him to carry his audience to the height of enthusiasm by his grand eloquence.

The true orator's thoughts receive color from his surroundings, and he is better understood when he speaks through them to his auditors. Littlejohn, in his speech at Battle Creek, in the political campaign of 1856, seeing in the hickory pole, that had just been erected, an emblem of the democratic party, exclaimed: "That hickory pole, standing firm and strong while bearing aloft the flag of our Union, represents the leader of our party, proudly bearing aloft our time honored banner. That pole is sound to the heart like the principles of our party and, like it, clad in an invulnerable armor for the handling of its enemies." I have given but a crude idea of his illustration, but as he gave it in his own graphic and eloquent words, it was received with

tumultuous applause. Wm. A. Blake and Jas. H. Hopkins, of Galesburg, who heard Littlejohn during this campaign, say that his eloquence was grand beyond description.

P. H. Whitford says he went from Galesburg to Marshall on July 4, 1845, to hear Littlejohn deliver an oration there. The orator stood on the steps of the old court house, and when he came to the point where the revolutionary sires were summoned to arms, he raised his hands, as he stepped forward, while his voice thrilled through the large audience and made every heart beat with a patriotic fervor, and everyone present feel like going to battle. He inspired the auditors' hearts with the lofty feelings of his own. "I shall never forget," says Mr. Whitford, "that eloquent appeal to arms, nor that overpowering thrill of emotion that went through that vast crowd." Hon. S. F. Brown, of Schoolcraft, who heard Littlejohn deliver a Fourth of July oration at that place some time in the "fifties," says he was a most eloquent man. Hon. C. E. Stuart, of Kalamazoo, told the writer that he considers the speech that Littlejohn made in Detroit, at a democratic meeting, the most eloquent speech he ever heard.

Nature had not only endowed Littlejohn with an intellect of the highest order, but she had given him all those gifts that lead to eminence in public life. In addition to these gifts he possessed a judicial mind, legal acumen, and keen discrimination, that enabled him readily to distinguish between right and wrong, and to see at a glance what the average judge would have to get by study and reflection. His sense of justice was so strong that his feelings or emotional nature did not deter him from coming to and holding just and legal conclusions. It has been considered one of the most difficult things for a judge to keep his feelings from swaying his judgment. The opinion rigidly obtains that the technical heart of the stern judge must be proof against the feelings of sympathy, charity, or any expression of pity toward the accused. Law has a head to think and decide, and an arm to execute, but it has no heart and cannot feel. Its stern dictum, expressed through its highest judicial functionary, must decide where the right and the wrong lies in every case. But in doing this the judge should always be *humane*. If Littlejohn erred, as judge, it was on the side of humanity. His large sympathetic nature may have often moved him to temper the severity of the law to the condition of the criminal at the bar. Ezra Beckwith, of Galesburg, who has often served as juror when Littlejohn was on the bench at Kalamazoo, says: "I have seen the tears fall down Judge Littlejohn's cheeks while giving sentence to a criminal. A young man, probably demented, had obtained some property by false pretenses. The jury, trying him, brought in a verdict against the young man. Littlejohn,

in addressing him, said: "Your sentence should have been *non compos mentis*, but as the jury have brought you in guilty, I will make it as light as possible. It will be twenty dollars, or twenty days in jail. Which would you prefer?" The father of the boy urged the twenty days in jail as best. It was enforced. "The case following this," says Mr. Beckwith, "was that of a bigamist. A man had married when his first wife was alive, and pleaded in court that he did not know that she was living." The judge replied, "we have just had a case where we have been lenient to an unfortunate young man. And we think justly so. But there is no leniency to be given such a man as you. A man ought to know where his wife is. We sentence you to five years in the penitentiary."

Judge Littlejohn was never diverted from the facts and the law in the case by the special pleading, sophistry or eloquence of the lawyers, but could unravel from the intricate web of the case its true history, and thus reach the most just and correct conclusions.

There is a peculiar feature in the circuit court system. It is this: There are certain cases tried before the judge on the basis of law and testimony, justice and equity not being considered in trying them. Then the same judge sits in a court of chancery to try these other cases on the basis of justice and equity. Now, it seemed that Judge Littlejohn, whether sitting in the circuit court or in chancery, was always sitting as a judge in a court of equity. That is, in whatever court he was presiding, he always endeavored as we have said, to temper the severity of the law to the weakness of the criminal, with justice and equity, for he really put every man's case in equity, tried it slowly, got all the facts and clear evidence in the case, and held to them through all the conflict and arguments of the counsel on both sides. Instead of making law the stern, unfeeling, technical arbiter between man and man, he strove to make it the benevolent interpreter and guide through the mazes of the trial.

An old member of the bar, noted for his bull dog tenacity in all his suits, had asked the judge to charge the jury so and so. The judge replied, "I *decline*, sir, to charge the jury as you request." Being still importuned by the lawyer to charge thus and thus, the judge, growing indignant at such persistent impertinence, turned to the lawyer, and, with a manner and emphasis that would have made any other member of the bar *quail*, retorted, "I tell you, sir, that I decline to charge as you direct. It is not in accordance with the law and the facts in the case."

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE KALAMAZOO BAR FROM 1831 TO 1886.

COLLECTED BY T. F. GIDDINGS, COUNTY CLERK OF KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

Date of admission to the bar.	Com. prac. this court.	Names.	Remarks.
May 2, 1837	------	Abel, J. C.	Died at Grand Rapids.
May 18, 1836	------	AtLee, Samuel Yorke	Residing at Washington, D. C., 1886.
June 14, 1843	------	Austin, William G.	Died at Kalamazoo, Nov., 1844.
Mar. 16, 1853	------	Alley, Joshua F.	
Feb. 26, 1873	------	Annabel, E. R.	Lives at Paw Paw.
Oct. 2, 1882	------	Allen, Amos D.	Employed at Washington, D. C., 1886.
July 17, 1885	------	Alcott, A. N.	
----------	1831	Belcher, Elisha	Died at Otsego, 1852.
Nov. 1, 1836	------	Brackett, John E.	Died in Calhoun county.
----------	1840	Balch, Nathaniel A.	Retired from the profession.
----------	1842	Bradley, Edward	Resided at Marshall.
June 18, 1846	------	Breese, J. W.	
June 20, 1849	------	Booth, William D.	Died in an eastern state.
June 25, 1859	------	Boardman, Gilbert S.	
May 24, 1862	------	Burns, J. Davidson.	
June 27, 1865	------	Buskirk, C. A.	
Sept. 9, 1865	------	Buck, Geo. M.	
Oct. 6, 1871	------	Boudeman, Dallas	
June 29, 1872	------	Bleazby, Arthur A.	Resides at Kalkaska, 1886.
Nov. 8, 1873	------	Burke, Lawrence N.	
Feb. 6, 1875	------	Bascom, Wm. F.	
Oct. 7, 1880	------	Balch, Frank C.	
----------	1861	Burrows, Julius C.	
----------	1865	Burns, Robert	
----------	1864	Brown, Arthur	Resides at Salt Lake City, 1886.
----------	1861	Briggs, Henry C.	Resides in Dakota, 1886.
----------	1866	Balch, Walter O.	Died at Kalamazoo, 1878.
----------	1836	Comstock, Horace H.	Died in New York state.
May 2, 1837	------	Clark, Walter	Died at Kalamazoo.
June 18, 1840	------	Cooper, J. Morris	
----------	1842	Clark, Samuel	Died at Kalamazoo, Oct., 1870.
----------	1842	Chipman, John S.	Died in the far west.
Nov. 24, 1843	------	Coffinberry, Salathiel C.	Resides in St. Joseph county, 1886.
Sept. 10, 1857	------	Cranson, Joel H.	
June 1, 1860	------	Cole, Hiram	

List of Members Continued.

Date of admission to the bar.	Com. prac. this court.	Names.	Remarks.
Feb. 13, 1862	------	Church, Harry C.	
Nov. 14, 1868	------	Cadwallader, Alonzo D.	
Aug. 21, 1873	------	Clapp, Edwin M. Jr.	
Oct. 8, 1878	------	Cook, William N.	
Dec. 14, 1881	------	Campbell, William O.	
May 25, 1883	------	Condon, David R.	
Oct. 6, 1884	------	Chandler, James E.	
----------	1884	Crane, Edgar A.	
----------	1831	Daniels, Lyman I.	Died at Schoolcraft,
Nov. 25, 1845	------	Durkee, Elisha	Resided at Paw Paw.
Jan. 18, 1843	------	DeYoe, Wm. H.	Died on cars at Gasport, N. Y.
July 12, 1873	------	Dewey, Warren C.	
----------	1870	Davis, James M.	
Jan. 13, 1844	------	Eastland, Harrison A.	
Jan. 20, 1846	------	Eastland, Archibald C.	
Nov. 14, 1867	------	Edson, Rufus P.	
----------	1849	Edwards, John M.	
April 15, 1857	------	Foote, Luman	Died at Charlotte.
Feb. 3, 1862	------	Ford, Henry A.	Resides in Detroit,
Nov. 15, 1864	------	Fletcher, Wm.	Resides in Colorado, 1886.
Sept. 5, 1867	------	Fast, Orlando J.	Resides in St. Joe county, 1886.
Jan. 5, 1874	------	Frazer, E. A.	Resides in Detroit, 1886.
June 15, 1876	------	Forhan, M. J.	
Sept. 25, 1876	------	Foster, L. H.	
June 10, 1879	------	Finney, L. H.	Resides in Kansas, 1886.
June 10, 1879	------	Fuller, Wilson B.	
Sept. 26, 1884	------	Fuller, Andrew G.	Resides at Cadillac, 1886.
June 8, 1841	------	Giddings, Marsh	Died at Santa Fé, N. M.
Jan. 17, 1860	------	Grosvenor, Rufus H.	
Nov. 19, 1874	------	Gates, Jasper C.	Resides in Detroit, 1886.
May 9, 1877	------	Geller, Henry C.	
Dec. 31, 1884	------	Giddings, Theron F.	
Nov. 5, 1833	------	Humphrey, Jeremiah	Died at Schoolcraft.
May 21, 1834	------	Hascall, John	Died at Kalamazoo.
Nov. 19, 1834	------	Hinsdill, Mitchell	Died in Kalamazoo county.
May 19, 1836	------	Hill, Rodney D.	Died at Detroit.
----------	1842	Haskall, Volney	Died at Kalamazoo.
Jan. 14, 1843	------	Hoskins, Ebenezer	Died at Seneca Falls, N. Y.

List of Members Continued.

Date of admission to the bar.	Com. prac. this court.	Names.	Remarks.
----------	------	Hubbard, David, Jr.	Died at Kalamazoo.
May 4, 1852	------	Hartwell, Thos. H.	
Nov. 18, 1857	------	Huston, Joseph W.	Resides in Idaho, 1886.
Jan. 20, 1859	------	Hayden, Chas. B.	Died in Cincinnati of army wounds.
Nov. 16, 1864	------	Havens, T. Wilber	
Sept. 6, 1869	------	Howard, Wm. G.	
May 31, 1871	------	Houston, Edgar J.	
----------	1852	Hawes, Josiah L.	
----------	1868	Hill, Robert F.	
----------	1882	Hopkins, Geo. P.	
----------	1872	Irish, Edwin M.	
----------	1835	Jewett, Geo. W.	Lived and died at Niles.
Nov. 18, 1857	------	Judson, Robt. F.	
May 10, 1877	------	Johnson, Jas. H.	
Oct. 2, 1878	------	Johnson, W. H.	
Oct. 7, 1880	------	Jordan, John H.	
Dec. 14, 1881	------	Johnston, Chas. A.	
----------	1875	Jordan, O. L.	
----------	------	Jannasch, O. F.	
Mar. 16, 1853	------	Kellogg, Josiah	
Mar. 31, 1855	------	Knight, Jas. K.	Died at St. Louis, Mo.
----------	1878	Knappen, Frank E.	
----------	1873	Kelsey, Hampden	
----------	1861	Knappen, Ashman A.	
----------	1831	Lovell, Cyrus	Resides in Ionia county, 1886.
----------	1831	Lancaster, C.	Resides in Washington Territory.
----------	1836	Lane, M.	Resided at Ypsilanti.
----------	1836	Lord, Fred	Died at Paw Paw.
Sept. 26, 1854	------	Lowrie, Chas. W.	
Sept. 5, 1867	------	Leslie, W. J.	
Feb. 6, 1875	------	Lockwood, Volney H.	
May 28, 1884	------	Luby, W. A.	
Oct. 6, 1884	------	Lucasse, Wm. J.	
----------	1831	Moore, Lovell	Died at Grand Rapids.
----------	1833	Miller, Joseph	Died in Kalamazoo county.
----------	1839	Miller, Joseph, Jr.	Died at Kalamazoo.
----------	------	Mitchell, Elijah B.	
----------	1840	Mower, Horace	Died at Kalamazoo.

List of Members Continued.

Date of admission to the bar.	Com. prac. this court.	Names.	Remarks.
----------	1837	Miller, James	Died at Grand Rapids.
Mar. 31, 1855	------	Moyers, Gilbert	
----------	1852	May, Dwight	Died at Kalamazoo.
June 9, 1857	------	May, Chas. S.	
May 4, 1870	------	Montieth, A. M.	
Feb. 26, 1873	------	Mills, Alfred J.	
----------	------	Mason, Germain H.	
Jan. 16, 1886	------	Monroe, Chas. E.	
----------	1831	McGaffey, Neil	District attorney for territory of Michigan, lived and died at White Pigeon.
----------	------	McKinney, W. S.	
Oct. 14, 1871	------	McIntyre, John F.	
Dec. 31, 1884	------	McGuerren, Frank E.	
Nov. 6, 1873	------	Nelson, Henry L.	
Nov. 6, 1854	------	Otis, George L.	Resides in Chicago, 1886.
May 10, 1877	------	Oxenford, Samuel W.	
----------	1884	Osborn, James W.	
Nov. 1, 1836	------	Platt, Zepherriah	Died in city of New York.
Nov. 13, 1838	------	Parkhurst, Daniel	Died at Coldwater.
Nov. 13, 1839	------	Pratt, Abner	Died at Marshall.
Mar. 23, 1858	------	Paramore, James W.	
June 17, 1858	------	Peck, Wm. W.	
Mar. 16, 1870	------	Pope, Horace H.	Resides at Allegan, 1886.
----------	1873	Powers, Orlande W.	Resides in Utah, 1886.
Nov. 19, 1834	------	Ransom, Epaphroditus	Died in Kansas.
May 2, 1837	------	Rosecrants, Lory J.	
May 2, 1837	------	Rathbone, A. D.	Died at Grand Rapids.
June 14, 1843	------	Rowley, Edwin A.	Resided at Battle Creek.
June 14, 1843	------	Rice, Edmund	Resides in Minnesota.
June 20, 1846	------	Rawls, Paul W. H.	Died at Kalamazoo.
Nov. 30, 1846	------	Rice, Samuel A.	Died at Kalamazoo.
Dec. 20, 1849	------	Rice, George D.	Died at Kalamazoo.
May 8, 1855	------	Ross, William D.	
June 12, 1857	------	Richards, Chandler	Died at Paw Paw.
Nov. 16, 1864	------	Reid, James W.	
June 7, 1873	------	Rosevelt, John B.	
April 28, 1874	------	Randall, Ira E.	
Feb. 6, 1875	------	Roos, Elbert S.	
June 6, 1882	------	Raynor, Tyrrell J.	

List of Members Continued.

Date of admission to the bar.	Com. prac. this court.	Names.	Remarks.
May 18, 1836	------	Stuart, Charles E.	
------	1841	Sherman, William L.	Went back east and died there.
------	1842	Stevens, Luther F.	Died at Centerville.
Dec. 20, 1849	------	Stoughton, William L.	Resides in St. Joe county, 1886.
Dec. 20, 1849	------	Stone, Myron H.	
Mar. 16, 1853	------	Sherwood, Thos. R.	
Nov. 21, 1857	------	Smith, Harrison A.	
May 23, 1862	------	Smiley, Mitchell J.	Resides at Grand Rapids, 1886.
May 3, 1864	------	Spalsbury, E.	
June 27, 1865	------	Severens, James M.	
------	1865	Severens, Henry F.	
Mar. 21, 1872	------	Stewart, Nathaniel H.	
Feb. 26, 1873	------	Starr, Joseph	
May 24, 1873	-----	Stearns, Allan M.	
Dec. 30, 1875	------	Smith, George E.	
Nov. 28, 1876	------	Swan, William L.	
Dec. 6, 1877	------	Shakespeare, William	
Dec. 27, 1881	------	Smith, Russell G.	
Sept. 26, 1885	------	Sellers, Chas. R.	
May 27, 1862	------	Thompson, Chas. A., Jr.	Died at Kalamazoo.
Oct. 7, 1873	------	Turner, Chas. K.	" "
Dec. 30, 1875	------	Turnbull, Thos. D.	
------	1867	Tuthill, Oscar T.	
Sept. 8, 1857	------	Upton, James S.	
------	1831	Welch, William H.	Died at Red Wing, Minn.
May 23, 1834	------	Wells, Hezekiah G.	Died at Kalamazoo.
------	1837	Webster, David B.	Died at Kalamazoo.
June 10, 1857	------	Williams, Wm. B.	
Dec. 7, 1861	------	White, Geo. C. M.	Died at Kalamazoo.
May 15, 1871	------	Wilson, Cyrus B.	
Dec. 30, 1875	------	Wooster, John	
Dec. 10, 1877	------	Williams, Luther	Resides in Chicago.
Oct. 7, 1880	------	Wheeler, Chas. K.	
------	1874	Wattles, I. N.	
------	1860	Webb, C. C.	
May 1, 1865	------	York, Samuel A.	
Nov. 27, 1872	------	Yaple, Geo. L.	Resides in St. Joe county.

SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE KALAMAZOO BAR, LIVING AND DEAD, NOT HERETOFORE GIVEN.

[From the Kalamazoo Telegraph.]

S. A. ATLEE.

S. A. AtLee was a member of the district land office staff, secretary of state, and a gentleman of much political, social and literary distinction in the early days. He left here in 1843 for Washington. A few years since he presented to the ladies' library a very valuable autograph album which he had been years in making up, and which his intimate and very extensive acquaintance with public men of this and other nations, gave him remarkable opportunities to collect. At one time the name of S. Yorke AtLee was a household word in this part of the state and indeed in the state of Michigan. He never was an active member of the bar.

WM. G. AUSTIN.

Wm. G. Austin was county clerk, and died in Nov., 1845; a young man of great promise and universally esteemed.

WALTER O. BALCH.

Walter O. Balch, son of N. A. Balch, died a young man, failing health preventing him from attaining any decided position at the bar, but he gave promise of distinction. His beautiful character and literary abilities made him loved by all who knew him. He was for a time associated with his father in the practice of law.

J. W. BREESE.

J. W. Breese, now in the 40th year of his continuous practice of the law, is yet, as he has been from the first, a leading member of the bar and has a lucrative practice. He has twice been president of the village and was an able and most efficient executive, always devoted to the best interests of the town. He is a gentleman whom all respect and esteem.

SAMUEL CLARK.

Samuel Clark was a distinguished member of this bar. He was born in Cayuga county, N. Y., in January, 1800. He graduated at Hamilton College, and read law with Judge Hurlburt of Auburn, commencing practice in Waterloo, N. Y., in 1828. In 1833 he was elected to Congress, and after serving one term he resumed the practice of law. He removed to this place

in 1842 and soon took high rank as one of the leading lawyers of the state. He was elected a member of the constitutional convention of Michigan, and was prominent in the more important topics in that body (says Judge Wells, who was a fellow member). He favored, by strong argument, the establishment of an independent supreme court, releasing its judges from circuit court duties. He was elected to Congress in 1853 and was recognized as one of the leaders of the Michigan delegation. Old citizens will remember his ability as a lawyer, his generous hospitality at his home, and his valuable services to his country in every public position he held and his private worth.

HORACE H. COMSTOCK.

*Horace H. Comstock was not so much noted as a lawyer as he was for many other qualities which made him a man of mark and of usefulness in pioneer times. The township and the village is named in honor of him. He removed from this place in 1848 to Otsego. From having once been one of the largest of land holders here and one of the leading citizens of this county and state, he died in 1860 in New York a poor man.

LYMAN I. DANIELS.

Lyman I. Daniels located in Schoolcraft in 1831, and was the first lawyer in the county. In 1832, at the time of the Black Hawk scare, he was appointed, or acted, as colonel, and was ever afterward honored with that title. His law business was mostly in land matters and as agent of eastern purchasers. Colonel Daniels' portrait is in Cooley's picture of the first court in Kalamazoo county. He died in Cassville, Wis., in 1838.

WM. H. DEYOE.

Wm. H. DeYoe was one of the most successful of the younger class of lawyers here. He was an excellent business attorney and very popular. He was very prominent in political and social circles. He was postmaster in 1856 and served four years to the satisfaction of all. His law business was all the time growing and he devoted a great deal of time to it. His health failed and he died on the cars just east of Lockport on his way home, in November, 1863, aged 42 years and 6 months.

JOHN HASCALL.

John Hascall studied law in Genesee county, N. Y., served in the war of 1812, and came to this county in 1830. He was an anti Masonic leader before he came west and was a strong mind among the people in the early

*See vol. 5, Page 359.

days here. He died here in 1853. His son Volney, the well known editor of the *Gazette* for years, studied law with Mr. Belcher and was admitted but gave little attention to practice. He died February, 1870.

JEREMIAH HUMPHREY.

Jeremiah Humphrey came here in 1832 from Connecticut and was really among the ablest of the early lawyers. He removed to Iowa and died in 1849.

WALTER CLARK.

Walter Clark was a graduate of Union college, was admitted to the Kalamazoo bar in 1837, became a partner with N. A. Balch, was deputy county clerk, and remarkable for his fine literary attainments. He died here Jan., 1842.

MITCHELL HINSDILL.

Mitchell Hinsdill was a Vermonter, and admitted to this bar Nov. 19, 1834, served as prosecuting attorney in 1835, and as judge of probate from 1836 to 1844. He was, too, one of the leading farmers of Kalamazoo county. He died in 1854.

DAVID HUBBARD.

David Hubbard was another of the young lawyers who gave excellent promise of eminence at the bar. After admission he located at Schoolcraft. He served in the Mexican war under Col. Curtenius. He resumed practice after the war but failing health, caused by his war service, compelled him to abandon his profession. He died in Kalamazoo in 1852, deeply regretted by a multitude of friends.

CHARLES B. HAYDEN.

Charles B. Hayden studied law with Stuart & Miller and was regarded at the time as the most promising student in the place. He early enlisted in the war and speedily reached the rank of lieutenant colonel. He died at Cincinnati, universally mourned in his regiment and by all who knew him.

JAMES H. KINNANE.

Mr. Kinnane became a member of the Michigan bar on March 17, 1883, and began practice in Kalamazoo in April, 1884. He is a rising young lawyer.

JAMES H. KNIGHT.

James H. Knight, though admitted to the bar here, did not practice in this court to any considerable extent. He died in St. Louis, December, 1875. In

our notice of the county clerks we gave a brief history of his life. He became a very popular judge of the circuit court in St. Louis.

CYRUS LOVELL.

*Cyrus Lovell was a native of Windham county, Vt.; he came to Kalamazoo in 1832; it is claimed he built the first frame house, corner of South street and St. John's place, now occupied by Mr. Perrin's house; he held the offices of supervisor, justice and prosecuting attorney; was a soldier in the Black Hawk war and subsequently received a bounty of 160 acres of land; he was a man of ability; removed to Ionia in 1836, was elected to the constitutional convention in 1850, twice elected to the legislature and was once a speaker, and was receiver of the United States land office at Ionia. He still lives—a hale old man.

GEN. DWIGHT MAY.

†Gen. Dwight May was born in Berskhire Co., Mass., Sept. 8, 1822. He read law with Lothrop & Duffield in Detroit, after graduating in the university at Ann Arbor. He commenced the practice of law in Battle Creek in 1850, and became associated with Marsh Giddings. He became a resident of Kalamazoo in 1852, when he soon became a prominent citizen and a successful attorney. In 1861 he was chosen captain of Co. I, Second regiment. In December he resigned, came home and closed up his law business, and October 8, 1862, was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 12th Mich. Infantry, and with his regiment was mustered out March 5, 1866. He was chosen a trustee of the village and was twice its president, an excellent, efficient and faithful officer. In 1866 he was elected lieutenant governor of Michigan; in 1868 attorney general, holding the office two terms. He was a leading lawyer, was prosecuting attorney, and employed in many important cases. He suffered for years from disease contracted in his army life. His record as an officer was a very fine one. In his death the people felt they had lost a most valuable citizen. His funeral was one of the largest ever held here, attended by judges of the supreme court and comrades from a distance.

SQUIRE MILLER.

Squire Miller, father of Joseph, Jr., and James Miller, and of Hon. E. R. Miller, who still lives at Richland, was an excellent lawyer, one of the gentlemen of the old school. He was admitted to the bar before Judge Fletcher, but did not practice.

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*See vol. 7, page 481.
†See vol. 4, page 285.

ZEPHANIAH PLATT.

Zephaniah Platt was admitted to the bar November 1, 1836. He was a superior chancery lawyer and was prominent in all matters in the village. He returned to New York, and practiced there and in Washington very successfully.

PAUL W. H. RAWLS.

Paul W. H. Rawls was another victim of the Mexican war. He was a student in the office of Stuart & Miller. After his admission in 1848 he joined Captain Curtenius's company and died soon after the return of his regiment. He was a college graduate and a young man of fine literary attainments— a poet, scholar, and a true gentleman—one of the most estimable of young men, beloved by all and deeply mourned.

CHARLES K. TURNER.

Charles K. Turner, one of the brightest ornaments of the bar among the young men, died some five years ago. His future as a lawyer was regarded full of success.

CHARLES A. THOMPSON.

Charles A. Thompson was admitted to practice here after graduating at the state university, concluding his studies with May & Giddings; was elected circuit commissioner and prosecuting attorney. He was a captain in the 19th regiment. He died here in 1871 from disease contracted in the army. He was a lawyer, skilled in office practice, no one of his years surpassed him here, and his army record was a brilliant one.

DAVID B. WEBSTER.

David B. Webster was born in Chittenden county, Vt. He practiced law in Montpelier, removed to Kalamazoo in 1836, and was associated in the practice of law with Hon. Chas. E. Stuart. He served a term as prosecuting attorney and in 1845 was elected judge of probate. President Taylor appointed him receiver of the land office and he served three years. He died May 8, 1860, at this place. Judge Webster was a genial gentleman, an upright and capable officer, and universally respected and esteemed.

CLEMENT C. WEBB.

Clement C. Webb soon after being admitted to the bar joined the 13th regiment and was made captain. He was a brave soldier and died of his wounds in the hospital at Murfreesboro, Feb. 14, 1863.

THE HALDIMAND PAPERS.

[CONTINUED FROM VOL. 10.]

COPIES OF PAPERS ON FILE IN THE DOMINION ARCHIVES AT OTTAWA, CANADA, PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA AND TO THE MILITARY POSTS AND MARINE INTERESTS OF THE GREAT LAKES.

1762—1799.

NOTE.—Care has been taken in publishing the following papers to follow the original copies as closely as possible, including orthography, punctuation, capitalization, etc. The references in brackets at the close of each paper are to the filings in the Dominion archives at Ottawa.

CORRESPONDENCE, INDIAN COUNCILS, PROCEEDINGS OF COURTS, ETC.

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO MR. ROCHEBLAVE.

QUEBEC 2nd Novr. 1782.

SIR, I have read with attention the memorial which you have sent me & it is with true regret, Sir, that I see you are interested in the Bills of Exchange

from Michilimakinac, against the positive orders that I had given, less against those in favor of whom they are drawn. My duty towards the state obliges me to allow them to be protested.

I am &c.

(signed) F. H.

Mr. de Rocheblave

Endorsed:—Copy 1782 to Mr. Rocheblave of the 2nd Novr.

[B 123 p 335]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

QUEBEC, 9th November 1782.

Orig'l—Drake 12th

Dupl'te—Cockatrice 14th

The Right Honble Thomas Townshend (*No 20*)

SIR, I have to add to my Letter by the Convoy wherein I mentioned, the Conduct of Lieut Gov'r Sinclair, that the Bills drawn by him in favor of Mr. McBeath, of which a considerable part, is for Merchandise, purchased, contrary, to my orders, have been protected, I do myself the Honor to Transmit to you, a copy of the Letter, I have written to the Secretary, of the Treasury, for the Information of their Lordships.

Lieut. Governor Sinclair, not only disobeyed my orders, prohibiting the Purchase, of Merchandise, but in answer to one of my Letters complaining of the very Great Expense, incurred at the Post, where he commanded, he acquainted me, that a very Great Part, of it was for Presents, given to the Indians, by Traders, in their Wintering grounds not authorized, by him.— It is to be regretted, that he did not give me that information previous to my accepting & Paying Bills of Exchange, in which these unjustizyable, Charges, were, Comprehended;—from this & his other proceedings, I conceived, my indispensible duty, to recall him, I flatter myself, that the King's Ministers, must be convinced of my attention to Diminish the Public Expense, the whole tenor of my conduct, and Correspondence, must evince it—

The authorising the Remitters Agent, to give Credit, for Bills of Exchange, was in me the Effect of necessity, not of choice, and was occasioned, by the delay, of sending out Species, tho' repeatedly requested, in my Letters.—

I have now to acquaint you Sir, that a Spirit of Monopoly, pervaded, this Province, a Combination has been made & Succeeded, in Engrossing, into a few hands, the Rum, Brandy & other Spirituous, Liquors, which have been

imported, It is therefore my duty, to Represent, to His Majesty's Ministers, the Propriety, of sending out Four Hundred, Puncheons, of Rum, for the use of the Army under my command, as otherwise, the Price of that Article, may be raised, upon The Crown, at the Discretion, of the Persons Who, may be have engrossed it———

I have the honour to be &c. &c.

Your most obed't &c

(signed) F. H.

[B 56 p 32]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO BRIG. GEN. MACLEAN.

DETROIT 21st November 1782

SIR, I am this instant honoured with your letter of the 10th covering one to me from His Excellency the commandr in chief—As His Excellency thinks that much depends upon early Intelligence from this part of the country, I have thought proper to order the Felicity off immediately to take down the Intelligence just received from Alexr McKee Esq. Depy Agent for Indian Affairs—I am also in hopes the Sloop will bring an assortment of Indian presents, having been too long without the necessary articles to answer the demands of the Indians, resorting to this Post. You will see Sir, How determined the Virginnians are to destroy the Indians who have our promise of support, now therefore to manage this matter without a strong reinforcement of Troops, and a supply of Indian Goods, is beyond my comprehension.

—For the present the season is too far advanced for me to pretend to take any essential steps to support the Indians.

—The Detachment of Rangers under Capt. Caldwell (who is himself indisposed) can scarce turn out six and thirty men fit for service; and the King's Regiment, the most excellent soldiers, are not altogether calculated, nor properly equipped for a Winter's campaign in the Indian country, exclusive that the five companies are absolutely necessary for the works and duty of this important post—Light troops are therefore what we want, and believe me there will be amusement for a good number of them the ensuing campaign without acting on the offensive.

You desire to be informed of my Ideas on the method of stablishing a correspondence during the winter season—I have to inform you, that during my command at the upper Posts, I have frequently found it necessary to send

expresses, which can be done with ease, and with the greatest safety, by employing two Indians, and sometimes adding an Interpreter—We generally equip the Indians for the Journey, and promise them a small present of Silverworks at the Post they are sent to, provided they travel with dispatch, and, on their return, they receive their payment, which they chuse to have mostly in Rum.

—Lieut. Col. Butler and Mr. Dease are quite au fait, of those matters. I shall soon send of the letters for Michilimackinac, and not fail to put Captain Robertson in the way of it. Should anything extraordinary happen to require it, you shall not be long unacquainted with some of our Detroit copper coloured Gentry.

(signed) At. S. De Peyster

Brigr General Maclean

[B 123 p 338]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

Detroit the 21st Novr 1782

Sir, I am honoured with your Excellencys letter of the 21st Ultimo—Your Excellency may depend that nothing shall be wanting on my part to promote a strict observance of the present mode of carrying on the war on the defensive—A late incursion of the Enemy will nevertheless throw great obstacles in my way, which the inclosed letter from Mr Alexr McKee will evince—This will convince your Excellency that the back settlers are determined to Exterminate the Indians, which If they are suffered to do, or even to make a peace with them, their next tryal will be this Settlement.

The advanced season, and the sickness which prevails amongst the few Rangers at this Post, prevents my doing any thing Essential for the relief of the Indian Villages, it is therefore to be hoped that when the Enemy have done all the mischief possible they will retire. I must beg to repeat what I have formerly said, that I have and ever shall pay the strictest attention to a proper occonomy of the public money, and I can safely assert that I have saved Government ten thousand pounds at least, notwithstanding which, unless befriended by your Excellency I see I shall be liable to refund the perquisites at this Post, which have ever been looked upon by my predecessors as their due—I have therefore looked upon the Lots et Vents as my perquisite and have lived up to them in support of the dignity of a british commandant. It is true Sir! I have not received them all, but I am neverthe-

less liable to the debts which I have contracted upon the strength of them—I shall order a true state of them and the quit rents, to be made out during my command, and transmit it by the first opportunity agreeable to orders. If His Majesty's Minister was acquainted with the losses I have sustained during the rebellion, and the extraordinary trouble I have been at, and am still like to undergo, He would if in his power to grant, and consistant with a British officer to accept, assign me the Exclusive right of trade at this post as was formerly granted to the French commandants.

The Indian goods are not yet arrived nor do I expect them this fall—a dismal prospect—It however gives me great satisfaction to hear that your Excelly proposes sending your decisive orders, and instructions for the ensuing Campaign, which I hope to receive during the course of the Winter, in the mean time I shall not fail to exert my poor abilitys to the utmost.

The list of people imployed in the Indian Department. I reduced upon the breaking up of the Campaign, and shall in future attend to your Excellency's instructions thereon. I have the honour to be with the greatest respect

Sir, Your Excellency's Most Humbl & Most Obedt Servt.

At. S. De Peyster

His Excelly. Genl Haldimand

Endorsed:—No 20.—From A 1782 Major De Peyster 21st Novr Rec'd 7th Decr Ent'd B No 3 fol 33

[B 123 p 342]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO CAPTAIN MCKEE.

Detroit 21st Nov. 1782.

Dear Sir, I am just favour'd with your Letter of the 15th Inst., and am very sorry to hear that the Shawanese of the Standing Stone Village have kept so bad a look out—had they attended to your advice as the other Villages have done, it would not have happen'd and I should have been appraised of the Enemy being on their March in time to have sent assistance, the want of which information made me conclude that the Enemy had given over thoughts of an Expedition this fall, and in Compliance with repeated Orders from the Commanding Officer of the District, I sent Captn. Bradts Detachment to Niagara. Capt. Caldwell is himself very weakly and his Detachment of 70 men cannot turn out above half the number for Service, owing to the sickness they contracted at Sandusky, so that it is not in my power to send a force sufficient at this advance season to be of aid to my Children, who must necessarily avoid the Enemy if they prove too strong in numbers to cope

with, and this they may early do as they are acquainted with their being in their Country—It would therefore be imprudent in me to sacrifice those few Troops which may be of use to them in the Spring.

The Enemy no doubt have left the Indian Country before this reaches you. I have nevertheless sent the Strings of Wampum as desired to the several Lake Indians, but they too, I fear are too much dispersed.

Should the Enemy contrary to my expectations fortify themselves with an Intention of remaining in the Indian Country, I shall proceed to take such steps as will enable the Indians to dislodge them early in the Spring.

Brigadr Genl McLean commands the District, he acquaints me that the orders relative to act in the defensive only, are still in force—I herewith inclose you an extract from the Commander in Chief's Letter which will inform you of his sentiments and of what we have to expect. We have nothing else worth communicating than that the Indian Presents have passed Niagara, but I fear we shall not see them till Spring.

I hope soon to have the pleasure of your Company at Detroit, for should this Body of the Enemy have retreated, none other can be expected this Winter.

Your friends here all sincerely joyn in Comts to you, wishing you Success.

I am Dr. Sir With the greatest Esteem

Your most obedt huml. Servt.

AT S. DE PEYSTER

P. S. Eight Delawares just arrived from Niagara have agreed to join the Shawanese.

Capt McKee

Indian Affairs M. G. III

RETURN.

A Monthly Return of Indian Corn issued out of the King's Store at Michilimackinac from the 25th October to the 24th Novr. both days Inclusive. 1782.

Corn 60 lbs. per Bushell.	Canadians.		Indians.		Cattle.	
Date.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.
October 25					1	54
26					1	46
27					1	54
28			2		1	54
29					2	10
30					10	10
31						51
November 1st						51
2d						51
3						51
4						51
5						46
6			3	30		48
7						51
8						51
9					12	3
10						51
11					16	36
12						51
13						51
14						51
15						51
16			1	48		51
17			2		1	51
18						51
19					17	29
20						51
21						51
22					40	7
23						51
24	58	18				46
Total	58	18	9	18	124	41

Total 192 Bushs. 17 lbs.

JOHN WATTERS
Engineer Store Keeper

[B 98 p 174]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

In Council Detroit 1st December 1782.

PRESENT.

Major At S. De Peyster Commandant,
Captn. W. Potts, Kings Regt—
Captn. W. Caldwell, Corps of Rangers
Lieut. D. Saumarez, King's Regt—
Messrs. D. Baby & W. Tucker, Interpreters
a band of Senecas from the Shawanese Country
Ay, ou, wi, ainsh, Seneca Chief
speaks on three strings.

Father! I must remind you of your promises, at the time you first engaged us to espouse the King's cause you told us that not only the wants of the Warriours but those of our families should be supplied in great profusion.

Delivers three Strings

Father! We have received a message last summer, through you, from, the Commander in Chief, forbidding us to treat our Prisoners with cruelty, assuring us that it was contrary to the laws of God and custom of nations—which speech I have accepted and shall preserve. You will however recollect that we have injuries to revenge and altho' you protect the Enemy from the stake, you shall not from their Death, for the Warriours are determined not to spare them in battle, therefore Father be not surprized at seeing in future more Scalps than Prisoners—

Father! After having remined you of your promises and done your will I must inform you, that we and the other nations were much surprized to see people return from you to our Village unprovided, owing to the want of wherewith to supply them, as you told them you had not the things which they wanted. I beg of you Father not to use the same discourse to us, that you want certain things, but that you will provide not only for those who have accompanied me hither, but for those also who we have left behind to guard our village.

Father! I, and my people expect that you will give us necessaries in abundance, as also, such ornaments which is acceptable and pleasing to young men, if otherwise we shall imagine, you do not speak from the Heart.

Father! You cannot be ignorant that we are always engaged with an Enemy, or, on the watch at our Villages—

he then speaks on two Strings

Father! You may recollect that the last time I was here, I lost a Prisoner,

which you promised to see returned as he was adopted among us, I am therefore surprised that you have not yet satisfied me on that subject, as it does not correspond with your promise, I find by experience from my knowledge of mankind that from the late alteration you only speak from the mouth.

Father! I pray of you to consider that my loss is great with respect to the prisoner, if ever you have been in my situation judge from your feelings if I have not reason to regret his loss—

Father! Before I finish my discourse I must repeat to you again to use our Warriours well, in supplying them with such things as they require, if not, what effect will my advice have upon them to enforce what you may direct—

Father! You ordered two Barrals of Powder to be given out to us at St. Dooskey of which we have received but a small part, we therefore hope that you will order it to be delivered to us at present exclusive of our proportion which we are to have—

Major De Peyster then answered—

Children of the Six Nations who Inhabit the Shawanese Country.

Listen to the answer which I shall make to your speech—When the Governor of this Place first engaged you to take the part of your English Father he looked upon it as best for your mutual interest, on my arrival here I saw the necessity of your continuing to act on the side you where engaged, without which you must have been overpowered before now—you cannot deny but that I have ever fulfilled his promises as far as circumstances would admit—You that have so great a knowledge of humankind must also be capable to make allowances for accidents—the ship which was loaded with the Goods for Indian presents was taken at sea and as often re-taken by us, she at length arrived at Quebec but it was so late in the year, that the goods could not get up the country in time they are arrived at Niagara and I look for them every day, as soon as I get them you may expect to receive a proportion of such articles as the Commander in Chief has thought proper to send for his Indian Children but should you grow impatient before the things reach me and wish to go home, you must be content with such things only as I have to give you—with respect to the two Barrals of Gun Powder which you desire to have over and above, I must observe to you that I do not mean the Powder as a reward for your services but to enable you to defend yourselves against the Enemy and to hunt, the time which that Powder should have been expended is past, since which I have repeatedly send powder in great quantitys and make no doubt but that you have received your share thereof—

Children! Consider that we are to act for our mutual interest, if you push

me beyond my abilities we shall both fall—if you find yourselves disappointed in not receiving your necessaries immediately depend upon it I am more so, particularly so, from the recommendation Captain Caldwell has given me of your conduct in the last Campaigne—

Children! With regard to the message which I forwarded to you, desiring you to treat all Prisoners with humanity, you must recollect that it's a language I have upon all occasions held out to you, and let me repeat that it is greatly your Interest to do so. If Captain Pipe had not put that Colonel to death after he had made him Prisoner, the Enemy would not have made an attack upon the Indian Country this year, for from every Intelligence which I receive they intimate it was only to revenge his Death.

Children! I have another Message from the Commander in Chief to you which is "that you will not push the War into the Enemies Country but defend your own, in which he is ready to give you every assistance in his power—

(Delivers several Strings)

Children! You tell me that I only speak from my mouth and not from the heart as I did not return the adopted Prisoner agreeable to promise—believe me Child'n that I speak so much from the heart that I remember well what I said to you, which was "if I could find the Prisoner that I should return him to you, I repeat the same to you still and I have so much feeling that I shall provide for the person to whom he was related.

I have nothing more to say, but to desire Mr Baby to treat you as well as he can at present with such things as is in store—.

(Copied from the Minutes)

J. SCHIEFFELIN
Secry.

Endorsed:—Substance of a Council held by Majr At. S. De Peyster, Commanding Detroit &c with a Band of Senecces from the Shawanese Country—Detroit Decr 1st 1782 No 27 Substance of an Indian Council held at Detroit the 1st Decr 1782 with some of the Senecas—Recd inclosed in Majr. DePeysters Letter the 7th March 83.

[B 123 p 345]

MEMORIAL.

To His Excellency Frederic Haldimand Captain Genl. & Governor in Chief in & over the Province of Quebec, General & Commander in Cnief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province & the Frontiers Thereof &c & Vice Admiral of the same &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of Samuel Robertson late of Michilimackinac.

Humbly Sheweth.

That your Memorialist did in the month of August 1780 in his arrival from

Michilimackinac (from whence he was sent by Lieut Governor Sinclair, after being confined 42 days in the Common Guard House there, and then obliged to give the Excessive Bail of Ten Thousand Pounds Currency for his appearance before the Commander in Chief in Quebec) present a Petition to Your Excellency, setting forth the very Arbitary & unjust treatment he had received at Michilimackinac from the Lt. Governor there & the very severe losses occasioned thereby, Your Excellency was thereupon pleased to express a desire of remedying the Grievances I then laboured under & for what purpose would transmit a Copy of the Case stated by me to Lieut. Govr. Sinclair.

That your Memorialist then did, & since has suffered greatly in his Commercial affairs at Michilimackinac by the unmerited resentment of the Lieut. Governor—

That the return of Lt Govr Sinclair to Quebec affords your memorialist an opportunity of remedying himself in some degree by having recourse to the Laws of the Country, ever open to the suffering Individual under Your Excellency's Protection, A Duty he owes to himself & Family, and unless such remedy be had your Memorialist finds himself reduced from an easy situation in Life, for which he has been industriously toiling these many years Past to extreme Indigence.

That Your Memorialist notwithstanding placing his Confidence in Your Excellency's known Humanity & Protection has again taken the Liberty of reiterating his complaint in the firm Hope that Your Excellency will be good enough to order Lt Governor Sinclair to reimburse Your Memorialist for the immense losses he has suffered in his Property (a true & just account of which is hereunto annexed, & he is ready to support with very respectable evidence (thereby preventing any other more disagreeable and expensive mode of application for redress.

And your memorialist will ever pray

SAMUEL ROBERTSON

Quebec 2d Decr. 1782

[B 98 p 176]

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Dr. Lieut Governor Sinclair to Samuel Robertson

For loss sustained by me in consequence of Lt Gov'r Sinclair's having seized my property, stopt my Trade & confined my Person for 42 days in the Guard House at Michilimackinac vizt.

1780
April

To loss sustained by the Lieut Governor seizing my Property at the Post of St. Mary's and conveying it from thence which amounted per invoice to ..... £2658_8_8

Which I was afterwards during my confinement obliged to fill as follows, vizt.

To Mr. Macnamara & Co 1140

To C. Burgy ..... 892_6_4

	2032_6_4	626_2_4
To a Clerks Wages, which I was constrained to pay notwithstanding he was ordered in from St. Mary's the 18th April, before the Trade for that season was opened with the Indians		160_0_0
To the wages of Four men in like manner		160_0_0
To Provisions to the Clerk and men during the time of their engagement with me, having been deprived of their Service when the Indian Trade was at hand 5 mts. at 4 £ per man		100_0_0
To Debts due by Indians at St. Mary's which owing to the removal of my clerk were totally lost say 250 Beaver skins valued at ten shillings—York		125_ 0_0
To Sundry Cattle &c left at St. Mary's which by removal of my clerk & men I have not been able to receive any account of		566_12_0
To the Sloop Archangel of 26 Tons, with the apparel & furniture left on the Island of Michilimackinac, no account whereof has been rendered me ...		200_ 0_0
To the Schooner Nonsuch of 18 Tons in same manner		50_ 0_0
To a large Batteau in like manner		15_ 0_0
To sundry debts due by soldiers & artificers on the Island of Michilimackinac, which are still unpaid		145_14_8
To amount of that part of the Goods that was brought in from St. Marys and which I was under the necessity of selling to Christian Burgy payable in Sept. 1781, but at his decease some time after I was sent from Michilimackinac the goods I sold him were seized to pay Debts contracted many years before		892_ 6_4
To cash paid the Notary Public for drawing out the Bail Bonds which in order to my enlargement I was obliged to get signed by my Friends for the enormous sum of £10,000. To Expense of a Canoe & 8 men to convey myself & Family to Montreal		66_13_4

New York Currency ..... £3118_ 8_8

Errors Excepted

SAMUEL ROBERTSON

Quebec 2d Dec'r 1782—

[B 98 p 178]

RETURN.

A Monthly Return of Indian Corn issued out of the King's Store at Michilimackinac from 25th November to 24th December both days inclusive 1782.

Corn 60 lbs. per Bushell.	Canadians.		Indians.		Cattle.	
Date.	Bnshels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.
November 25th					1	25
26						51
27					19	15
28						45
29					1	41
30						51
December 1st						
2d						51
3					19	10
4						51
6						51
7						51
8						51
9			8	30	1	41
10					18	41
11						51
12						51
13				45		51
14				45		51
15						45
16					1	
17					18	45
18						
19					1	41
20			51			
21						
22						
23			1	42		
24	60	34			22	46
Total	60	34	13	24	117	47

Total 191 bushels 45 lbs.

JOHN WAITERS,
Engineer Store Keeper.

[B 98 p 175]

SURVEY OF PROVISIONS.

MICHILIMACKINAC Decr. 28th 1782.

By order of Captain Robertson Commandant we have survey'd one Thousand, one Hundred & twelve pounds of Flour, Five Hundred and twelve pounds of Pork, two Hundred Gallons of Pease, Five Hundred & Six pounds of oatmeal and twelve pounds of Butter, all of which we find unfit for human use, the Pork excepted which Tho' unfit for the use of His Majesty's Troops may be apply'd to the use of the Savages—

R. POLLARD Ensign King's Regmt
GEORGE MCBEATH
NORMD. MACLEOD
WILLIAM GRANT
P. R. FRY Ensgn 8th Regt.

Endorsed:—Survey of Provisions Decr. 28th 1782 Michilimackinac Inclosed in Captain Robertsons Letter of the 30th Decr 182, Recd 25th April 83

[B 98 p 180]

SURVEY OF PROVISIONS

MICHILIMACKINAC Dec. 28th 1782.

By order of Captain Robertson Commandant we have survey'd seven Barrell's of Pork which we find one Hundred & Nine Pounds defficient of the usual weight and are of opinion they were repack'd—

R. POLLARD Ensign King's Regt.
P. R. FRY Ensign King's Regt
NORMD. MACLEOD
WILLIAM GRANT
GEORGE MCBEATH

Endorsed:---Survey of Provisions Decr. 28th 1782 Received Inclosed in Captain Robertsons Letter of the 30th Decr. 82, the 25th April 83---

[B 98 p 181]

MR. MCBEATH TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.

MICHILIMACKINAC 29th Decr. 1782

As an Express is to be sent off for Canada by way of Detroit begg Leave to Repeat the Requesion I made to you the 1st of November last, for sixteen Boats to be permitted by a Special Pass from His Excellency the Commander

in Chieff, with necessarys For the use of This Garrison, so that You, Sir, and the Post may be properly supply'd and upon moderate Terms, if his Excellency is pleased to grant the Pass, it is to be given to Mr. Robert Ellise, or Messrs Sutherland and Grant, merchants at Montreal, I hope you will be Pleased to lay this Before His Excellency and the necessity of such a Demand—

I am, Sir, with due Respect your most obedt & most humble Servant

GEO. MCBEATH.

Danl. Robertson Esqr. Capt. 84th Regt Commandant &c &c

[B 98 p 182]

MR. MCBEATH TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.

MICHILIMACKINAC 29th Decr. 1782.

Captain Robertson

SIR The whole of the Indian Corn & Grain Purchased for Government this Fall as per agreement is now delivered in store and the Accompts making up to be sent to His Excellency the Commander in Chieff, I begg live to observe to you Sir, before They go my Doubts of These Articles Getting Higher next Spring. a good deal, owing to the Crop of Corn failing at Detroit—And in place of their being able to assist us here in that article Their own Wants will oblige them to heave Recourse to the Corn made at Sagana which is the greatest Corn Post in this Country, if so it must rise and Propeably His Excellency the Commander in Chieff might be led to Think that I hade An Intention to impose on Government, But I shall only ask you, Sir, whether you think I heave made money or not on what I heave already Purchassed & put in Store—I am Confident His excellency does not mean I should be a looser, nor do I want to gain much, for which reason no Purchass shall be made for any of this Articles without your approbation first obtained by which means no imposition can be meant, by being allowed to send early in the summer to the Corn Posts will prevent many Difficultys.

I am with due respect Sir

Your most obedt. Humble Servant

GEO. MCBEATH

Captain Robertson Commandant

[B 98 p 183]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 30th Decr. 1782.

SIR, I have the honor to acquaint His Excellency the Commander in Chief that I have drawn on him for the sum of seven Thousand, three Hundred, thirty three Pounds, seven shillings & nine pence three Farthings, New York Currency, in favor of Mr George McBeath, on account of every Department since the nineteenth of September, the Period of my taking the Command, to the 31st of December instant.

I hope the vouchers will be found satisfactory, as I have used every endeavour to that effect.

I have wrote Captain Twiss concerning the Fortifications for His Excellency's information—

Annexed you have Returns of Indian Corn as Issued, by which with the Voucher, you will observe there remains store about a Thousand Bushels—

You have likewise surveys of Provisions—Two Letters from Mr McBeath, the Tenor of them I hope will recommend to His Excellency, as also his Demand for a Gratuity as Paymaster of the Works which I have granted a Certificate for, Conditionally—

The situation of the Indian Store will require all my little abilities next Spring however I will do my best still in hopes to receive an addition to it only—

Any deficiency in my method, I hope you will be pleased to inform me of—

I am sincerely Sir your most obedt. & most humble Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON
Captain 84th Regt.

Captain Mathews

A Separate Bill of Two Hundred sixty one Pounds, four shillings, New York Currency was omitted in my Letter, likewise in favor of Mr McBeath, which please acquaint His Excellency the Commander in Chief of—

DANL. ROBERTSON
Captain 84th Regt.

[B 98 p 184]

LIST OF MEDICINES ETC WANTED FOR THE GARRISON AT MICHILMAKINE.

Acet destillat Hij
Argent vir Hi
Balsam Locatill Hj
" Traumatic Hj
Cort: Aurantier Hss
Elect Lenitiv Hij
" Theriac; andromach ℥ ij
Elixir Vitriol. Acid Hj
Emp: Attrahems Hij
" Epispastic Hij
Extr: Campechens ℥ 8
" Cicut ℥ 4
" Thebiac ℥ i
Flor Chamomel Hj
" Rosar: rubr ℥ iv
" Sulphur Hvj
Gum aloes Succotrin ℥ vij
" Ammoniac ℥ iv
" fotid ℥ iv
" Arabic Hij
" Guaiaci ℥ ij
" Camphor ℥ 8
Hord: per lat Hij
Mazner alb ℥ iv
Mamra Hj
Mere: Corrosir. sub ℥ 4
" Dulc ℥ iv
" procipit rub ℥ i
" Emetic flav ℥ iv
ol Menth pip: ℥ i
" puleg: ℥ i
olivar: opt Hij
Pill Rufi ℥ iv
Pulr: Peruvian H4
" Doveri Hss
" Jallap: Hij
" Ipecacuan Hss
" Serpent: virg: ℥ ij
" Stann: Hj
Rad. Cary ophyll Ind ℥ viij
" Gentian Hj
" Rhu Hj
" Scill: Siciat Hss
" Valerian Sylr ℥ vij
Sacchari Saturn ℥ iv
Sal Glauber Hvj
" Nitr: Hvj
" Martri ℥ j
Sapon Venet Hij
Lemon Cardamom: ℥ iv
Sperm Cat Hj
Spt C. C. ℥ viij
Suec: Liquout Hij
Spt. Lavand 60 ℥ iv
" Nitr: Dulc: 38
" Vini Rectificat Hij
Vitrol alb. ℥ iv
" Coerul: ℥ 4
Ungt Basilic Hij
—— Epulatir H4

Instruments.

1 Silver Probe
1 Steel Spathula
4 Clyster pipes for Bladder
A glyster Syringe
1 Sett Tooth Instruments

Materials.

Phial Corks 1 gross
Lint 1 lb
Tow Hvj
6 old sheets
2 & 4 oz Gally Potts 4 doz
Phials from 2 to 8 oz 6 dozen——
Pill boxes 4 papers

A great part of the medicines sent up last were lost, owing to being ill packed

Endorsed:—List of Medicines wanting for the Garrison of Makinac Rec'd Inclosed in Cap Robertsons Letter of the 30th Decr. 1782—the 25th April 83

[B 98 p 185 a]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT the 7th Jany 1783

SIR, My last letter informed your Excellency that the people from Kentucké, had advanced as far as the standing stone—I now have the pleasure to acquaint you that they recrossed the Ohio without doing other mischief than burning the Chillicotheke Village, a Traders house and Packs, and killing Ten Indians. Their sudden retreat I imagine was owing to their having received accounts that Irwin's Army was not to Join them, My Scouts from Fort Pitt bring Intelligence that the Enemy assembled there were dispersed by order of Congress.

I shall still continue to prevent as much as possible, Incursions into the Enemys Country.

Lieut. Du Quindre is gone off to stop the Ottawas of Michilimackinac, who Winter at the Grand River and are intent upon revenging the death of their young warriors.

The Indian Goods are not arrived, nor, are the most troublesome of the Indians, whom I hear are determined to visit me, notwithstanding the repeated messages I have sent them to endeavour to prevent their coming. Some of the chiefs fear that they will be abandoned to the Mercy of the Enemy, They say that they are convinced I have full authority to speak to them, but that they nevertheless would be glad to hear immediately from their Father at Quebec—I have prevented their going down the Country, as it would be attended with Inconveniency, and have promised that they shall hear from your Excellency by the first Vessels.

Agreeable to your Excellency's wishes, I have ordered a Considerable reduction in the list of people imployed in the Indian Department, which shall be still more reduced when Mr McKee arrives. I have also reduced the list of artifficers &c and shall therefore send the Prisoners who were imployed by the Engineer, down early in the Spring.

Mr. Rocheblave, I hear is gone to the Illinois, and as according tho' the memorandum left by him from the 20th October 79 to the 20th April 1782 amounting to £500—exclusive of what is since due, I should be glad to have Your Excellency's orders how to act in case he should return to Detroit, or draw upon Messrs Macomb and Co, for the same.

Your Excellencys letter of the 1st Novr is just come to hand—every attention shall be paid to the contents thereof—

I have the Honour to be with great respect

Sir Your Excellencys Most Hum'l & Most obedient Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

His Excelly. Genl. Haldimand.

Endorsed:—A—1783—From no 21—Major De Peyster Commands at Detroit, of the 7th Jan'y inclosing substance of an Indian Council held the 1st Dec'r 82—Rec'd by Express 7th March.

Copy: Ent'd Book B { No 3 } fol'o 34.

[B 123 p 353]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT January 10th 1783

SIR, I have this day drawn on yr. Excellency in favour of Messrs Macomb, Edgar & Macomb, four bills at Sixty days sight, amounting to Twelve thousand three hundred and seven pounds fifteen shillings & one penny ½ 1-7 New York Currency, being for Expenses incurr'd at this post for His Majestys Service in the different Departments as p. Vouchers which will be deliver'd to your Excellency herewith, & which I hope yr Excellency will honor—

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most humble & obedient Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

Major King's Reg't Commanding Detroit &c &c

His Excellency General Haldimand Governor & Commander in chief—Quebec

Endorsed:—From Major De Peyster 10th Jan'y Rec'd 25th April 1782.

[B 123 p 356]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

In Council Jany. 13th 1783.

PRESENT.

Major At. S. DePeyster, Commandant.
Major W. Potts.
Captn. W. Caldwell.
Lieut. T. Bennett.
Lieut. D. Saumarez.
Lieut. D. Mercer.
Lieut. C. Meyers, Royal Artillery.
Messrs. D. Baby, P. Druillard and Simon Girty.—Interpreters.

Shawanese, Delawares & the Six Nation Indians which came Express from Niagara.

The Snake for the Shawanese.

Captain Champion for the Delawares.

A Seneca addressing himself to the Shawanese with Strings—

Brethern! I thank the Great Spirit for permitting us to meet here to-day, that we may deliver you the Speech which we have from our People at Niagara—

Brethern! We the Six Nations are much alarmed to hear that the Enemy have cut off two of your Villages and we take the earliest opportunity to convey to you the Strings of Condolence. We hope that you will not be dis-

couraged at your loss, but be strong and keep close to your Brethern the Delawares and Wyandats. Our father has always advised us to unite ourselves as one, for by dividing ourselves we weaken our strength and the Enemy advantage thereby—

Delivers several Strings

Brethern! You have heard the Substance of the Speech which I had to deliver and as I find since my arrival here that the report is not true, I expect that you will give me an account of your loss that I may inform my people on my return.

The Snake acquaints the Seneca he cannot make him any answer to his Speech as he has not heard the resolution of the Shawanese but he will inform him of what had passed after which he made no doubt but the Chiefs would make their answer and forward it to them when convenient.

Major De Peyster then says,

Children! the Shawanese and Delawares—

You have heard what your Brethern the Six Nations have had to say to you, as they came here with the Express from Niagara and must return immediately, I shall say a few words to you in their presence by them I have received letters from the Commander in Chief, and the officer who commands at Niagara, the latter is much surprised to hear that you would allow an Enemy to surprize you in your own Country without you knowing of their approach, he tells me he is ready to give us assistance whenever I should require any, and wishes us to be strong, not to be discouraged but keep a good look out that you be no more taken by surprize—he says that the Six Nations have had all their Villages taken by the Enemy, yet they are strong, but now that we are all in arms it is impossible that the Enemy cut off any of our Villages while we are on our guard—

Children! Upon the reports sent to me before this last, I wrote to the Commander in Chief who has sent the 34th Regiment, part of which was to come here with the Indian Goods last Fall, but The season would not admit their crossing Lake Erie,—this I tell you in the hearing of the Six Nation Indians as they have seen them—

Children! I repeat to you again that the only way of maintaining our Villages is to do as the Great man advises us, which is to keep close to each other and be strong, for by dividing ourselves we lessen our strength—this is all I shall say to you until I see your people in greater numbers at which time I shall speak more fully—

Copy from the Minutes
J. Schieffelin Secry.

Endorsed:—Substance of a Council held at Detroit 13th Jany. 1783 by Major A. S. De Peyster Commandant &c with Shawanese & Delawares.

No 28 1783 Substance of a Council held at Detroit by Major De Peyster with the Shawanese and Delawares, Jany 13th.

[B 123 p 357]

RETURN.

A Monthly Return of Indian Corn Issued out of the King's Store at Michilimackinac from the 25th December to the 24th day of Jany, both days Inclusive 1783.

Corn 60 lbs per Bushell		Canadians.		Indians		Cattle.	
	Date.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.
December	25				26		
	26						
	27						
	28						
	29						
	30				51	21	15
	31						
January	1st						
	2						51
	3					1	8
	4			3	24	1	42
	5					1	18
	6					21	59
	7						
	8				51	4	26
	9						
	10						
	11					1	42
	12						
	13			6	48		
	14					26	28
	15			1	42		
	16						
	17						
	18						
	19						
	20						
	21					44	17
	22						
	23						
	24	60	45	1	42		
		60	45	15	44	125	0

Total—201 Bushels, 35 lbs.

[B 98 p 186] JOHN McDONALD, Engineer Store Keeper.

CAPTAIN BIRD TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT Jany. 18th, 1783.

SIR, Your condecending goodness to me on former occasions emboldens me once more to become a suitor to your Excellency—A report prevailing here that the Kings Reg't is to be relieved as soon as it may be found proper to lessen the Garrisons at the upper posts, I take this opportunity to solicit your Excellencies favour as far as to permit me to enjoy the employment I now hold at this Post whilst the place of acting Eng'r at Detroit is thought proper to be kept fill'd—Among the reasons which induce me to intrude on your Excellencies goodness, some of the principal—are a preference I give to serving in and near a country I have some knowledge of—having been detatch'd two summers in it—and from an acquaintance with most of the Indians depending upon the Post.

I am With the greatest respect
Your Excellencie's most obedt. and most Humble Servt.

H. BIRD.

Endorsed:—His Excellency Gen'l Haldimand Commander in Chief &c &c Quebec
From Ct. Bird 18th Jany. Rec'd 18th Octr. 1783.
[B 123 p 361]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO CAPTAIN MCKEE.

DETROIT, 24th Jan 1783

DEAR SIR, The repeated reports, which I have had from different people, both Interpreters and Indians, of your coming in, prevented my sending of a messenger to your Village. Hearing that the Wyandotts are desirous of going to war, I dispatch Ens'n McDougal to endeavor to stop them in case you should be on your way here, and he miss of you. I now have the pleasure to acquaint you that two Companies of the 34th Reg't and I hope more Rangers will be here in the Spring. They did embark with the Indian Goods, but were put back by the Westerly Winds. The whole of the 34th Reg't winter at Niagara, Fort Schlosser, & Fort Erie. I am persuaded Sir, that you have sent out proper Scouts with injunctions not to commit Depredations, agreeable to the Commander in Chief's Orders, and I may hope to see you when these scouts return provided it is altogether convenient to you. If on the contrary you do not propose visiting Detroit this winter, I should be glad of a few lines from you soon, in order that I may continue my Correspondence with the Commander in Chief, who desires that Expresses may keep constantly going between Detroit & Quebec all Winter.

Inclos'd you have a copy of an Extract the Gen'l received from Sir Guy Carleton which will convince His Excellency that the reports did not originate in this Country. Two Pris'rs Women brought in to Niagara reports that Potters Troops were ordered to disperse on account of a Cessation of arms. I have also inclosed the Gen'ls Orders.

Mrs. De Peyster & the Gentlemen at Detroit beg to join in Comp'ts to you wishing you the Comp'ts of the Season.

I am Sir Sincerely Yours

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

Alex'r McKee Esq'r Dy Agent.

P. S. Having received orders from the Comm' in Chief to lessen the Indian Department but I have struck off several of the Interpreters. Simon Girty continues his Pay—till further orders, but McSurphlet, George Girty, James Girty and others who had two Dollars are reduced to one, with which please to acquaint them.

You will please to dismiss such of your four shilling men as you have not an absolute occasion for.

A. S. D. P.

All prisoners shall have provisions till they go down the Country.

[Indian Affairs M. G. III.]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 10th Feby 1783.

SIR, According to orders from Brigdr General McLean received the 6th Inst. I have sent you certified copies of the Papers left me by Lt Col. Hope. The others shall be sent early in the Spring by Lt. Clowes.

From what I have seen of the Indians Hereabouts, I think of diminishing their ordinary presents to His Excellency's satisfaction, without incurring their Dislike to our Interest, provided they are not called to War. The Ottawas are the only Nations to be principally attended to, as to the Western Indians I hope there will be no question of them at this Post, most certainly, after this year, as I mean to take every precaution to prevent it—

I shall have every material for completing the Fort ready very early in the Spring—

In case of any change or addition to this Garrison I should be glad His

Excellency would be pleased to order my Company here as I am best acquainted with them—

I am with much esteem Sir,

Your most obedt Humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON, Captain 84th Regt

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 192]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO MAJOR DE PEYSTER.

H. Qr QUEBEC Feby. 14, 1783

M. de Peyster

SIR, On the 7th Decr last I received your letter of the 29th Novr. covering one from Mr. McKee, reporting to you the destruction of a Shawenese Village by the Virginians, & their having taken Post there with a View to future Incursions—An Express arrived a few days ago from Niagara, but as there were no accounts from Detroit, I persuade myself that the Enemy retired as you conjectured they would, and that the Indians have been since undisturbed. Letters from B. Genl. Maclean accompanied by a Speech from the Six Nations are strongly expressive of their desire, & Intention to retaliate upon the Enemy, the last unexpected Stroke at Standing stone Village and demanding my assistance therein, which I find they have communicated & recommended to the Indians in Your Quarter—Nothing can be more natural than this desire Yet under the express orders I have received & communicated to the different Posts, it is impossible I can comply with their Request, on the contrary, it becomes our duty to use every possible means to dissuade them from their purpose—At the same time upon the Principal of Defence you may assure them that altho' I cannot assist, or approve of their carrying war into the Enemy's Country, I shall afford them every aid in my Power to secure & defend their own against every Incursion of the Enemy—Having desired B. Genl. Maclean to transmit to you the Substance of my answer to the Six Nations (which is as full and satisfactory as my circumstances will admit) it would only be Repitition to enlarge here upon the Subject—You will take the Sense of it in whatever you may have occasion to say to the Indians, as well upon the Subject of Presents as of War—

I am pleased to find you have made Reductions in the enormous List of appointments in the Branch of the I. Department, at Detroit—I hope in a short Time a general Reform will take place, having prepared Instructions & Regulations for that Purpose which are now under Consideration—

It will always give me Pleasure to serve officers under my command as far as it lyes in my Power, who have distinguished Themselves by their Zeal and attention to the King's Service, but the disposal of the Lots et Vents at Detroit, no more depend upon my Decision than those in the lower part of the Province, and my orders from Howe upon that Subject are very particular—Indeed there cannot be a Reason why they should be appropriated to private Purposes in on Part of the Province and to the Public in another & The command Money at the Posts is intended for the Purpose of defraying extraordinary Expenses attending them, and is all that, in the Military Line, can be expected—I can only say that in this matter, You are in the same Predicament, not only with your Predecessors, but with the Lt. Governor for Six Years back—

I am &c (signed) F. H.

Endorsed:—No 18 1783 To Major De Peyster Commanding at Detroit of 14 february Ent'd B no 2 fol 28

[B 123 p 362]

LIST OF OFFICERS, ETC.

Role of Officers, Interpreters, Smiths & Extras employed in the Indian Department at Detroit, as drawn for on His Excellency General Haldimand 24th February 1783.

Duperon Baby	20 s. Stg. p. day	Captain & Indian Agent at Detroit
Alex. McKee	£ 200 Stg. p. an	Deputy Agent Indian affairs
Isidore Chene	10 s. Stg. p. day	Captain & Interpreter
Charle Baubin	do	Miamis Interpreter
Mathew Elliott	do	Volunteer
Joucaire Chabert	do	Capt. Volunteers
Willm. Lamothe	do	Capt. Detroit Volunteers
Simon Girty	16 s yk	Six Nation Interpreter
Pierre Drouilliart	do	Huron Interpreter
William Tucker	do	Ottawa Interpreter
Gregor McGregor	do	Captain Militia
Jacob Schieffelin	do	Lt. Detroit Volunteers & Secretary Indn. Dept.
Henry Baby	8 s. do	Volunteer
Antoine Chene	do	ditto
Francis Leclair	do	Smith at St. Joseph's
Francis Diel	do	Smith at Shawanee Towns
Joseph Duplessis	do	Smith at Miamis towns
Melcher Baker	do	Volunteer & Riffle cutter.
J. B. Constant	do	Hikapoo Interpreter
Jacques Baby	do	Store Keeper
Jacques Chauvin	do	Smith at Detroit
John Higgins	4 s do	Volunteer Discharged 24 Feby
Michel Herbert	do	ditto ditto
John Makie	do	Asst. commissary
Augustin Gaigvin	do	Asst. Smith
Benjn. Newland	do	Volunteer
George Girty	16 s. do	Delaware Intpr.—reduced to 8s.
James Girty	do	Volunteer do to 8s.
Robert Surphlet	do	ditto do to 8s.
Dagneau Dequendre	do	Lieutenant do to 8s.
Charles Boulanger	8 s. yk. p. day	Discharged Octr. 24th 1782
Pierre Chevalier	do	do
Joseph Lesucier	do	do
J. B. Lortie	do	do
Alex. Johnson	6 s. do	do
William Greg	do	do
Martin Trap	do	do

List of Officers, etc., Continued.

Reynold McDonald	6 s. do	Discharged Octr. 24th 1782
John McLean	4 s. do	do
Joseph Tessier	do	do
Joseph Dagenet	do	do
Fs. Marchaterre	do	do
J. B. Chorette	do	do
Michel Tachapelle	do	do
Pierre Corbin	do	do
Simon Rivet	do	do
Joseph Dumay	do	do
Louis Grenon	do	do
Pierre Messiere	do	do
Joseph Latraverse	do	do
Francis Campau	do	do
Joseph Gilbeau	do	do
Louis St. Germain	do	do
Paul Saffrez	do	do
Anto. Lachenaye	do	do
John Tracy	do	do
James Dunseth	do	do
Abraham Williams	8 s. do	Discharg'd 24th February
Joseph Ward	do	ditto
Edward Hazel	do	ditto
Louis Baby	do	ditto
J. B. Marion	do	ditto
Joseph Reah	4 s. yk. p. day	Discharged 24th Feby
Wm. Man	do	ditto
Thos. Fleming	do	ditto
Henry Thompson	do	ditto
John Florry	do	ditto
James McDougall	8 s. do	Discharged 29th April

The following discharged 24th May 1783:

Henry Baby	J. B. Constant
Antoine Chene	John Makie
Fs. Leclair	Benjn. Newland
Joseph Duplessis	Abraham Coon
Melcher Baker	

AT. S. DEPEYSTER,
Major King's Regt.

Endorsed:—1783 List of Indian Officers Volunteers &c at Detroit February 24th inclosed in Major DePeyster's letter of the 20th May 1783

[B 123 p 366]

RETURN.

A Monthly Return of Indian Corn issued out of the King's Store at Michilimackinac from the 25th January to the 24th of February, both the days Inclusive. 1783.

Corn 60 lbs. per Bushell.		Canadians.		Indians.		Cattle.	
Date.		Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.
January	25th				51	1	42
	26						
	27						
	28					27	30
	29						
	30			3	24		
February	1st						51
	2				51	8	30
	3			1	42		
	4			5	57	23	30
	5					3	6
	7			2	23		51
	8						
	9				51	1	42
	10			3	24	1	42
	11					22	37
	12					3	6
	13						
	14						
	15				51		
	16					34	51
	17					1	42
	18				51	23	28
	19			1	42	3	6
	20						
	21						
	23						
	24	60	45	5	6		
Total		60	45	28	3	158	14

Total 247 bushels 2 lbs.

JOHN MCDONALD,
Store Keeper.

[B 98 p 193]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT AT DETROIT.

His Majesty having been graciously pleased for the better Regulations of all Indian Affairs, by putting them under one direction, and Management to honor me with the appointment of Superintendent General, and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, and it being my duty to endeavor to render my present Employment as beneficial as possible to the Publick, by establishing a strict Oeconomy through all Branches of my Department, and to prevent as much as in my power, all abuses in shore, and not to incur any Expenses, which are not absolutely, and indispensably necessary for the execution of this Service. I think it proper to direct you to be particularly attentive to, and aiding in every measure that can conduce to that end so strongly enjoined by the King, and his Minister, and so much our duty to the Public to attend to—

You are to Continue regularly to Cause Returns to be made to you, monthly, of the Officers, Men, and Indians, and also Return of all Parties, coming in, or going out, that you may be enabled to report to me, as herein after directed, and every measure is to be taken by the Officers to prevent Frauds respecting the real Number of the Indians, and the time to which they are Victualled, with such Orders as you may Judge most necessary, and likely to effect that important Object, the Reduction of the vast Consumption of Provisions &c.

You are to make me full, and clear Returns at the times herein after mentioned of the Quantities of Provisions and Liquors issued half yearly to the Indians, that I may be enabled to compare them with the Commissary General's Returns for the same period, and to Specify the Number of Rations at the foot of my half yearly Accounts—

You are to take Care in Conferring Favours to distinguish the persons most worthy of his Majesty's Bounty, and most capable of promoting his Interest.

Upon the arrival of any Parties of distant Nations at the Post, and in all matters where the Service shall be concerned, such as sending out Parties to War, or for Intelligence, holding Councils on material Concerns, Sending Messages to antient Tribes upon public Business &co—You are to report to the Commanding Officer, and in order to give the greater Solemnity to every Transaction between us, and the Indian Chiefs, and Nations, you are to give notice to the Lieutenant Governor, or Commanding Officer of the Garrison, previous to any Conference, or to the giving out any Indian Presents, that he may preside at the Same, attended by the Officers of the Garrison, in whose presence it is Ordered that all such Presents be publickly given—

All Presents, or cloathing for small Parties, or to Individuals, are to be issued from the Store by, or in presence of the Storekeeper, who will be appointed, and will receive particular Instructions for his Conduct, and the same with regard to all Such Presents as have been heretofore given as private Presents to Chiefs &ca, are to be entered in a Book, specifying their quantity & quality, at what time, to whom, and for what Purpose given, that the whole Amount of the annual Expenditure may appear whenever called for.

You are to make no general Charge of Cash given to Indians in any future Contingent Account, but when such Charge become indispensably necessary, it is to be Inserted at what time, to whom given, and for what purpose, that the particular reasons, for so doing may appear, whenever called for.——

All future Contingent Accounts are to be made up & Signed by the Officer Commanding the Indian Department at the Post, and with the Original Accounts, and Vouchers transmitted to me, as hereafter directed.

All Accounts of Officers, or white men for Expenses Incurred in the Indian Country, or Service, or at Indian Nations, shall cease in future, except in such particular Cases, as render them utterly unavoidable, and then they are to be certified upon honour, and signed by the Officers Commanding the Department, and to prevent swelling the Indian Accounts, with other Expenditures, nothing may in any wise be brought in to the Contingent Account, which cannot be made appear to be solely Contradicted for the Indian Service.——

In case it should happen that the Indian Goods should not arrive in due time, and that there appears an absolute and unavoidable necessity for purchasing some Articles, the Necessity of the Service, the Propriety of the Presents, and the reasonableness of the Price of the several Articles should be Certified by the Lieut. Governor, or Commanding Officer of the Post.

Whenever I shall cause Indian Goods to be forwarded to you, you will on their arrival, with the assistance of the Storekeeper carefully examine them, comparing the same with the Invoice, Certifying in writing what you have received, and in what Condition.

Should the Indians, as is customary at some Posts, lay down Presents of any kind, they are to be taken up with Thanks, and in return, Presents, exceeding the value of theirs, are to be given them in which Cases the Chiefs, and Head Warriors &c. are to be distinguished, & in order that the public expence may as much as possible be indemnified, It is the Commander in Chief's Orders, that all presents received from Indians, in Council, or otherwise, be entered in a Book, expressing their quantity, Quality and Value and deposited in the King's Stores, which, if provisions, they are to be issued to

the Troops or Indians as the Service shall require, or the Commanding Officer shall direct, if Peltry, it is to be sold to the Traders at the Market Prices and Credit for the amount to be duly given to Government in your Accounts.

You will give in returns of the Presents (specified as above) to the Commanding Officer, transmitting to me Copies of the same every Six Months, together with a Journal of all Transactions in the least material, and with these you will transmit your Accounts and Returns of the number of the Indians Cloathed, specifying the Nations & Tribes, and distinguishing the Men, Women and Children.

You will likewise transmit to me by the end of September annually a full, and just Return of the State of Indian Presents of every denomination, remaining in Store, with a Requisition of what may appear necessary for the next year's Consumption, that I may be enabled to make out my General Estimate, and provide a Supply in time.

You are in all Matters of Trade, wherein Indians are concerned, to see that the utmost Justice be done to them, for which purpose, if the Interference of the Commanding Officer should be necessary, you are to make application to him, as you are to do in all Matters, where the King's Service is concerned, unconnected with the Interior Oeconomy of the Indian Department.

You are to use your utmost endeavours & Influence at all times to inculcate into the minds of the Indians, principals of Humanity and Tenderness to Prisoners, particularly upon the departure of all Parties from the Posts, while there is a probability of their Retaliating, or Resenting the Injuries they have sustained during the Course of the War.

You will assure the Chiefs upon every Occasion of the King's Parental Care and regard for whom as long as they Continue to merit them, by acting as they have hitherto done and you will likewise recommend to their Warriors, and Young Men, Fidelity & a firm attachment to their Father, the Great King, with such Arguments, as your own Knowledge & Prudence may suggest to you.

All contingent Accounts, Returns of every Denomination, and all Reports you are, or shall be directed to make, are to be transmitted to me half yearly on every 25th of March and September in each year.

Given under my Hand at Montreal the 26th Day of February 1783.

JOHN JOHNSON.

[Indian Affairs M. G. II]

CAPTAIN LANGLADE TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.

La Baye the 5th March 1783

Governor, This letter is to assure you of my very humble respects and to inform you that according to the report brought by some Puants when the Traders passed at the Portages of Ouis-consin their nation wished to rob them, that in the tumult there was a Puant, called Boeuf Blanc killed and that, to revenge themselves they took from Mr. Reilh five or six packets as well of liquor as other things and as they were still drunk when Mr Blondeau passed he also was obliged to give them plunder to save his life. There were forty Sauteaux, men, women and children who were eating each, other because of the famine in La Baye des Nôques; Caron Chief of the Folles-Avoines died the 3rd of November, and one named Marcotte a Trader was killed it is not known whether by the Sauteaux or the Scioux but that three men escaped although two were wounded.

I hope soon to have the honor of going to tender you my respects and if you have still need of my services command me when you please, you will find me always ready to receive your orders for I am always with the greatest respect,

Governor
the faithful servant of the King
Langlade
Captain of the Indian Department

Addressed:—To Captain Robertson Governor of Michilimackinac at Michilimackinac

Endorsed:—1783 Letter from Captain Langlade to Captain Robertson La Baye 5th March.

[B 98 p 194]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO MAJOR DE PEYSTER.

Head Quarters Quebec 12th March 1783

Sir, On the 7th Instant, I received your Letter of the 17th of January, covering the Substance of a Council lately held at Detroit with some Senecas from the Shawanese Country, and communicating the Retreat of the Rebels across the Ohio after distroying the Chillico Sheke village and killing Ten Indians, as the loss of the Indians at the Standing Stone was not mentioned, I am willing to Hope, this is the same affair, and that the Enemys retiring from that Quarter, and being dispersed at Fort Pitt will discourage the

Indians from seeking Revenge they seem bent upon, by penetrating so far as they must now do into the Country—In all events I depend upon your exertions to prevent it, that no Blame may fall at our Door, should obstacles occur to the Accomodation so anxiously desired—I recommend'd to You so strongly in my last letter the necessity for keeping out Intelligent Scouts towards Fort Pitt, and as far as possible into the Enemies Country to gain an early knowledge of their Intentions in the Spring, that is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon it here, from their perseverance last campaign, and an attempt lately made to posess themselves of Oswego, there is every reason to suppose they will employ every Effort to extend as far as possible their Frontiers in the Upper Country, to secure in case of a peace, some valuable Settlements, & to get the Firr Trade into their hands. These Exertions will naturally be made as early as possible, and will require the utmost Vigilance on our parts to discover and counteract.

You did perfectly right to Prevent any of the Chiefs from coming down here, as it would be attended with much Expense, And answer no good purpose—with my last Letter you would receive the Substance of my answer to the Six Nations, upon the same subject, having directed Brigadier Maclean to transmit it to you to make such use of it with your Indians as you should think fit.

I am glad to find you have made a Reduction in the list of persons employed in the Indian Department at Detroit, I wish you had specified them, as it might have been useful in the arrangement of that Branch, which with others will soon take place.

Please by the first opportunity to transmit to me a return of that Department Specifying the appointments you have discontinued from what Time, the Stations and Services performed by those officers remaining.

Mr. Rochblave has from Time to Time received Money here, on account of his Salary it is therefore unnecessary than any account should be opened with him at Detroit as he will continue to receive his allowance here.

I am Sir &c (Signed) F. H.

Endorsed:—Copy no 19 83 To Major De Peyster at Detroit—12th March Entered in book B no 2 fol. 29

[B 123 p 372]

RETURN.

A Monthly Return of Indian Corn issued out of the King's Store at Michilim from 25th February to 24th of March—both days inclusive 1783.

Corn 60 lbs. per Bushell.	Canadians.		Indians.		Cattle.	
Date.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.	Bushels.	Pds.
February 25					35	4
26						
27						
28			1	42		
March 1st				51		
2			1	42		
3				51		
4				51		
5				51	11	36
6						
7			2	33		
8			1	42	1	42
9					42	30
10				51		
11			3	24	31	3
12					3	18
13						
14				51		
15						
16					5	6
17						
18					22	42
19					3	22
20				51		
21					4	15
22						
23				51		
24	60	45		51	1	42
Total	60	45	18	42	162	20

Total 241 Bushs. 47 lbs.

JOHN McDONALD
Engineer Store Keeper

[B 98 p 196]

SECRETARY MATTHEWS TO MR. ROCHEBLAVE.

Quebec 10th April 1783

Sir, I am directed by His Excellency the commander in Chief to acquaint you that he has Received your memorial, and to assure you that it will always afford him Pleasure to have an opportunity of serving you. He will chearfully grant you a Pass for the two Batteaux you Request, as soon as the Season will permit of your proceeding upwards, but for your own sake, He wishes you to consider well before you make a purchase, the different Effects, different Public Events may have—Lieut. Govr. Hamilton will write to you on this Subject—

In regard to Michilimackinac affairs, I am desired to acquaint you that it is so involved in the general affairs of that Post during Lieut. Sinclair's Command, that until they shall be decided upon it is utterly impossible for His Excy to make any distinction—

I beg leave to acknowledge the favor of your Letter covering the Paper for His Excellency which he received with Pleasure & has desired me to thank you for it.

I shall be happy to testify upon every occasion my Readiness to Execute any Commands you may charge me with & to assure you with how much Regard I have the Honor to be &c,

(Signed) R. Mathews

Mr. Rocheblave—

Endorsed:—Copy 1783 To Mr. Rocheblave of the 10th April at Montreal

[B 123 p 372]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO MAJOR DE PEYSTER.

Head Quarters Quebec 14th April 83

Sir This will be delivered to you by Abraham Cuyler Esqr Inspector of Refugee Loyalists in this Province, Who has obtained my Permission to Pass to Detroit to transact some private affairs—His Attachment to, & exertions in favor of Government throout the Rebellion, and the Losses he has thereby Sustained, merit great attention, and induce me to desire that you will afford Him any assistance in your Power, consistent with your Duty as commanding officer, to facilitate his Business, & to expediate his return to his Duty at Montreal.

I am &c

(signed) Fred: Haldimand.

Major de Peyster

Endorsed:—Copy 1783 To Major de Peyster 14th April by Mr. Cuyler.

[B 123 p 374]

FROM MR. ROCHEBLAVE. UNADDRESSED.

Sir, I have received in due time the letter with which you honored me. I had recognized the goodness of your heart which dictated to you in my favor, deign to finish your work.

The navigation being free & my situation & creditors having obliged me to try & go to the point where I was last year, before the unhappy affair of Michilimackinac, which I will long remember. With the help of His Excellency, to avoid expenses & delays, I hope to finish it in two voyages; for a man of my age not to advance is to go back.

I will not fatigue the General by a letter, but I have the honor to thank him, as my departure obliges me to show him in advance my respectful recognition & believing that which you say of him, I have the honor to be with the most perfect consideration,

Sir, Your very humble & very obedient servant
(signed) Rocheblave.

Montreal the 17th April 1783

Endorsed :—A 1783 From Monsr Rocheblave 17th April Rd. 20th.

[B 133 p 377]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

At a Grand Council held at Lower Sandusky the 19th April 1783.

PRESENT

The Chiefs of the Wayndotts

—on sixteen strings of wampum To their Father at Detroit—

Father! You in the name of our Great Father the King requested our assistance against your and our enemies. Gave us a Hatchet, which we have to your Knowledge made the best use of we could, in giving you all the help in our power against them, lately you were pleased to advise us to sit still, which we have and do hearken to, it being always our intentions, not only in this, but in whatever you'r pleased to tell us.

True there is a party gone out some time ago but we hope for the time being they will be brought to a right way of thinking. There was a Prisoner sent you lately, by whom (and others brought in to the Chawânê and Delaware Towns) we are credibly informed that the Virginians are preparing to come against us, and that we may expect them soon.

Now Father we don't know how to act 'till we hear from you, and as we have gone on hand in hand together, we hope to continue so, and that you'll not allow your poor children to be crushed under the weight of their enemies, but we expect you will be so good as call the rest of your children about you, letting them know how its like to be with us, and that we want their assistance as soon as possible.

We are likewise in hopes to see you here on this ground with as many of your own People as can be spared and we are in hopes the present times and the reasons mentioned will admit of your straining a point, for Fathr depend upon it we have great reason to expect them shortly—

Father! Should a Treaty of Peace be going on we hope your children will be remembered in the Treaty—

Now Father, you have heard what your children has to say, we hope you'll take us into your serious consideration, and not let our hearts fail us at this time, but let us have assistance, and as our ammunition is out, be so good as send us some, in the mean time we expect an answer to this immediately.—
(On His Majesty's Service)

To Major De Peyster
Commanding at Detroit

Endorsed:—19th April 1783 Copy of a Speech sent in to Major De Peyster Commandg Detroit &c from the Wyandotts of Sandusky No 29 1783 Copy of a Speech sent to Major De Peyster, Commanding at Detroit from the Wyandots of Sandusky—April 19th

[B 123 p 378]

RETURN.

Return of Indian Presents issued at the Post of Michilimackinac by order of Captain Daniel Robertson.

Chief's names & nations	Men	Women	Children.	Presents
				Novr. 7th 1782
Chippewas going to their wintering grounds	2	6	4	3 Blankets 2½ p—3 tweed Blankets, 3 shirts 6 fathom Tobacco, 8 lbs net Thread, 4 lbs Powder 100 Ball 2 pr. fish Speers
				20.
Ottewas going to their wintering ground	11	8	9	11 shirts, 11 blankets 2 pr. 8 stweed Blankets 14 fathom Tobacco, 10 lbs Powder, 20 Ball 2 Pints Paint Vermillion 4 Half Axes 3 pr. Spears
				Decr 9th
Chippewas from Point St. Ignon	3	----	----	6 Fathom Tobacco—4 lbs net Thread 2 half axes
				January 1st 1783
Chippewas went express to Detroit	2	----	----	2 blankets 2½ pt. 2 stweed Blanketts, 2 pr. Leggens & British Cloathes 2 shirts 2 guns 2 Powder Horns 2 Capots 3 lbs Powder 6 lb Ball and Shot 4 Tobacco 1 lb vermillion 2 Half axes.
				28th
Chippewas from St. Marys	3	----	----	3 Blankets 2½ pr. 3 Pairs Leggans & British Cloaths 3 shirts 3 ½ yds scarlet Cloth 4 lbs Tobacco 1 lb vermillion 3 Half axes 2 pr. Spears
				30th
Gens de Terre	2	----	----	2 Blankets 2½ pr. 2 shirts 2 Pairs Leggans & British Cloths 3 lbs Powder 6 Ball 2 Fathom Tobacco.
				Feby 4th
Chippewas Express returned from Detroit	2	----	----	2 Scarlet Blanketts, 2 white Blankets 2 prs. Leggans & British Cloths. 4 shirts, 1 lb Vermillion
				11th
Ottawas from Arbre Croche	4	----	----	4 Stweed Blankets—4 blankets 2½ p. 4 pr. Leggans & British Cloths 4 shirts 1 lb Vermillion 6 Half axes 6 pairs darts 6 Tobacco
				19th
Chippewas from & to St. Marys	2	----	----	2 stweed Blankets 4 Blankets 2½ p. 4 pr. Leggans & British Cloths 2 shirts 4 Tobacco 1 vermillion
				27th
Iroquois	1	----	----	1 Blanket 2½ pt. 1 pr Leggans & British Cloths 2 Tobacco
				28th
Gens de Terre	2	----	----	2 Blankets 2½ p—2 Half Axes 2 pr. Darts 2 Powder 5 lbs Shot & Ball
				March 7th
Gens de Terre	2	----	----	2 Blankets 2½ pt 2 pr. Leggans & British Cloths 2 Shirts 1 Half axe 1 pr. Spears 2 lb Powder 4 Ball 6 Flints 2 Fire Steels 2 Cutteaux

Return Continued.

Chief's names & nations	Men	Women	Children	Presents
				22
Ditto	----	2	4	2 Blankets 2½ p. 4 Blankets 2 p. 3 pr. Leggans.
				March 23rd
Iroquois	1	----	----	1 Shirt 1 lb Powder 3 lb Shot & Ball
Chippewas Express from Detroit	2	----	----	2 Blankets 3 pt 2 prs Leggans & British Cloths 2 Shirts 3 lbs Powder 8 shot & Ball 1 lb vermillion 2 cutteaux 2 Half axes 2 Beaver Traps 8 Tobacco
				25
Gens de Terre	2	----	----	1 Stweed Blanket 1 Blanket 2½ p. 2 prs Leggans & British Cloths 2 Powder 2 Ball 6 Fathom Tobacco
				April 5th
Wabedeau & his Band Chippewas	----	----	----	6 Blankets 2½ pt. 3 Shirts 3 pr. Leggans & British Cloths ½ lb Vermillion 6 lb Tobacco
Chippewas Express to Detroit omitted 10th Feb	2	----	----	2 Blankets 2½ p. 2 shirts 2 pr. Leggans & British Cloths ½ lb Vermillion 4 Tobacco
				12 Pieces Blue Strouds sent last Fall to Major De Peyster at Detroit.

JOSIAH BLEAKLEY
Indian store keeper & Clerk

April 20th
Danl Robertson Capt. 84th Regt
[B 98 p 201]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 20th April 1783.

SIR, You will be pleased to inform His Excellency the Commander in Chief that I have the Honor to draw on him, in favour of Mr. Geo. McBeath, Three Thousand, one Hundred, forty six Pounds fourteen shillings & seven pence, New York Currency, on account of the Engineer Department, and Two Hundred and Ten Pounds same Curry. on account of the Indian Department, both from the first of January to the 1st of April inst. as by Vouchers annexed, which I hope will be satisfactory as I have exerted myself to the utmost to decrease the Expenses in every Line. The saving in Provisions will appear by the Commissary's Returns.

Herewith a Return of Indian Presents since last Fall.

The old Guard House which I converted into a Barrack for Two officers was accidentally burned by Sparks falling on the Roofs of Bark.

Mr. McBeath requests His Excellency will be pleased to grant His Pass as usuall.

Lieut. Clowes leaves this to-morrow in a light Canoe well manned, he will inform His Excellency of what has been done during the Winter &c.

I have sent you Two Letters all the news I have had this winter.

Mr. McBeath setts out this week for La Prairie de Chiens with Mr. Langlade Junr in order to dissuade the Western Indians, who assemble there, from coming this length.

I have the Honour to be with regard, Sir,
your most obedt. & most humble Servant,
DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Mathews. Captn. 84th Regt.

[B 98 p 199]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO CAPTAIN BREHM.

MICHILIMACKINAC 20th April 1783.

DEAR SIR, This Climate is preferable to any part of Canada, I have been at, and of course very healthy—

The soil is gravelly and very thin here, but from I have seen of the Produce in Wheat, Pease and Barley Farming may answer, I think in a very short time there may be Pease for the Garrison, & Oats for the Horses. No Oats nor Buck wheat here, I have sent for both to Detroit for seed. There

will be good Gardening with some Trouble, A Bad Kind of Grass, very good pasture for sheep, Grass seeds much wanted, likewise Clover.

Trade is not carried on here to my Ideas, nor to the General Satisfaction of the Traders, the Posts are not half supplyed with Goods and the principall given to Individuals only, which cause *discontent* & room to ask among the Indians as likewise an excuse to come so often to this place.

Now, Sir, I mean to oblige every Wintering Trader to give Security for his good behaviour, his properly supplying the Indians & his keeping to the place allotted him by his Pass. This I think will keep the Indian to his Hunting, for they are all fond of seeing a quantity of Goods. Liquor is their Ruin. This is, as yet, an expensive place and as I am determined by every means possible to decrease the Government Expenses, I hope His Excellency will take my own situation into His consideration—

At a proper time you will be pleased to lay these hints before His Excellency for His consideration and my future conduct how to act.

I mean to send the first Vessel from Detroit to St. Joseph's, & the Grand River, if not instructed to the contrary, for a Load of Corn, as the extra price on it is owing to the Transporting hither in Boats by the Traders.

There is a Mr. Moumbourne Bouché, a Canadian in the Mississippi with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c. He is Commissioned by the Spaniards—

There were a number of Engaged Canadians prepared to desert from hence, of which I had Intelligence & prevented, I have taken some precautions for the future, as those Rascals mean to Join Mr. Bouché.

I am like told that I may expect some Gentry from the Spanish Quarter this summer, who were here last year. I believe they should be sent down the Country for His Excellency's Examination, if I am not in time otherwise instructed.

I am always with much regard Dear Cap'n
Your most obedt. & most humble Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Brehm A. D. C.

Endorsed:—From Capt. Robertson commanding at Michilimackinac of the 20th April.

[B. 98 p 197]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO CAPTAIN MCKEE.

DETROIT the 20th April 1783

DEAR SIR, Your sudden resolution to sett off for Waketomakie on having heard that withstanding your earnest endeavours to prevent the Indians

from going to war, some of the unthinking, are preparing to revenge the stroke they received the Last fall at the Standing Stone Village, gives me pleasure & will do honour to your humanity, Genl Clarke is to blame for the steps he took last fall, and for his still threatening the Indians with a visit, as he cannot be ignorant that a general peace is on the point of being concluded, on account of which the Expedition from Fort Pitt was certainly laid aside. The Kings Speech which was copied from a Pensylvania news Paper lately brought to Oswego gives us the greatest reason to hope for accounts by the first vessel from Niagara of the preliminary being signed— It therefore behoves us to do our utmost endeavours to restrain the Indians by assuring that should they persist to act, contrary to the intentions of their British Father we cannot support them, but on the contrary if they remain quiet, should the Enemy in the mean time enter their Country, we will give them every assistance in our power. The annexed Copy of a Letter from His Excellency the Commander in Chief fully explains his intentions of restraining the Indians, it will therefore be needless for me to enlarge upon the Subject to one so fully acquainted with Indian Affairs as you are. As your endeavours to redeem the prisoners out of the hands of the Indians were in a great degree baffled by the late incursions of the Enemy to the Standing Stone—You may perhaps on the present occasion be able to mention it with better success in Council—I will speak with you more fully on this subject when I have the pleasure of seeing you before you set out upon your Journey.

I am Dear Sir With the greatest Esteem & Regard
Your most Huml & most obedt Sert
AT S. DE PEYSTER

Alexr McKee Esqr Dy Agent
Indian Affairs &c &c
[Indian Affairs M. G. III]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO MR. MCBEATH.

MICHILIMACKINAC 25th April 1783

SIR, You are to proceed from hence to La Prairie de Chiens, the Rendezvous of the Western Indians—or where you may meet them, & on your way thither you are to induce every Nation or Band of Indians, to the Interests of His Majestys Peace and Harmony among themselves, and in a particular

manner Recommend Hunting to them, and to keep at their Homes until called for—

You are to smoke the Pipe of Peace with them, in the name of all their *Fathers* to the above Purport, and give them as from me a proposition of what Presents you have for that purpose—

You are to inform them that the Great Men are now Busy in making Peace with each other, and that They as Good Subjects ought to follow the Example among themselves, until told the contrary by their Fathers—

The above, and every thing use for the Public Good, with your own knowledge & experience of Indians, you will communicate to them in the strongest Terms—

Mr. Langlade Junr is to accompany you as Interpreter & shall write to the other Interpreters in the Indian Countries to give you every assistance to accomplish the above to effect & enable me to fulfil His Excellency the Commander in Chiefs most ardent wishes to diminish the expenses of this Post—

I wish you success and a safe return home

I am, Sir Your most obedt. Humble Servant

(signed) DANIEL ROBERTSON Capt. 84th Regiment

Mr. Geo McBeath—

[B 98 p 203]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO BRIG. GEN. MACLEAN.

Brig. Genl. Maclean.

HEADQUARTERS QUEBEC 26th April 1783

SIR, Having last night received from New York His Majesty's Proclamation for a Captain [Cessation? D B.] of arms with all the powers with whom we are at War, in consequence of preliminary Articles having been signed at Paris on the 30th of Novr. last for treating of Peace.

I have to desire that you will upon receipt of this tottaly cease from carrying on the Fortification and all Public Works whatever at the post you command until you shall receive further orders and that you will, without loss of time, give orders for a *discount in name* [discontinuance? D B] of the same at Detroit and all the Posts in the district of your command. You will likewise discontinue the transport of His Majesty's Stores & Provisions to the Upper Posts, Indian presents excepted.

I am &c (signed) F H.

[B 96 p 228]

CAPTAIN MCKEE TO MAJOR DE PEYSTER.

Roche de Bout April 26th 1783

Dear Sir, We met a report at this place of the Enemys coming into the Indian Country by Way of Beaver Creek, it is brought here by Hurons from Sandusky, if true, hope in a few days to be able to write you upon it—I take the first opportunity of informing you also that the report carried in by Zeans of Higgin's being gone off to the Enemy is false as he met me at this place yesterday.

I am with great respect, Dear Sir,

Your Most obedient and very humble Servant

(signed) A. McKee

(H. M. S.) A. Schuyler De Peyster Esqr. commandg. Detroit &c Detroit

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from A. McKee Esqr. to Major A. S. DePeyster commandt Detroit &c dated at Roche de Bout April 26th 1783

[B 123 p 380]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

Michilimackinac 27th April 1783.

Sir, Having an opportunity to Detroit, I enclose you a copy of my Instructions to Mr. McBeath for His Excellency the Commander in Chiefs consideration, he sets out in a day or two as the weather is very favourable—

I have the Honour to be with regard, Sir,

Your most obedt. & most Huml Servt.

Danl. Robertson Capn 84th Regt

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 204]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

Detroit the 3d May 1783.

Sir, I was honoured with your Excellency's letter, of the 14th Feby. by Land Express—I soon had an opportunity to speak to the chiefs of several nations and communicated to them, the substance of Your Excellency's letter to the Brigadier, which they heard with great pleasure—In general the

Indians are well disposed to follow such instructions as they may from time to time receive, and your Excellency may be assured that the Virginians will be the first to break the truce.

I doubt not however, that I shall find some difficulty to restrain the Wabash Indians, but nothing shall be neglected that may in any wise contribute to bring it about. I have indulged them with a trader, in order to induce them to stay at home and follow their hunting—It will also prevent so great a run upon the Kings store.

Messrs Le Grand and Cournoyer, arrived here lately from Post Vincennes, which place they left quiet and the people desirous of forgiveness for their past missconduct. As those two gentlemen are know Loyalists, and are to return and settle at Detroit, with their families, I have permitted them to take a few goods to enable them to cloathe their families, and settle their affairs.

The annexed copy of a speech was delivered to me whilst in council with the chiefs, as the courrier was acquainted with the contents and had it verbally to deliver, I communicated it to them, and advised them not to move 'till we should hear of the Enemy being on their march, which was agreed to.

No vessel as yet arrived from Fort Erie, consequently no Indian goods in store.—I have however by borrowing kept up the spirits of the Indians.

I have the Honour to be with great respect

Sir Your Excellencys Most Hum'l & Most obedient Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

His Excelly. the commd in chief.

Endorsed:—(No. 22) 1783 From Major De Peyster 3d May—Rec'd. 25th.

[Copy Ent'd Book B (No 3) fol. 35

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO CAPTAIN MCKEE.

DETROIT the 6th May 1783.

DEAR SIR, I yesterday received an Express by hand which left Niagara the 24th of April, informing me that Major Ross had received Information from Sir Guy Carleton that the Enemy were preparing to detach Twelve hundred Continentals from their Army at Newburg, and that he thought they were intended against Oswego. But this morning arrived the Felicity with letters from the Brigadier inclosing a proclamation of Peace. You will see the necessity of restraining the Indians more than ever. I have this day spoken to the Hurons, and Chippawas, and sent off Instructions to Mr. DuQuindre

by Antoine Chene & sent Druillard to the Wyandotts & Beaubin to the Miamis and Wabashers—I make not the least doubt but you will exert yourself amongst the Several Nations in your district. It is to be hoped that a short time will bring accounts from Gen'l Haldimand signifying what the terms of Peace are, in the mean time we must sit upon our matts and smoke, or at most do no more than keep a look out for our own Security. A Letter from Gen'l Haldiman, still recommends his former instructions in the strongest terms—least we bring mischief upon ourselves— I have also received Instructions from Sr. John Johnson which are too long to Copy, and may vary when the Proclamation reaches Quebec. You shall however see them by some other opportunity—

I have the honour to be Dear Sir

Your most Hum'l & obed't Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

Alex'r McKee Esq. Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs Shawanese Country.

P. S. Please to give my Comp'ts to Mr. Elliot— Now is the time to get in the Prisoners—redeemed from the Indians.

[Indian Affairs M. G. III.]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT May 17, 1783

SIR, I have this day drawn on Y'r Excellency in favor of Messrs Macomb Edgar & Macomb, Four bills amounting to Twelve thousand two hundred and twenty seven pounds, five Shillings & seven pence New York Currency, being for Expenses incurr'd at this Post for His Majesty's Service as p abstract & vouchers which will be herewith deliver'd, and which I hope your Excellency will honor—

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's

Most obedient & humble Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

Major King's Regt.

His Excellency General Haldimand Governor & Commander in chief, Quebec.

Endorsed:—From Lt. Col. De Peyster of the 17th May advising of his Drafts for £12,237, 5, 7, N. Y. Cy. Rec'd 25 June 1783

[B 123 p 385]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT 20th May 1783

SIR, In compliance with your Excellency's Commands I herewith inclose a List of the Indian Officers, Volunteers, &c, whereby it will appear how many have been struck off at different times since October last those which will remain after the 24 Inst. are indispensibly necessary, and they are most of them actually employed restraining the different Nations. The high Pay which appeared given to four of the Volunteers could not be avoided, since which one of them has been struck off, and two others have been reduced to on Dollar pr. Day.

I have order'd all the Public Works to cease, have paid the officers to the 24th Inst. as they have still some matters to arrange. I have drawn upon your Excellency for the Expenditures of this Post in the usual manner and all Expenditures for the Indian Department after the 24th Inst. shall be drawn for agreable to the Instructions which have just come to hand. Mr Cleavcourt has deliver'd his charge of Presents in very bad order, as, many of the Bale Goods are rotten.

I shall proceed to discharge our Debts to the Merchants with the best of them, and cause the small portion left to be deliver'd to the Indians.

I have stopped half the Bale Goods directed to Michilimackinac until I hear if more are upon the Road for this Post.

I have the honour to be with great respect Sir,

Your Excellencys Most Huml &
most obedt Servt,

AT S. PEYSTER

His Excellency the commd. in Chief

Endorsed:—From Major De Peyster 20th May Rec'd 7th June 1783.

[B 123 p 186]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LORD NORTH.

(Extract.)

QUEBEC, 2d June 1783

It is with real pleasure that I perceive from a Paragraph in the same letter that His Majesty's Ministers had taken into consideration a Proposal which I made in my letter of the 25th of last October to Lord Sydney relative to a settlement for the Loyalists near Detroit. I will give the necessary directions to procure the Information which is wanted, tho' I must observe that Detroit with the very considerable settlement already made there, is within the limits

of the United States, & that it is very doubtful whether the Hurons will be prevailed upon to allow white people to settle upon the other side of the River—I will consider myself as peculiarly fortunate if I can by the command with which I am honored, be instrumental in alleviating the Distresses, & in procuring the means of subsistence for men who have been deprived of everything on account of their Loyalty to the King and adherence to the constitution of their Country.

I no sooner ordered His Majesty's Proclamation for a cessation of Hostilities to be published than I caused Messrs Hay & Du Calvert & others whom the Exigencies of the state had obliged me to keep in confinement to be released, I am happy to find that His Majesty has adopted my idea that these men & others under the same Predicament, ought not to be released, but from a persusion in the Governor that their enlargement would not be detrimental to the Public Tranquility His Majesty may be assured that my grateful Efforts will be exerted to procure the good opinion & confidence which he has in my zeal for his service & attachment to the Welfare of his people.

An easy and safe communication between this Country & Nova Scotia becomes at the time a necessary consideration of Government, as well for commercial purposes as for mutual security—I have therefore ordered the Grand Voyer & Deputy Surveyor General to trace a road from this country to Lake Temisquala, which empties itself into the River St John's.

I hope His Majesty Governor of Nova Scotia will take the same steps within his Government.

I prepare this Dispatch without [waiting?] for orders & Directions from Your Lordship, as I wish you to be informed of the state of things with regard to the Indians, as I am very anxious to give the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury information of the money matter within the Province & of the Difficulties in which Mr. Cochrane the Agent for the Remitters of Public Money to the amount of no less a sum than £134,000 & upwards, to be employed in the Mercantile Speculation of Messrs Shaw & Fraser.

I have the honor to be &c &ca

(signed) F. Haldimand.

[B 57-2 p 527]

FROM LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER. UNADDRESSED.

Detroit the 5th June 1783

Dear Sir, I am favoured with your Letter of the 29th Ulto. covering copys of a Letter and a Speech from Major Walls Commanding Officer at

Fort Nelson—As the business the Flag is sent upon relates solely to the Indians they may in this last act as they think best—If they are informed of the numbe r of their People at the Falls, and chuse to send Virginians to exchange for them, it will answer the good end of convincing the People of Kentucke of their good dispositions to observe the Truce so earnestly recommended. For my part not having any power to treat for the exchange of Prisoners I can not with propriety let any go from hence, but on the contrary I would strongly advice them not to attempt to pass the Indian Country till matters are finally settled, least notwithstanding the present pacifick dsipositions some evil ill designing Persons amongst them might do the prisoners an ill turn for which we would be made answerable. Most of the Prisoners brought to Detroit to the amount of four hundred, ninety two are at their own request gone down to Montreal in hopes of getting home by way of Lake Champlain, amongst the few that remain here is Mrs. Poeke and all her little Family, to whom every mark of attention due to the unfortunate is shown, she writes to her husband by this opportunity. I flatter myself Sir, that you will seize so favourable a Conveyance to assure Major Walls & the People of Kentucke that nothing has been wanting on our part to stop the Indians from committing further Depradations on the Frontiers therefore should a small party escape from the remote part of the Wabash or eles where unknown to us it would be the height of imprudence in them to retaliate otherwise than upon the party who are the immediate aggressors, in which case we may soon to have to see matters restored to tranquility to the satisfaction of all Parties—I have not received any other accounts from His Excellency the Commander in Chief than a Copy of the King's Proclamation and a repetition of those Injunctions to restrain the Indians. The reason of his not writing lately must be owing to his wanting the arrival of a ship from England when I hope he will acquaint us with matters being finally concluded, and then you and I may sit ourselves upon our Matt with the pleasing reflection of having redeemed many of the unfortunate from Slavery, and saved the Lives of those who (if they have the least Spark of Gratitude) will hereafter bless us—

I have the honour to be with the utmost esteem
Dear Sir Your most humble & most
obedt Servant

AT. S. DE PEYSTER
Lt. Colonel.

P. S. I have been lately informed of a Mr Wm Jonston being a Prisr amongst the Ouiactenons and have sent a Messenger to redeem him—

[Indian Affairs]
M. G. III

ACCOUNT OF DR. MITCHELL.

Government To Dr. Mitchell Dr.

To Salary as Surgeon to Indians and Canadians employed in King's Works on the Island of Michilimackinac from the 18th of Sept. 1782, to the 6th of June 1783, both Days Inclusive @ 8s New York Currency per Day—

£104 8

DAVID MITCHELL

I certify the above to be just &c.

DANL. ROBERTSON
Captn. 84th Regt

[B 98 p 212.]

CADOLL TO MR. GAUTIER.

SAULT ST. MARIE 16th June 1783

SIR AND FRIEND, As I will not delay leaving I will write to give you the news from Lake Superior. All the Indians of Fond du Lac, Rainy Lake, Lac des Sables & other surroundings are dead of the small pox.

I am Sir, Your servant & friend

CADOLL

Addressed:—To Mr. Gautier, King's Interpreter at Mackinac

Endorsed:—Letter from Cadol to Mr. Gautier dated Sault St. Marie 16th June 83

[B 98 p 213]

LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

DETROIT the 18 June 1783

DEAR SIR Soon after the accounts were spread that the Post were to be given up, Captain Lamothe applyed to me, to give him the House and Lot he now occupies situated near the river opposite to Captain McKees— It at first was a Hut intended for Pike the overseer of the Timber Yard, whose misbehaviour occasioned my turning him off, Captain Lamothe then offered to have an Eye over the Timber provided I would let him move into the Hut—Which he at his own expense has converted into a snug little Dwelling, and improved the inhospitable beech to a pretty little garden by bringing soil to it— All which upon however was done at his own cost. The Inclosed

Sketch Major Lernoult will be able to explain—as he knows the Situation of Ct. McKees house. The one in Question not being built on the ground inclosed in his time.

Should it please His Excellency to grant it to the Captain for his Services, it will be of great service to him and of no detriment to any one. If on the contrary the poor fellow is obliged to give it up he will be a considerable sufferer.

You will please to mention this matter to his Excellency and at the same time tell him that I have not received his grant in favour of Mr. McKee—The original deed I sent agreeable to his Excellency's desire to Quebec, and am in doubt if I did not inclose it to you.

We are all in expectation of news. Everything that is bad is spread through the Indian country—but as I have nothing more than the Kings Proclamation from Authority I, evade answering Impertinent questions.

Heavens If goods do not arrive soon what will become of me— I have lost several stone wt. of flesh within these 20 days. I hope Sr. John is to make us a visit.

I am &c Sir Sincerely yours

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

P. S. do not be surprised I do not write to the Commd. in chief I have wrote fully to the Brigadier who will transmit.

Endorsed:—Captain Mathews Secy. to His Ex'cy General Haldimand Quebec
From Lt. Col'l De Peyster 18th June. Rec'd 9th July 1783 concerning Ct. Lamothe's House.
[B 123 p 388]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 27th June 1783.

SIR, It was with much concern that I heard from Montreal, through Mr. Ellice, that my Bill, on His Excellency the Commander in Chief were not paid, If really so it cannot be helped, I have acted in the Principalls of Honor for the good of the Service, and the accounts may undergo any scrutiny—

The sending Mr. McBeath to La Prairie de Chien is the only act I did of myself & even that I had, partly, in my Instructions from Colonel Hope, this has been the means of keeping about twelve hundred Indians from this Post less than last year, not a small saving to Government in Provisions &c.

I received four Canoes of Indian Presents from Montreal, very appropos

and if it is meant to keep possession of any part in the Upper Country—Four or six more would be necessary this Fall—

I have the Honor to be with esteem, Sir,

Your most obedt. & most humble Servt

DANL. ROBERTSON Capt. 84th Regt.

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 214]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

In Council Detroit June 28th 1783

PRESENT.

Major De Peyster Commandant
Messrs. Baby, Drouillard & Bobin Interpreters
A Band of Ouiats, and Quiquabous

A Ouiattanong Indian speaks—

Father! I address you in behalf of our chief (the Crooked Legs) and others, here is a proof that we have done your will (presents a prisoner) and that we are always ready to act as you may direct, altho' that our services should be no longer wanted, we yet hope that you'll supply our wants our women and children who are almost naked—

(Delivers the prisoner)

he then says on Wampum Strings

Father! These strings you may know, we met them on the road.

Father! The ax you gave us last year has not sufficiently had its effect, we still should be glad to use it to some purpose.

Father! We are informed that instead of prosecuting the War, we are to give up our lands to the Enemy, which gives us great uneasyness—in endeavouring to assist you it seems we have wrought our own ruin—

Joseph le Renerd, a Qui, qu, abous speaks—

Father! What should I say, you certainly understood the Message I sent to you yesterday—

Father! I am the person that was employed to keep the Enemy from entering the Wabash, for I went at the head of fifty Warriours as far as the Ohio, to watch the motions of the Enemy.

We past the whole winter on the banks of the Ohio, we met with only two of Enemy whom we killed.

Our friends the Ouiattanongs have taken a prisoner which they have given up to you.

Father! I have now to recommend to your care the warriours, in short our whole Village who did what I told them, which was no more than your order, they therefore expect to receive your bounty, as they were prevented from hunting and have not wherewith to procure for themselves necessaries—

Major De Peyster then said

Children! I salute you all, the son of the Crooked Legs in particular as he is the first Chief amongst you.

I return you thanks for the prisoners you brought me, which I accept with pleasure. It's not long since you accepted the ax, but for the time, you have had it you have done your duty. You have always acted with humanity towards your prisoners, in so doing, you did as I directed, I told you that the time would come, that it would be of service to you—the time is now come, for all Powers at War have given each other the hand and are at Peace.

You tell me Children! that by assisting your English Father you are in danger of losing your lands, I do not tell you that it is so. I tell you the World is now at Peace and you have saved your Lands, but had you not defended them agreeable to my desire, the Americans would have taken them from you—I only give you this answer to what you have said to me for as yet I have not received the particulars of the Peace—You say that you are almost naked, I am therefore sorry you have not brought wherewith to provide your wants, the reason why I am sorry is because at this time I have not wherewithal to supply you, but ere long I hope to have it in my power to do so—If I receive any-thing for my Children, from below, depend upon it I shall distribute them, if not, they cannot expect anything, as to the Son of the Crooked Legs I here repeat my thanks for the Prisoner and I shall give orders that he be rewarded—

—He then speaks to the Qui, qu abous.

Children! I inform you that the Peace is concluded, the particulars I shall communicate to you as soon as they come to hand and if any Goods arrive, I shall deliver them among my children in general.

Copy from the Book of Minutes

J. Schieffelin
Secretary

Endorsed :—No 30 1783 Substance of an Indian Council held at Detroit 28th June by Major De Peyster with a Band of Ouiats & Quiquâbous.

[B 123 p 392]

MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT the 28 June 1783

SIR, Mr. Cuyler returns to his duty with all the dispatch the nature of his business here would admit of—This gentleman will still be a considerable sufferer, notwithstanding every possible means have been imploy'd to endeavor to bring his affairs to a conclusion.

I have to inform your Excellency that the Indians begin to come in here, from all Quarters—To avoid a too numerous council I invited four of each nation to meet me about the beginning of July, but it seems that whole villages had set out on their journey for that purpose before my strings could reach them. Impatient to know what is to become of them and their lands, and, to request a supply of goods so long promised them. The enclosed will give your Excellency, some information with respect to the Wabash Indians, whom during the council were very impertinent, using expressions not proper to be committed to paper. The Delawares, Shawanese, and Wyandotts keep back 'till they have consulted with the Six Nations, and Cherokees on whose determinations much will depend.

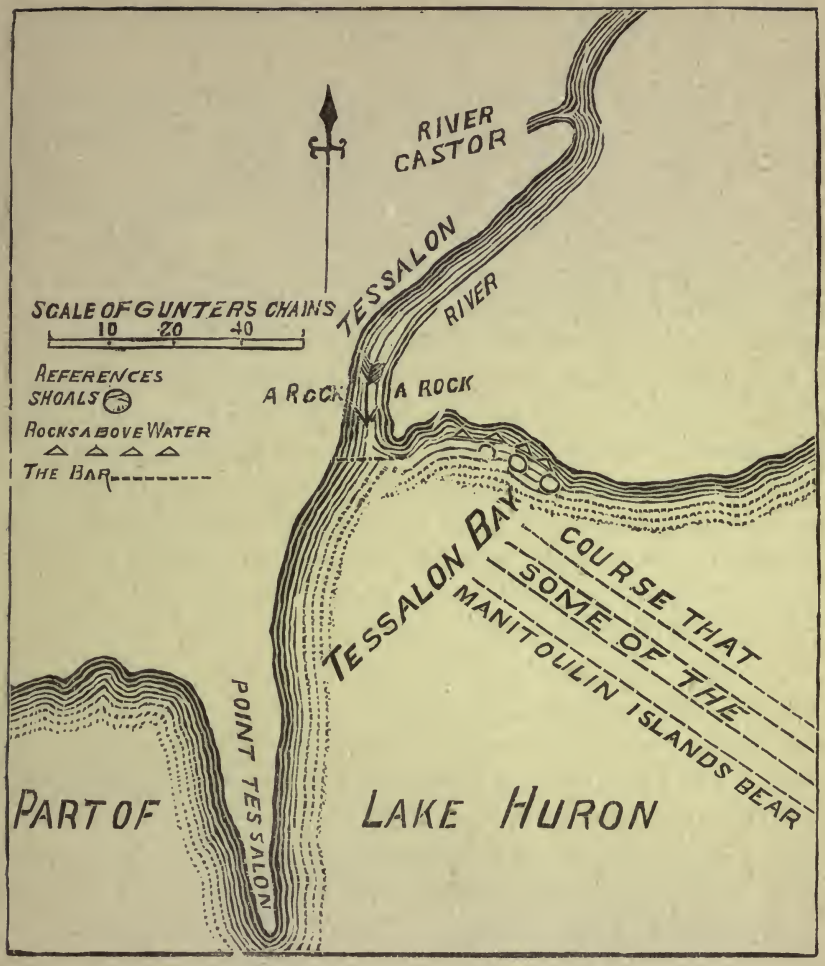
I have repeatedly wrote to the Brigadier and to Sr Johnson representing my situation—The Brigadier acquaints me that he has transmitted my requisitions to your Excellency—I have therefore to hope that orders are on the way directing how I am to act, in what, in all probability will be a most critical situation.

I have the honour to be Sir Your Excellencys
most Huml & most obedt Servt
AT. S. DE PEYSTER

His Excellency The Commr in chief

Endorsed :—From 1783 Major De Peyster 28th June—Rec'd 16th July—Inclosing an Extract from the New York Gazette and on Indian Council held at Detroit the 28th June.

[B 123 p 390]



CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO CAPTAIN BREHM.

MICHILIMACKINAC 6th July 1783

DEAR SIR, I wrote a few days ago with an uncommon Beaver to you,

The Indians hereabouts are very anxious about the present situation of affairs. I have told them that I had nothing from authority, and then they should know it from me, however one of the Otewas Chief's told me he was afraid the Tree was fallen on the wrong side, & that ought to have been laid before them, and perhaps the Tree would be still standing straight they are told the Five nations will keep the Door shut, if so it shall be so, but says

he, I believe all of you have been telling us *lies*, but this is our Ground &c. &c.

Now Sir, I think those people should be treated handsomely on quitting them, and more so, as they have, untill now, been a good deal spoiled &c, and for that purpose more Goods will be necessary this Fall—

If it is meant we shall take Post in this Country, the properest place is the River Tessalony on this Lake, about Twenty five Leagues north east from this, from my own Ideas and the Information of others this is the Place, being contiguous to all the different nations of Indians and to the Traders of Canada—

The last adopted Plan for those Posts could never answer. The Indians very properly think there are no more than one God at each Post, and as Commandants are only to give what Goods they have from below, it can answer no good purpose, and how soon it takes place I will then beg to be taken from those Posts, as I never will sit in an Indian Councill where Agents preside, who perhaps, know less of those matters than I do—

I was much hurt & concerned on hearing my Bills on Government, were not honoured, as I have exerted myself to the utmost to effect the purpose of my coming here, and I do declare & can prove that the Expenses here are in Provisions &c. &c. fifty Thousand Pounds less than last year & much more work done than ever—hitherto partly to my Ruin as my pay goes faster than it comes. As to Presents I have given ever Discouragement to them as that must bring a great Expense on Government—

If His Excellency is recalled I must suffer, as his behaviour to me induced me to think of being recompensed, therefore I hope you will be, as usuall, good enough to lay this before him—

I had a Letter from London by which I understand my command while at Oswegatchie from 13th May 177— to 25th July 1782 is not paid, notwithstanding certificates being sent home as likewise General Powell's returning me as Commt. at that Post, that, and at the Post from eighteenth Sept. last, I hope may be payed, as I always understood it was my Right—

I am with every Regard Dear Sir
Your most obedt. & most
humble Servt

DANL ROBERTSON

Capt Brehm
[B 98 p 215]

COL. MCKEE TO JAMES MCKEE.

DETROIT July 10th 1783

DEAR BROTHER, The arrival at this place of some Messengers from the United States of America, affords me the satisfactory account of yours & the Family's Welfare and I am happy to hear that thro' the blessing of God you have been permitted by a well timed Industry to conduct yourself & them with prudence through the calamities of the times. And as it is now to be hoped that the blessings of Peace will again renew the Amity of Friends who from Political Opinions have been placed in different Situations, I flatter myself to hear from you & should have been glad to have sent Robert Surphlet by this Opportunity for this purpose but must wait a more favorable one which I hope will present itself before long, in the mean time if it is not detrimental to you let me hear by the Bearer who I understand is to return here how my affairs stand which I am informed some Individuals ungenerous & dishonest advantage of, I wish some able Aternay could be employed on this occasion I shall as soon as possible fall upon some method of furnishing you with means to defray the Expense, let me know also if Mr. John Anderson formerly of Pittsburgh has paid any Money on my Account into your Hands.

Mr. James McKee

Endorsed:—Col McKee to Jas McKee

[Indian Affairs M. G. V.]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO BRIG. GEN. MCLEAN.

MICHILIMACKINAC 10th July 1783

DEAR GENL, I would be glad to know from you whether or not I am to have any Rum, as I have been borrowing these three months past, and times are now so much altered that it cannot be expected the Traders will take the same quantity, as Rum has now fallen, as I am told—one third, therefore be pleased, for the good of the service to let me know what I have to depend on or in what manner I am to act at this Post without that Liquor, as I am resolved not to purchase any without *positive orders*—

I am sorry & ten times so that I ever came here, to be obliged to cringe & borrow Rum from Traders on account of Government, and they making a merit of giving it, is very distressing, and all that for a mere Bagatelle, however it is my *Lot* to be here at this Juncture & no Friend to attempt to give me common assistance, to carry on the Service with the least

Honour to Government or credit to myself—Now, Sir, if you cannot relieve my Distresses be pleased to represent them in a proper light.

Please offer my Respects to Colonel Dundass, I shall write him when I can accomplish his Commission—

I have the Honour to be with Regard, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. Humble Servt—

DANL. ROBERTSON

Brig. Genl. McLean

[B 98 p 218]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 14th July 1783—

SIR, The annexed Letter you will be pleased to lay before His Excellency the Commander in Chief, it is in consequence of Lieut Governor Sinclair's and my Bills not being honoured that Mr. McBeath now suffers as set fourth in his Letter, he was Paymaster of the Workmen, he of course gave many small Bills on Mr. Ellice to different workmen, and all of them protested, as even my Bills were not paid by His Excellency, which Mr. Ellice acquainted Mr. McBeath of—

I have the honor to be with esteem, Sir,

Your most obedt. Humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 222]

MR. MCBEATH TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.

MICHILIMACKINAC 14th July 1783.

Captain Robertson

SIR, The situation of my affairs at present obliges me to lay my case before you, hoping you will be so good as to represent it to His Excellency the Commander in Chieff, who was pleased to authorize me in May 1782 to furnish what things might be wanting for the use of the Post & for carrying on the King's Works here, which I have done to the utmost of my power, complying according to His Excellency's Directions, with every order given me by the Commanding officers, and I hope I may without Presumption appeal To your Justice for approbation of my Conduct since your taking the Command. After having advanced money for the Payment of Artificers & Labourers Employed in the King's Works, paid Cash for Rum and many other Articles

that cannot be purchased on Credite, but Rum Dry Goods & in short everything that was wanting for Government that I could gett & even put myself under the Disagreeable Circumstance of borrowing from others to supply what was immediately necessary for His Majesty's Service endeavouring by every means in my power to Reduce Expenses at the Risque of my Total Ruin, it was but by the last Kings Canoes that I received the last of the Goods, but the preceeding Summer in Lt. Gov'r Sinclairs Time, the Rum still remains due, after all, These efforts to forward as much as in me lay the Service of the Post and execute the Directions given me by His Excellency, how Peculiarly distressing must it Be not to have received to this moment one shilling that I have any knowledge of on account of Government. even last year I laid before Col. Hope & Sir John Johnson the Difficulties I laboured under, who promised to lay it Before the General, but alas, I am still a sufferer, and instead of any relief, an augmentation of my distresses, the Bills I drew for the payment of Cash advanced Government for the Engineer Department came back protested with 10 per cent damages & six per cent interest, a loss that I am little to bear, and which must inevitably ruin me unless His Excellency will Take my Unmerited Sufferings into consideration and order me the payment of what I am obliged to pay on account of non-payment of the Bills, my Case is quite different from those that Furnished quantities of Goods for the Indian Department, as mine was entirely advanced for the Purpose of Carrying on the King's Works, I cannot Blame myself with any thing but Being over persuaded to allow the Transactions before my Time to be mixed with Those after, I shall only begg you would please lay before His Excellency my misfortunes who alone is able to mitigate them and will I am Persuaded listen with a Favourable Eare to anything coming from one whom He has so much reason to Esteem.

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your most obedt. & most Humble Servant
GEO. McBEATH

Capt. Daniel Robertson 84th Regt. Commandant of Michilimackinac
[B 98 p 219]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO CAPTAIN BREHM.

MICHILIMACKINAC 27th July 1783

SIR, An uncommon Storm of Rain, Thunder & Lightning, on the 21st instant, at night, undermined a part of the Wall that supports the Hill going

up to the Fort, which endangered the Front part thereof and entirely Blockt up the Road, however I hope to prevent any more from falling as I have People at work for that purpose.

Please to acquaint His Excellency with it and I have the Honour to be with every regard.

Dear Sir your most obedient Humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Brehm &c. &c.

[B 98 p 223]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LORD NORTH.

QUEBEC 6th August 1783.

Lord North

MY LORD, I have received letters from Brigadier General Maclean commanding Niagara & its Dependencies acquainting me that a Messenger had arrived at Detroit with Instructions dated the 3rd of May in consequence of a resolve of Congress to deliver a message to the Indians—

I have the honor to enclose for Your Lordship's Information copies of the correspondence &ca which passed between Lieut Col De Peyster, Brigadier General Maclean & the Messenger—The Instructions & Messages independent of their being insolent & injurious to my Sovereign were of such a nature as in the present humour of the Indians must have been productive of bad consequences either to the King's Troops or the Americans, and probably to both—

I therefore approve of the conduct of the Brigadier, & Lieut Col. De Peyster in not allowing the message to be delivered—They might have added to the other reasons which they gave the Messenger, that until the Definitive Treaty was notified to me, & that they had received orders in consequence they could not be justified in allowing the Congress of the United States or any Persons commissioned by them to interfere in these matters and in those Places—

I last night received a letter from Major Genl. De Steuben, I enclose a copy of it & my answer—I regret that the Commanding officer did not detain him on the Frontiers till my order should have been received relative to him. I will leave this place to-day as I think it best that Major General de Steuben should not come further than Sorel—and should have as little opportunity as possible of making observations in this country where there are so many People from a variety of reasons dissatisfied with the Provisional Treaty.

I will take the earliest opportunity to acquaint Your Lordship with the Proposals which he has to make and with the result of the Conference, I wish that I had previously been honored with His Majesty's commands in consequence of the Definitive Treaty of Peace—until they arrive I cannot agree to any Proposals which he may make relative to arrangements for evacuating the Posts which are now occupied by His Majesty's Troops, and which by the Provisional Treaty are within the limits of the United States—

I can only acquaint him that I had received the Provisional Treaty with orders to publish the cessation of Hostilities & to signify to all Persons under my command His Majesty's desire to establish a perfect reconciliation between his subjects & those of the United States of America—

Tho' I cannot but express my apprehensions least the persevering insolence & want of generosity in the Americans so perfectly removed from any desire of reconciliation will bring on some Public Misfortune either to the small Forts Depending upon the Garrisons of Niagara or Detroit, or to our Traders in the Indian Country—

I have the honor to be &ca &ca

signed FRED. HALDIMAND.

[B 57-2 p 555]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 9th August 1783.

SIR, By Letters from Mr Ellice to Mr. McBeath, I am informed my Bills on His Excellency the Commander in Chief are honoured, therefore I have drawn on His Excellency for expenditures at this Post from 1st April to the 1st July last, in favor of Mr McBeath in the usual manner.

For the engineer Department Four Thousand, four hundred, seven Pounds & thirteen shillings, both New York Currency.

I hope His Excellency will be pleased to Honor those Bills as soon as convenient, on account of Mr McBeath, who was dupped in drawing Lieut. Govr. Sinclair's last Bills, and of course a great sufferer.

My sending Mr McBeath to La Prairie de Chien may appear extravagant but it is almost certain that it prevented at least a Thousand Indians from coming here & those fed here & on their way home, I reckon two Bushels Corn with some Grease, a little Bread & Pork, or an average to each with Rum & other Presents would far exceed the present Expense—Mr McBeath left this the end of April long before I had received any Goods, & I had

nothing in Store but a few pieces of Blue Strouds and some white shirts—Colonel Hope was of the same opinion as myself as to sending out to prevent Indians coming in, which induced me to adopt it.

I have the honor to be with great regard, Sir,
your most obedient & most humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Mathews
[B 98 p 224]

COL. MORGAN TO CHIEFS OF THE SENECAS.

Col. Morgan, the Council House or Sha-na-chasse. To Sha-qui-an, dah, qué or All-Face and to Riandewané or the Big-Tree—Chiefs of the Seneca—

August 14th 1783.

Brothers, Two days ago I spoke to my Friend Sha-qui, an, dah, que who I know to be a very wise man, and, as I know both of you to be wise men, I now speak to you both, and desire you will listen to me.

Brothers—The Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations have been a long time Drunk and possessed with the Evil Spirit—They are now getting sober and coming to themselves: therefore I desire you to ask them to sit down, and tell you what they have been about.

Brothers—Perhaps your Chiefs & Warriours may not love to tell you what they have been about, but you and I know all. They have broke in pieces and destroyed the chain of Friendship which your wise ancestors made with ours—They have totally extinguished the Council Fire, which we had lighted up—They have struck us, whilst we smoked around that Council Fire, and had fast hold of your chain of Friendship—They join'd with the English to make Dogs of us—They have found themselves mistaken, and have themselves submitted to become Dogs to the English. This is what they have done.

Brothers, The Great Council of the United States, which we call Congress, have determined to treat all the Indian Nations as Brethren, and will appoint some wise persons to call upon each Nation, in order to make a new Chain of Friendship—Therefore I recommend to you, to call all the Chiefs of your Nations together, and consult with yourselves what will be most for your good to do— If I can be of any Service, send a Belt for me & I will come to your meeting.

Brothers—When you have fully considered your situation, and determined what will be best for you to do, for the good of your Women & Children, send a Deputation to Congress with your proposals, and let me advise you to employ some person who is honest, and who can write down what you say, so that you may not be deceived or misunderstood.

Brothers—I have two of your nephews who live with me as my sons—They go to school every day, and I hope they will grow up to be good men—I don't keep them as Slaves but as my own children. I desire that you will take good care of our Flesh and Blood which is amongst you, and restore them to me, when we meet, or when Congress send for them.

A Belt

(signed) GEO. MORGAN.

From Philadelphia
August 14th 1783

Brothers, Altho' the English & Americans have agreed to be separate Nations, we have made a lasting chain of Friendship with them, for which purpose the waters of all the Lakes are to divide us and they are to give us up Michilimac'c Fort Detroit, Niagara, Oswego, &c. Farewell, be strong and wise—

(signed) GEO. MORGAN

Endorsed:—Col. Geo. Morgan To All Face & the Big Tree. No 2 August 14th 1783.
[B 123 p 399]

GENERAL IRVINE TO LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER.

FORT PITT 15th August 1783

SIR, I have been honour'd with your Letter of the 6th July by Mr. Elliot and have transmitted the inclosed addressed to Genl. Lincoln—Report says that the definite Treaty is arrived at New York, the inclosed News Papers (which I send for your amusement) contains all I can say of it, as I have not any official communication on that subject. Probability however is in favour of its being true—

This goes by an Indian who came to conduct Mr. Elliot from Sandusky to this place.

I have the Honour to be Sir, Your obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) WM. IRVINE

Col. DePeyster

Endorsed:—From Genl. Irvine to Lt. Col. DePeyster
[B 123 p 402]

ESTIMATE.

Estimate of Merchandise Wanted for Indian Presents at Detroit from 21st August 1782 to 20th August 1783.

230 pieces Blue Strouds
20 red ditto
10 ditto crimson ditto
10 ditto scarlet ditto
20 ditto Scarlet cloth 8-6 Sterlg
4000 pair 2½ pt Blankets
300 ditto 3 pt. ditto
500 ditto 2 pt. ditto
500 ditto 1½ ditto ditto
1000 fine ditto 2½ pt ditto
1000 pieces 4-4 linnen sorted
100 ditto striped Calimanco
100 ditto ditto cotton
2000 Lbs Vermillion in 1 lb bags
50 pieces Coarse Muslin
20 pieces Russia Sheeting
100 dozn blk silk handkffs
20 dozn cold ditto ditto
30 dozn Cotton ditto
250 pieces ribbon sorted
200 Gro. Red Lace
200 Gro. Gartering
30 pieces embos'd serge
500 felt Hats, half laced
100 Castor ditto
50 Beaver ditto
50 Pieces White Molton
50 ditto blue ditto
20 ditto bath coating blue & brown
20 ditto Brown Molton
30 ditto Ratteen, blue & Brown
100 common saddles
400 Bridles
500 powder horns
20 dozn Tobacco Boxes
30 dozn snuff Boxes
80 Gro. pipes
300 large feathers, red, Blue & green
300 Black Ostrich feathers
200 pairs shoes
250 pairs Buckles
100 pieces Hambro lines
10 dozn mackarel ditto

5000 Lb. Iron
1000 Lb. Steel
500 Lb. Soap
6 Barrels white wine
5 ditto shrub
400 M. Black, Wampum
100 M. White Wampum
500 Fusils
200 Rifle Guns small bore
50 pair pistols
5 dozn Coteaux de Chasse
50,000 Gun flints
60 gro. scalping Knives
10 ditto clasp ditto
20 ditto Scissors
20 looking Glasses
10 Razors
300 Lb. thread assorted
20 pieces spotted Swanskin
12 M. Gun Powder
36 M. Ball & Shott
1 Gro. Gun Locks
500 Tomahawks
500 half axes
300 hoes
30 Gro. fire steels
10 M. Needles
400 Pieces Callico
15 M. Tobacco—
600 Lt. Beads assorted
40 Gro. awl Blades
40 ditto Gun worms
30 ditto Box Combs
6 ditto ivory ditto
20 Nests Brass Kettles
20 ditto Copper ditto with covers
20 ditto tin ditto
50 Nests hair Trunks
300 lb Pewter Basons
100 Beaver traps
Silver Works Vizt
15000 large Broaches
7000 Small ditto

Estimate of Merchandise.—Continued.

3000 Salmon fish hooks
10 dozn spurs
50 gro. Morris Bells
50 ditto Brass thimbles
6 pieces red serge
10 ditto White ditto
6 pieces blue ditto
10 gro. Jews harps
2 gro. Bath finger rings
300 large Gorgets
300 large Moons
550 Ear Wheels
550 arm bands 3 inches broad, french measure
1500 pairs large Earbobs
1500 pairs small ditto
Some medals, chiefly large
A large assortment of Smith & armourer files

AT. S. DEPEYSTER Major Kings Regt,
Commanding Detroit & it Dependencies.

Endorsed:—Estimate of Merchandize wanted for Indian Presents at Detroit from the 21st Aug 1782 to the 20th Augt. 1783—

[B 123 p 404]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO COL. CLAUSE.

MICHILIMACKINAC 7th Sept. 1783.

DEAR SIR, I have to acknowledge of your's of the 14th of July by Mr. Calvé who I have sent off with some difficulty and great expense, having no wintering men or Canoes sufficient and indeed every want, however he goes away tolerable well pleased.

The Chepeways of Lake Superior are at war with the Foxes and Nadowessies, I have sent messages to the former on that head, by Mr. Cadot and Matchiquie a Chipeway Chief of note, near this Post.

As the evacuation must be soon I have not sent any demand of Goods, if any is sent they shall be distributed to every advantage—I have had no Rum this season, and as you know it is their God, I hope Sir John will supply the Post with that article—

I approve very of Captn. Munro's being sent to St. John's River and dare say it will have the wished for effect.

I should be glad to have the plan of the division of the different Townships—

My best respects to Sir John Johnson.

I have the Honour to be &c. &c. &c.

DANL. ROBERTSON

Colonel Clause

[B 98 p 226]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 7th Sept 1783

SIR, I received your favour of the 10th July, a few days after Mr. Calvés arrival here.

I am much satisfied of being honoured with His Excellency the Commander in Chief's approbation of my conduct at this Post, and will use my best endeavors to effect His Excellency's ardent wishes in every respect, I have very little doubt of succeeding while I direct every Line—

The works were stopped on Receipt of General orders, and nothing done since but repairing the Hill and Wall of the Road to the Fort, as advised in my Letter to Captain Brehm, there is only a few men employed in taking care of some materials & the King's Cattle—

I have struck off Messrs Blondeau and Shutye as Interpreters the 1st of July last as their Service did not appear to me any ways necessary—

I am on the best footing with the Indians, and I believe they are well disposed to Government, a little internall disturbance among themselves which I have endeavored to prevent by sending messages to them, those are the Chipeways of Lake Superior against the Nadowassies & Foxes—

Any goods sent here shall be given them and as Rum is their God, it is very necessary, tho' I have had only a little sent by Colonel Campbell by the Grand River this year.

Contrary to custom I have got all the neighbouring Indians to go out a Wintering, which will much ease the Post—

I have got of Mr. Calvé with much Difficulty & expense, he had no wintering men or Canoes sufficient, I was even oblidged to buy one to carry down his men—

Mr McBeath had the Chief's of those very nations in Council at La Prairie de Chiens & satisfied them so much that only two of their great men came in here, well pleased this last Spring, what is done by the Inspectors directions must be right.

I still abide to the Tenor of my Letter to Colonel Hope of being relieved when an Indian Agent comes to this Post—and I flatter myself that His Excellency will consent to it, for if I am not equall to the Inspection of one Line I must be a mere Cypher here, which must be a great mortification to one at my time of Life, who came at a very great disadvantage to this Post, and arranged matters as they are, in *appearance* to the satisfaction of my Superiors.

The Vessell is completely finished and Launched, all to Rigging, which Captain Grant has refused to furnish for Reasons best known to him, and not

a Boat of any kind here to transport Hay for the Cattle, all which I acquainted Lieut. Col. De Peyster and Captain Grant of—

I have the Honor to be with every Regard,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Captain Mathews.

[B 98 p 227]

CAPTAIN MCKEE TO COLONEL DE PEYSTER.

SANDUSKY, September 8th 1783

DEAR SIR, I have now the pleasure to inform you that the business which called me to this place is finished and has ended to the General Satisfaction of the Indians on this side of the Lake having fulfill'd on our parts the promises made them to their utmost expectation. And as a proof of their good disposition they have generally consented to deliver up the Prisoners and to adhere strictly in future to every thing that has been enjoined them in the name of their Father. Sindatton on behalf of the Hurons of Detroit made the only objection to the requisition of the Prisoners, asserting that when the Hatchet was put into his hands he was told that all the Prisoners they took during the War Should be kept to strengthen their nation and that this promise has been since, often confirmed by his Father at Detroit but in order to obviate the weight of this assertion the Indians were informed that on the conclusion of Peace every cause of uneasiness should be removed on all Sides to make it permanent and to this end it was the custom of all nations to Set the Prisoners at Liberty—

Notwithstanding the tractable temper of the Indians they are not without apprehensions of the designs of the Americans upon their country which by their Accounts they have just reason, for as partys are constantly on this Side of the Ohio marking the Country. Their Sentiments upon this Subject is fully express'd in what pass'd between them at a private council which is herewith enclosed—

The Vessel having been prevented by contrary Winds 'till within this few days getting out of the River, the Six Nation Deputies earnestly requested to return in her, as the information they had received respecting their country was of great importance and they wished to have it represented as soon as possible.

I forward by this opportunity a Letter directed to you from Fort Pitt and

Letters I have from the same place mentions with certainty the ratification of the definitive Treaty. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Dear Sir, Your most obedt & very
Humble Servt

(Signed) A. McKee

P. S. John Little this moment arrived from Fort Pitt giving information of an interesting nature is herewith enclosed,

A. McKee

Colonel De Peyster

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Alex McKee Esqr from Lower Sandusky 8th Septemr 1783 to Col De Peyster commanding Detroit &c &c &c—

[B 123 p 406]

FROM CAPTAIN GUMERSALL. UNADDRESSED.

Oswego 8th Sept. 1783

Sir, James Cassety the person I mentioned in my Letter of the 11th Augt who has arrived from the Mohawk River with passes from Governor Clinton and General Washington permitting him to go to Detroit—him I detained agreeable to your orders, every day expecting your instructions how to dispose of him. I was obliged to furnish him with provisions, and indulg'd him to Walk about the Fort, or where he pleas'd, and he appeared contented, only seemed anxious of getting to his family at Detroit.

On the evening of y.e 1st. Inst. Segt. Laraher of the 2d. Battn. K. R. Regt. N. York who acted as Sergt. Major to the Garrison requested leave to be absent from parade the next morning to go a shooting, as he was a sober man and very attentive to his Duty, I consented, about 3 in the Afternoon enquiring if he was return'd and was answer'd he was not, I was soon after told that Cassaty was with him & that one Eastwood (one of the Sick men left by Major Ross, but was recover'd in a great measure) had not been seen all the Day I immediately suspected they had Deserted, and on examining their rooms found my suspicions too well grounded. The Sergt. was entrusted by Mr. Hamilton Mercht. of Cataraqui, with a small assortment of Merchandize to furnish the Garrison, he carry'd off all the hard cash and valuable Merchandize with him, which this Cassaty, who certainly has been his adviser and must have been privy to, I send off a Flagg of Truce with two Letters one to the officer Commanding at their nearest post, and the other to Governor Clinton; to the latter, letting him know Mr. Cassaty's conduct and

the Villainous use he had made of his and General Washington's passes, and requesting that they (the Deserters) might be secur'd, if not as Deserters they might as Robbers, and deliver'd up to Justice; to the officer I requested they might be secur'd till the Governors pleasure might be known.

I am Sir your most obedient Humble Servant

THOS. GUMERSALL. Capt.
Ks. Rl. Regt. N. York, Command'g.

[B 123 p 408]

INFORMATION OF JOHN LITTLE.

On Tuesday, the 9th day of September, 1783, arrived at Sanduskey from Fort Pitt Mr. John Little, who had left Detroit on July last on a pass from Lieut. Col. De Peyster, commandant of Detroit. He reports that on his arrival at Fort Pitt, he waited on General Irvine, but he was not at home, he delivered his pass to his Aide Camp, and about an hour after he was taken in Custody by the Bailiff who brought him before the justice Huffuagle, who took him to the General; the General said he would have nothing to do with it, after which the justice ordered him to the Guard House, telling him that he had headed Seventy Indians against Hamers Town. He, Mr. Little, was threatened to be hanged, and if the law would not do it, the Populace would shoot him. He was thirty-five Days in Confinement, on bread and water and no one allowed to confer with him, excepting in the Presence of an officer. That in the night he effected his escape from the Guard House in company with our Robertson, who assisted him in it. He says he left Detroit in search of his children in confidence, that the Peace was sufficient to protect him for any part he might have taken in the War—

Signed,
JOHN LITTLE.

Witness
J. Schieffelin Sec'ry to Ind'n Departm't.

Endorsed:—Information of John Little.

[B 123 p 410]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 10th Sept. 1783.

SIR, I have only to acquaint you for His Excellency the Commander in Chief's information that I have received this day, seven Barrels of Rum from that Quarter for this Post.

I am likewise informed that Mr. Dease is now on his way to this Place, I therefore hope that my Leave to retire is likewise as near.

I have always the Honor to be with great regard.

Dear Sir, your most obedient and must humble Servant,

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Captain Mathews.

[B 98 p 230]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MAKINAC 11th Sept. 1783.

SIR, I have hereto neglected to acquaint His Excellency the Commander in Chief that the Private Transactions etc. at this Post require a Magistrate.

I have frequently been at loss as to the administering of oaths and many other things for that want—

I have always the Honor to be with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedt. most humble Servt,

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Captain Mathews

P. S. I would be happy if a purchase or an exchange could be brought about for my son.

D. R.

[B 98 p 231]

LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER TO BRIG. GEN. MCLEAN.

DETROIT, THE 15th Sept'r 1783.

I have the honour to inclose some papers just received from Sandusky.

When I allowed Elliott the Guide who came with McDouglass to return I also sent a boy back that had been taken after the proclamation for a cessation of arms—Mr. Little thinking it a favorable opportunity to see his children applied for leave to take the Boy under his care and proceed with Elliot. I am sorry to acquaint you that the roberys committed at present upon the communication exceed everything I ever heard of—the nature of them are such that I cannot help suspecting great rascality in the storekeepers—at all

events, should the Soldiers be the thieves, they certainly must find receivers, Pieces of Brocade, and the like is not for soldiers wear—

Mrs. DePeyster begs to join in comps. to you—

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most hum'l & most obedt Servt,

At S. DePeyster.

Brigadier Genl Maclean

Endorsed:—From Lt. Coll. DePeyster 1783 15th July Rec'd 8th Octr. with Inclosures.

[B 123 p 411]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

Michilimackinac 16th Sept. 1783.

Sir, I have only to acquaint you for His Exellency's the Commander-in Chief's information that being informed of a Menominie's being taken Prisoner by the Chipeways of Lake Superior, I have taken the opportunity of a Mr. Blondish a Trader, well known among them, to send word to them of the Peace.&c., and to give back the Prisoner, and as I had nothing of consequence to give to speak upon in the *Indian Manner* I gave him a Canoe with a little Provisions & Tobacco, this man goes towards the upper parts of the Mississippi between that and the said Lake, Mr. Cadot and Matchiquies are gone to Point Chagomagon on the same Lake, to him I only gave a Canoe with a litttle Provision & Tobacco, as my Store could not afford more—

I thought it hard being refused any kind of Craft from Detroit for transporting of Hay to this Island for the King's Cattle—th'o promised me by Captain Grant—

I have the Honor to be with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedt. & most humble Servant

Danl. Robertson.

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 232]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO COL. CLAUSE.

Makinac 17th Sept. 1783

Dear Colonel, I have only time to acquaint you, that in consequence of a Menominies being taken away by the Chipaways of Lake Superior, I have

given a Parole to a Mr. Blondish a Trader well known among them, to lay down the Hatchet &c., I had little to give him, he is going between the Upper part of Missisippy and Lake Superior this Mr. Blondish is well known to Mr. Goddard.—Please offer my Respects to Sir John &c.

I have the honor to be with regard, Dear Sir
Your most obedt & hum'l Servt
DANL. ROBERTSON.

Col Clause—
[Indian Affairs M. G. V]

LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

DETROIT, 24 Sept, 1783.

SIR, I have received your letter of the 20th August—and, am sorry to hear that Mr. Ellice has troubled His Excellency the comm'r in Chief on the Subject of Mr. Cuyler's affair with Graverat, wherein he has so wrongfully accused me of injustice. Mr. Graverat came to a voluntary settlement by arbitrators, without one word from me, more, than to advise him to settle without delay, as he acknowledged he had wherewithall to satisfy all his creditors. Mr. Graverat some time after called at my house, to present Mr. Cuyler with three notes of hand payable at remote periods, which Mr. Cuyler complained of telling me that Graverat must have been Ill-advised, for that, instead of the notes, which meant nothing, he had promised to deliver him a Quantity of peltry, etc., on which I soon after sent for Mr. Graverat, and expostulated with him on the impropriety of his Conduct, telling him that If he did not give the satisfaction promised, he must go down the country to settle the matter there. I then sent for three Gentlemen of Character in the Mercantile line, and referred the matter to them, whether Mr. Graverat acted like a man of character or not. I left him to advise with those Gentlemen, and was told in a few Minutes, that he was convinced he had acted wrong, and begged Mr. Cuyler would call the next day at his house, when he would satisfy him, which was accordingly done. Now Sir, let me observe, that until I received His Excellencys letter dated April the 14th, Notwithstanding the repeated thanks I had received both Public and private, from the Fair trader for Services rendered them on Similar occasions. I had resolved not to interfere any more in matters of property—nor in the affair in Question have I acted contrary to the spirit of His Excellencys letter, which was "to afford every assistance in my power consistant with my

duty as commanding officer, to facilitate Mr. Cuylers business & expediate his return to his Duty at Montreal." If in having so done I am exposed to a prosecution, it is a Satisfaction to me, that it was not of my own seeking. The only circumstance which gives me Concern, is, least His Excellency should think me capable of making an improper use of Authority. If Mr. Cuyler has no right to the Payment, I have been deceived both by him an d Mr. Graverat. They must be answerable to Mr. Ellice.

I am Sir your most Humble and most obedient Servant.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

Capt. Mathews, Secretary to His Excellency Gen. Haldimand.

Endorsed:—From Lieut. Col. De Peyster 24th Sept. concerning Mr. Cuylers affair with Mr. Ellice

[B 123 p 413]

DR. MITCHELL TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.

MICHILIMACKINAC Sept. 22nd 1783.

Sir, As I have always had an allowance as Surgeon to the Indian Department, as likewise for Canadians employed in the King's Works at this Post, I have taken the liberty of troubling you on this occasion as I presume you wil think it Just to grant me some allowance for these Departments—

I must likewise beg leave to inform you that as no medicines have arrived from Head Quarters this year, I have been at some expense in purchasing them—

I am Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

DAVID MITCHELL

Mate 8th Regt.

Captain Robertson Commandant Michilimackinac

[B 98 p 233]

ACCOUNT OF DR. MITCHELL.

Government, To David Mitchell Dr.

1783.

To Salary as Surgeon to the Indian Department at this Post from 7th June to the 30th of Sept. both days Inclusive at 4 shillings New York Currency per Day—

£23—4

DAVID MITCHELL

I certify the above to be Just.

DANL. ROBERTSON

Capt. 84th Regt.

[B 98 p 236]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 26th Sept. 1783.

SIR, Herewith annexed I send you the Vouchers for the expenditures at this Post, from the 1st of July to the thirtieth of September inst.

I have the Honor to draw on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in favor of Mr. George McBeath on account of the Engineer Department for the sum of one Thousand one Hundred twenty-four Pounds, two Shillings and eleven pence New York Curry. and for the Indian Department, Two Thousand, five Hundred, thirty-eight Pounds, four shillings & eleven pence on Farthing, same currency—

The extra Work on the Road and Hill to the Fort, with Finishing the Vessel, augmented the one, and Mr. Calvés account the other—

In place, of about, five thousand Bushells of Corn at Arbre Croche last year, there is not above one Hundred this year, I have not heard from the other Corn Country but I am afraid of a Scarcity however—

I have sent and will send as many Indians as possibly I can a Wintering which must save Provisions of every Kind—

As Mr. Sutherland will be the holder & probably the Bearer of those Bills & a young beginner in Trade I beg as a Favour he may be facilitated in the Payment— I have the honor to be with

great regard, Sir,
your most obedt & most
humble Servant
DANL. ROBERTSON Captain

Captain MATHEWS.

Endorsed:—1783 from Captain Robertson 22nd September.
An error in Dr. Mitchells Bill—The accot. is right £- 104. 8—The Bill- 127-12.

[B 98 p 234]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MAKINAC 26th Sept. 1783.

Sir, After Sealing my Letter to you this morning I received the Enclosed Letter and Acct.

Mr. Mitchell had certainly some expense and a deal of trouble in attending the Canadians, and some with the Indians, I thought five shillings Halifax untill the Work stoped and 2-6 per Day after on Account of the Indians to be about sufficient.

I would have made this Demand sooner, but Mr. Mitchell informs me he was payed once every year.

I refer this to His Excellency the Commander in Chief.

I have the Honor to be with real regard Sir

Your most obedt. & most

humble Servant .

DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Mathews

[B 98 p 236]

SECRETARY MATTHEWS TO MR. ROCHEBLAVE.

QUEBEC, 22d Oct., 1783.

DEAR SIR: I communicated your Letter to His Excellency, who directs me to acquaint you that he has every reason to Expect Instructions upon the Subject of the late act of Parliament, respecting the indemnification of the Loyalists, and that he will readily do all in his power in Support of your Endeavours to recover the Losses you have Sustained in the King's service.

I am, with great Regard, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

Signed,

R. MATHEWS.

Rocheblave, Esq.

Endorsed:—[Copy.] 1783. To —— Rocheblave, of the 15th October.

[B 123 p 415]

PETITION.

To Daniel Robertson, Esquire, Captain in 84th Regt., and Commandant of the Post of Michilimackinac & Dependencies, &c., &c.,

The Petition of the Traders & other Inhabitants of the Island of Michilimackinac humbly sheweth:

That your Petitioners, most of whom were commodiously settled at the old Village of Michilimackinac in the year 1780, by the desire of Lieutenant Gov. Sinclair, were induced to leave Houses and Improvements there and settle on this Island. The many Inconveniences, cost and Trouble attending such a Change are numberless, but the Idea of its conducing to the Interest of that State to which they were attached banished all Private considerations.

They moved, many having almost all the Property they had been for many years collecting to enable them to live comfortably, cheared with the prospects of having a fairer field for their Industry and a clearer and more permanent Right to whatever Improvements they should make for the future. Lands were given to the new Settlers, deeds were drawn out and executed, but given conditionally during the pleasure of His Majesty, or of the Governor of the Province of Quebec.

To apply for a Confirmation of the Grants was promised them, and they doubt not it was their late worthy Lieutenant Governor's Intention.

They flattered themselves it would have met with success. His Removal has put it out of his Power. At that Time the Conditionality of the Tenure by which they held did not much alarm them, convinced that while under a British Government their measures were too just to deprive their subjects of that strongest and most natural Right of occupancy supported by a Tenure, tho' perhaps not strictly conformable to the rules of Law, yet consonant to those of Equity.

The present critical situation of Affairs but too justly alarms them with the near view of this Place of their Residence falling under another Government, which as formerly, a part of the British Empire, they hope will be actuated by the same generous motives, yet at the same Time they cannot reasonably expect the same Indulgence from.

People in their Line of Life, especially the Merchantile cannot be supposed capable of settling their affairs in a short Time and leaving a place when it ceases to belong to the Goverment under which they would live by choice, and even those who could leave it on the shortest notice must wish to make the most of what Real or Personal Property they have there. Should those that are expected to govern here be inclinable to dispute the validity of your Petitioners Tenure they tremble at the consequences, as many of them must inevitably be ruined by such a Step their whole Property being Invested in what Improvements they have made in the Lands granted unto them as British Subjects.

Under these alarming Circumstances Your Petitioners have taken the Liberty upon this occasion to request that you would be pleased to Interest yourself with His Excellency on their behalf for a confirmation of their Deeds on the Island, & they are fully convinced from the many proofs you have given since your Residence here of your desire to protect and promote the Trade of this Country, that every exertion will be made use of by you for that Purpose.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Michilimackinac Island, October 27th, 1783.

	Mattw. Lessey.
	Geo. McBeath.
	David McCrae.
	J. Bx. Barths.
	D. Mitchell.
for Mr. W. Grant	Alexr. Shaw.
	John McNamara.
	John Coates.
	Normd. McLeod.
	Angus McDonald.
	Robt. Campbell.
for G. Meldrum	J. Symington.
	Josiah Bleakely.
	Alexr. Shaw.

[B 98 p 237]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRTARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 29th Oct. 1783.

Dear Sir, I am sorry I had not the pleasure of hearing from you since my arrivall here, however I flatter myself it is not owing to any disregard—

The Indians are quiet in this Quarter, tho I have been very scantily supplyed which they do not miss, telling me often—

The Crop of Corn has intirely failed at Arbre Croche, they have been with me begging to supply them with seed for next Spring, there was in that Village last year about Four or Five Thousand Bushells—

I have wrote to Colonel De Peyster to send me Four Hundred Bushels that Mr. McBeath contracted for there, I cannot buy any here, the Price is five Dollars & indeed not to be had at any rate—

I had great difficulty in getting Hay for want of Battoes, tho I was promised two by Capt: Grant so early as last Spring, I borrowed a decked from Mr. Meldrum and in returning to this Island she was rendered useless, the men had hardly time to save themselves,

I have sent herewith a Memorial for His Excellencys Approbation all I have to say they have been at Expense in Building and inclosing their Lots—

As there is reason to believe my leaving this place will be soon, do not you think I might be appointed a sort of a Commandant & Agent for Indian

affairs at Quadrique to assist me, in my old Days, to a little Comfort for myself & Family, as being tossed about from post to Pillar this war has been very expensive His Excellency is the only aid I can apply to as without any flattering, I have reduced the Expenses of this Post a vast sum of Money, that of Provisions alone a Hundred Rations a Day, & for the trouble & great anxiety of mind, I have had here, I cannot help thinking should be taken notice of—

On my being relieved, in place of removing the Gauntlet through a Parcell of Rascalls at the diffrent Posts, I mean the Rebells—I would attempt to go straight to Toronto, from hence could I procure some Indian Guides, if His Excellency will give me leave—I think there is a short Road that way—I only mean myself to go this way—

You will be pleased to communicate the above to His Excellency the Commander in Chief—

I have the Honor to be with great regard.
Dear Sir,
your most obedt humble Servant.
DANL. ROBERTSON

Captain Mathews

P. S. Liut Governor Sinclair left Three negroes with me that were taken Prisoners at the Illinois when he sent a Party there two years ago, he desired me to send them back to their masters at the Peace—I do not chose to send them without His Excellencys leave, nor do I think it right to send them at any rate to a sett of Spanish Rascalls, there are an old man & woman and a young woman. I should think the Lieut Governor or myself have a better to right them, however I will wait for His Excellency's will & pleasure on this head—

DANIEL ROBERTSON.

[B 98 p 240]

GEN. HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER.

HEAD QUARTERS QUEBEC
the 30th October 1783.

Sir, Having given Permission to Brigadr. General Maclean to go to England, and to Lieut. Col. Dundas to retire from the Army, the Command of the Troops in the Upper Country as well as of the Kings Regiment devolves to You, You will please therefore to repair as soon as possible to the Head

Quarters at Niagra, where you will take upon you the command, and observe such orders and Instructions as shall be delivered up to you by Lieut. Col. Hoyes—

And having ordered Lieut. Governor Hay to repair immediately to his Government at Detroit, You will be particular in leaving the Government House, and all matters relating to the Service Which, as Lieut. Governor, belongs to Him to direct, in the clearest light, giving such Instructions to the officer who will Command, until his arrival, as will prevent a possibility of the least Misunderstanding, and you are to be particular in making up, to a certain Period, and Leaving for Lieut. Governor Hays information, all Accounts of the Lots & Ventes, and others relating to that Government—, as well, as all orders and Instructions that have been from time to time transmitted to you respecting the Several departments of the Service in that Quarter. You will also mutually fix upon with Lieut. Governor Hay, the most certain and expeditious mode of communication with each other, for the Winter, that no time may be lost in transmitting all Extraordinaries that the Service may require, I should be made acquainted With.—

If an opportunity should still offer for Michilimackinac, You will please make Captain Robertson acquainted with this charge, and with my Desire that he will make all communications necessary for the good of the Service to Lieut. Governor Hay—

I am &c.
(Signed) F. H.

Lieut. Colonel De Peyster

Endorsed:—To No 20 1783 Lieut. Col. DePeyster at Detroit, of the 30th Oct. Copy Entered in Book B No 2 fol. 30

[B 123 p 416]

SECRETARY MATHEWS TO LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER.

HEAD QUARTERS QUEBEC 1st November 83.

Sir, By order of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, I have the honor to transmit to you, the inclosed Blank Commission of Ensign Vacant in the Eight or the Kings Regiment under your command by the Promotion of Lieutenant Sheeban (bearing date the 23rd of September, 1783), and I am to signify to you His Excellency's desire that you will by the first opportunity transmit the said commission to the agent of the Regiment to be filled up with the name of sueh person as shall be approved of by the Colonel of the Regiment, or in his absence by the Secretary of War, on that persons deposit-

ing the Price regulated for an ensigncy, with Interest at 5 p cent from the date the commission shall bear until the Money shall be paid; it will also be necessary Sir, that you specify to the Agent to whose Credit and order the Money for the Commission with the Interest, when Sold is to be paid.

I have the Honor to be

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) R. MATHEWS.

Lieut. Colonel De Peyster

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Major Mathews to Lieut. Colo. De Peyster Dated Quebec 1st November 1783.

[B 123 p 418]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

HEAD QUARTERS QUEBEC 2d Nov. 1783.

SIR, The Reasons which obliged me to detain you from your Government being removed, I have to desire that you will repair to Detroit without loss of time, and take upon you the command of that Place as Lieutenant Governor, strictly observing such orders and Instructions as have been, from time to time, transmitted for the management and direction of the several Branches of the Service at that Place, which will be delivered to you by the officer you will find commanding there. Further instructions shall be forwarded to you upon receipt of my dispatches from England, for the arrival of which, the lateness of the Season prevents my detaining you at this Place.

I have directed Lieut. Colonel De Peyster to settle with you the most certain and expeditious mode of communicating with each other in the course of the Winter for the Purpose of carrying on the Service to the best advantage and that all Extraordinaries may be reported to me with possible dispatch—

Lieut. Governor Hay.

To 1783

Lieut. Gov'r Hay.

2d Nov'r.

I am Sir,

Your Most obedient and

Most humble Servant.

(signed) F. H.

[B 123 p 419]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

QUEBEC November 4th 1783.

SIR, As it is my wish to do everything that lays in my power with zeal for His Majesty's Service, and as I should be very unhappy to incur your Excellency's censure or disapprobation. I beg leave to be inform'd whether the distribution to be made of whatever may be necessary for the different Tribes of Indians in the District of Detroit according to the Exigencies of the Service, is to be done by my orders as Lieut. Gov'r & Superintend't or whether your Excellency has empower'd any other person there for that purpose—

I have the Honour to be
Your Excellencys most obed't most humble Serv't,
JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—His Excellency General Haldimand Commander in Chief &c &c &c From Lt. Gov'r Hay. 4th Nov'r 1783.

[B 123 p 422]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

QUEBEC, Nov'r 4th 1783, 9 in the Evening.

SIR, I am just now honour'd with your Excellency's Letter regarding the information I this morning required touching the distribution to be made of whatever might be necessary for the different Tribes of Indians in the District of Detroit &c &c—together with a copy of your Excellency's standing orders to be observed at the several posts in the upper country, which I have perused and before I leave Quebec, think it my duty to request your Excellency will be explicit on this point—namely, whether by the above mentioned orders, or those given to the Superintendent and Inspector General, or his in consequence thereof, are or must be understood, to render that part of my Commission, constituting me Superintendant of Detroit, null and void—or not—

I have the honor to be
Your Excellencys most obedient and most humble servant
JEHU HAY.

His Excellency
General Haldimand—

Endorsed:—His Excellency General Haldimand Commander in Chief &c &c from Lt. Gov'r Hay 4th Nov'r A 1783.
[B 123 p 423]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

4th Nov'r 1783——

Sir, In answer to your Letter of this Date, desiring to be Informed whether the Distribution to be made of whatever may be necessary for the different Tribes of Indians in the District of Detroit according to the exigencies of the Service is to be done by your orders as Lieut. Governor & Superintendent or whether I have empowered any other person there for that purpose. I have to acquaint you that in consequence of Sir John Johnson's Appointment as Superintendent & Inspector General of Indian Affairs, I thought fit to throw the entire management of that Department into one channel under such Rules & Instructions as I thought best calculated for the Direction of it, and at the same time transmitted to the several Posts in the upper Country, a standing orders to be observed by the officers commanding them, which you will find at Detroit, for your present Information, I enclose to you a copy of it.

I am &c

(signed) Fred. Haldimand.

Lieut. Gov'r Hay—.

Endorsed:—To Lt. Gov. Hay of 4 Nov—83.
[B 123 p 424]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

Head Quarters Quebec 5th November 1783.

Sir, In answer to your Letter of last night, requesting me to be explicit upon the Point, namely, whether by the standing order to be observed at the Posts in the upper country, or those given to the Superintendent and Inspector General, or His in consequence thereof are, or must be understood to render that part of your commission, constituting you Superintendent of Detroit, null and void, or not—I have to acquaint you that, the arrangement, I have thought fit to make for the Better Management of the Indian Department, in consequence of Sir John Johnson's late appointment as

Superintendent General renders it entirely independent of all officers whatever, except in such cases as are particularly mentioned in the order transmitted to you—you are therefore to consider yourself as having no more connection with Indian Affairs than the officers Commanding at Niagara or Michilimackinac—

I am &c

(signed)

FRED. HALDIMAND.

Lt. Governor Hay.

Endorsed:—Copy 1783—To Lt. Governor Hay of the 5th Nov'r.

[B 123 p 425]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

CARLETONS ISLAND 26th Nov. 1783.

SIR, With the utmost dilligence I proceeded from Quebec with Captn Hamilton, and arrived here the 21st Inst, where we found the Mohawk the only Vessel that is to sail for Niagara this year, the wind being hitherto contrary has detained Her: but I am sorry to inform your Excellency that an uncommon indisposition proceeding chiefly from a vomitting of blood, has, (with the advice of the Physicians here) determined me not to proceed further this winter. I trouble your Excellency with thus much of my private misfortune as your Excellencys orders to me are positive: tho from the loss of the vessells on Lake Erie and the very advanced season of the year it would be impossible for me to get beyond Niagara this year—

I Hope to have the Honor of hearing from your Excellency before any vessels can leave this in the Spring, as I purpose as soon as my health will permit me to return to Montreal for my family or wait Here for their arrival, unless I receive your Excellencys orders to the contrary.

I have the Honor to be your
Excellencys most obedient and
Most Humble servant.
JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand

Endorsed:—From Lt. Gov'r. Hay 26th Nov. Rec'd 10th Dec. A—1783.

[B 123 p 426]

FROM MR. ROCHEBLAVE. UNADDRESSED.

Sir, your Excellency having done me the honor of telling me that you can concede nothing to the different demands which may have been formed in virtue of the act of Parliament, which has not yet officially reached him, I refrain from fatiguing you by new applications on this subject—

Unfortunately for me I am forced to establish them all immediately because I must go & find Mrs Rocheblave & the rest of the family at Chikagou; I must settle all my affairs in the upper Country before possession is given to the Americans for it might be that the declarations would be required in my absence & that on my arrival I might not find your Excellency here, though probably it would be a great rest, after all the pains & troubles to get a little quiet in Europe, in which case I would be left without support.

I venture to solicit your Excellency to honor me with a word in answer which would be less a witness of my zeal for the good of the service than one more obligation to him who has the honor to be with the most respectful recognition of your excellence

Sir, your very humble & very obedient servant,
(signed)

Philip Rocheblave.

The illness of my children prevents me from sending the letter neatly.

Quebec, 3d Nov. 1783.

Endorsed:— Private 83 Mr. de Rocheblave of the 3d Nov. Rd 4. d.

[B 123 p 420]

LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

Detroit, the 8th Decemr 1783

Sir, Lieut. Colonel Hoyes, will no doubt have informed your Excellency, of the unlucky accident which befel the Faith, Hope and Angelica, on the 16th, 17th and 31st of October, and, of the Steps taken to bring off the Goods and Provisions. I am as yet uninformed of the result of his endeavours, but have to inform your Excellency that Lieut. Brooke, and Graham, in the Attempt, had two of their boats stove against the rocks, they nevertheless brought off 72 Tierces flour & two hogshds of Rum, but the severity of the weather prevented their returning to their wreck. Lieut. Armstrong arrived here on the 17th Ulto. and reported that he left the Hope on shore near Presq

Isle, and that her cargo was landed on the beech. By what I can collect from Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Ford, and the other passengers, the Hope was unavoidably lost from the violence of the Storm. The same is reported of the Angelica—but, by a Letter from Majr Ancrum to Captain Grant, we have reason to think that the master of the Faith cannot so well account for the loss of his vessel—strict enquirey shall be made into his conduct, as early as possible.

On the 19th Ulto. the Felicity, which had lain on shore in Presq' Isle bay arrived here with her cargo, safe, but the vessel is damaged.

My first attempt to send refreshments, and warm clothing, to the Hope's crew, failed, the boats were frozen up, near the Miamie—after which the weather grew more moderate and Mr. Ford effected it, and is returned here with near thirty barrels of powder.

I am extremely sorry that the lateness of the season, the uncommon severity of the weather, and, the shattered state of our Vessels, prevented my repairing to Niagara agreeable to your Excellencys orders, of the 30th of Octor I shall however direct Lt Coll Hoyes to forward the usual returns, and all necessary information, directly to head quarters, and I shall as early as the season will permit, repair to Niagara, where I expect to arrive before Lieut. Govr. Hay can possibly reach Detroit, where, he shall find everything arranged conformable to the orders I have received on that head.

I have the honour to be Sir

Your Excellencys most Huml & most obedt Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

His Excelly the commr in chief.

Endorsed:—1783 From Lieut. Col. De Peyster at Detroit of the 8th Decr 1783, Rec'd, the 2d March 1784.

[B 123 p 427]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MONTREAL, Decemr. 11th, 1783.

SIR: Ten days after I had the honor of writing to your Excellency from Carleton Island, finding my strength a little return'd, and there being no possibility of my proceeding further this winter, I thought my health would be sooner recover'd at Montreal than there; in that Hope and by the assistance of Major Harris, I set out the 6th in the afternoon and arrived at the cedres in thirty-two hours, the weather being very mild and wind fair. I am

in a very low state, but hope to be able to return so early in the Spring that no time will be lost by my coming here.

I think myself peculiarly unfortunate, in having both ill health and a late season of the year to struggle against at the only time your Excellency thought proper to give me orders to repair to my government since my appointment; and have only to lament that I had not the honour of receiving them when neither of the above obstacles were in my way, as the attempt upon this occasion has been very detrimental to me. As it is possible some change may be made at Detroit in the spring, I hope to be honoured with your Excellency's further orders before I leave this.

I have the Honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient,
Most Humble Servant,

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

A. 1783. From Lt. Govr. Hay, 11th Decr. Rec'd 13.

[B 123 p 429]

WIDOW ANDREWS TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

SIR: Your Excellency was pleased some time a goe to mention your kind intentions of Settleing from the Freights a yearly pension on me for the better support of my poor Family; which, in expectation of your goodness, I have almost expended the trifle left me by my late Dear Mr. Andrews. Necessity now induces me taking this liberty of reminding your Excellency of your kind intentions of assisting a poor widow with four children who has at present little to support them but your kind Bounty.

Relying on your Excellency's Goodness,
Sir, I have the Honour to remain,
Your much obliged and most obedient, Humble Servant,

ELIZ. ANDREWS.

Detroit, Decr. 11th, 1783.

His Excellency General Haldiman.

Endorsed:—1783. From the Widow Andrews, at Detroit, of 11th Decr. Rec'd 2d March, '84.

[B 123 p 430]

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

QUEBEC 15th December 1783.

SIR, I Have received your Letter of the 11th Instant from Montreal, and also a former one from Carleton Island, informing me of your bad State of Health, and the Impossibility of your proceeding on that account, to Detroit this season.

I am concerned that your attempt has proved fruitless, and that your health has suffered in it. Should circumstances occur in the course of the winter to make any alteration, or additional instructions necessary, I shall not fail to communicate them to you before you can set out in the spring. In the mean time, I wish you a perfect recovery of your health, and am

Sir, Your most obedient and most
Humble Servant,
(Signed) F. HALDIMAND.

Lieutenant Governor Hay—

Endorsed:—Copy 1783 To Lieut. Governor Hay December 15th.

[B 123 p 431.]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 30th Decem'r 1783.

SIR, I have the Honor to draw upon His Excellency the Commander in Chief in favor of Mr. Geo. McBeath, as per vouchers herewith, Engineer Department Eight Hundred sixty Pounds thirteen Shillings & four pence, three farthings. Indian Department one Thousand, three hundred, seven Pounds, eight shillings & four Pence, New York Currency.

The disappointment of getting Corn from Detroit & Boats (though both were demanded) are the causes of great part of the expenses which I mentioned to you and Captain Brehm in my Last Letters.

You will be pleased to assist Mr. Sutherland in prompt payment & getting a Pass for some Boats by the Lakes for Mr. McBeath as usual.

I have the honor to be with great regard Sir,
Your most obedient and most Humble Servant,
DAN'L ROBERTSON.

Capt. 84th Reg't
Captain Mathews.
[B 98 p 243]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC 9th March 1784.

SIR, My present situation and the following Reasons will in some small degree apologize for presuming to trouble Your Excellency at this juncture, vizt.

I entered the Service as Surgeon's Mate to the 42nd Regiment in April 1754, got an Ensigncy in August 1756 at Albany from the late Earl of London, and purchased a Lieutenancy at Martinico previous to the Havannah Expedition in April 1762, & was unfortunately reduced in 1763 when on Service under the late worthy General Bouquet.

At the commencement of those Troubles I was appointed Major of the Montreal Militia, where I continued until the arrival of Brigadier McLean in June 1775, who was pleased to nominate me Captain Lieutenant in the Emigrants, and after enlisting about a Company I was ordered to St. John's, where I was taken Prisoner & kept so for fourteen months.

I returned to my Regiment in 1777, & since your Excellency's arrival in Canada my different situations are well known to yourself.

The disagreeable and particular manner I came to this Post induced me to act on the strickest principles of Honor, and very painfull zeal to diminish expenses, and preventing the Indians from giving Presents &c., which deprived me of all the common—Emoluments of my Predecessors.

These Reasons, will, I hope induce Your Excellency to take my case into consideration at this Critical Juncture.

I have the Honor to be with every Respect & regard Sir

Your excellency's most obed't & most humble Servant

DAN'L ROBERTSON

Capt. 84th Reg't

His Excellency

General Haldimand &c &c &c

[B 98 p 244]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 9th March, 1784.

SIR, I received your oblidging Letters, publick and private of the 5th of November last and return you my hearty thanks for every attention to me and mine.

I have wrote to His Excellency which you will be pleased to deliver at a proper time.

I sent down the agreement between Mr. Foy and my son to Major Lernoult last fall, and long ago his name at the office, for a purchase, which I wish could be effected, even at a high price, where he would be out of the Break.

I am nearly out of Indian goods and of opinion those People should be well treated on parting with them, but this of Course I refer to His Excellency.

I have lost two of the Kings horses owing to the scarcity of Hay and corn by not having Boats as I mentioned to you formerly.

I heartily congratulate you on your justly merited Promotion, I have a nephew in the 53d Regiment, to whom I beg your countenance as far as he deserves it.

I have the honor to be with great Regard,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Major Mathews,
etc. etc.
[B 98 p 246]

LIEUT. COL. DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT 12th April, 1784.

SIR, I am extremely sorry that I am prevented from repairing to Niagara so soon as I could wish. The Adjutant Genl. will inform your Excellency with the reason.

I am once more obliged to trouble your Excellency with a Circumstance which gives me much uneasiness, least your Excellency should think I infringed the orders prohibiting officers purchasing Goods on account of Government. It was the Absolute act of necessity which obliged me to borrow a certain Quantity, and to give orders to a Trader residing at the Miamie to advance wherewith all to stop the Wabash and Miamie Indians, from coming to Detroit with their families at a time their visit would have been very inconvenient, and, more expensive to Government, promising to send goods to replace them when they arrived from Canada. When the Goods were received in August I might have replaced them, but as Mr. McCormick delivered a message from Sir John Johnson, requesting the bales might not be broken

upon to repay the articles borrowed, I accordingly acquiesed—It however became necessary that I should close my accounts with the Indian department before I delivered it over to Mr. McKee we therefore agreed that I should draw upon Sir John for the amount whom we advised of every circumstance. He nevertheless refused payment, and has since ordered that the articles borrowed of Mr. Baby, and at the Miamie shall not be replaced. I must therefore beg your Excellency will not look upon the matter in question, in any other light than as goods borrowed at a time of absolute necessity, and still at the option of the Superintendent General to replace—which I most humbly submit to your Excellency's consideration in hopes you will give orders to have this matter finally settled, so that the Traders may not come upon me for payment.

I have the honor to be with greatest respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most Humble and most obedt. Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER

His Excellency Genl. Haldimand commd. in Chief.

Endorsed:—From Lieut. Col. De Peyster 12th April 1784 Rec'd 26th May.

[B 123 p 435]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MONTREAL April 1th 1784.

SIR, As the rivers and Lakes will soon be clear of Ice and admit of my proceeding to Detroit, I beg to be honored with your Excellencys Instructions when I may depart from this: As also to be informd whether the claims of individuals upon Indian Lands there (that is to say those lying on the Strait between the Lakes Erie and Huron a great part of which I informd your Excellency was claimed) are to be looked upon as valid; and whether the Mode of acquiring them by what is call'd Deeds of Gift is to be encouraged or discountenanced.

Your Excellency in conversation last October (I think it was) told me you Hoped and expected many setlers from Virginia and Maryland, would be induced to take up Lands at Detroit in order to free themselves from burdensome Taxes." I any should come with that dessign, are they to be encouraged or aided or in what manner am I to act with them or others, who may come there from any of the States with different Views.

I also beg your Excellency will inform me, what I am to look upon as an established presedent for demanding and collecting all dues, perquisites &c. &c. at Detroit—

I have the honor to be your Excellencys most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand

Endorsed:—From A 1784 Lieut. Govr. Hay 19th April Rec'd 22d

[B 123 p 440]

GEN. HALDIMAND TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

HEADQUARTERS QUEBEC, 26th April, 1784.

SIR:—I have received your letter of the 19th inst., desiring instructions relative to your departure for Detroit.

The ignorance in which I still remain respecting the measures to be adopted in the upper country, in consequence of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, leaves me nothing to add to the instructions I gave you last fall; and though it is probable that I shall soon receive orders which might perhaps render your journey unnecessary, in the event of the Posts being evacuated, yet I am unwilling, upon that uncertainty, to prevent you from availing yourself of the most favorable season for the journey you have to take; you will therefore proceed to Detroit as soon as your convenience will permit.

In answer to the other subjects of your letter, I have to acquaint you that the claims of individuals, without distinction, upon Indian Lands at Detroit, or any other part of the Province, are *invalid*, and the mode of acquiring lands by what is called Deeds of Gift, is to be entirely discountenanced, for by the King's Instructions, no private Person, Society, Corporation, or Colony, is capable of acquiring any property in lands belonging to the Indians, either by purchase of, or grant of conveyance from the said Indians, excepting only where the lands lye within the limits of any colony, the soil of which has been vested in Proprietaries, or corporations only shall be capable of acquiring such property by purchase, or Grants from the Indians. It is also necessary to observe to you that by the King's instructions, no Purchase of Lands belonging to the Indians, whether in the name or for the use of the Crown, or in the name or for the use of Proprietaries of Colonies be made, but at some general meeting at which the Principal Chiefs of each

Tribe claiming a proportion in such lands are present; and all tracts so purchased must be regularly Surveyed by a Sworn Surveyor in the presence and with the assistance of a Person deputed by the Indians to attend such Survey, and the said Surveyor shall make an Accurate Map of such Tract, describing the Limits, which map shall be entered upon the Record with the deed of conveyance from the Indians.

These instructions lay totally aside the claim of Mr. Scheifflin (which you will hear at Detroit) to an Indian Grant of Land even had he obtained it by less unworthy means than He did.

Some application to, or offer from the Indians at Detroit for Lands has been made in favor of the Officers and Interpreters who have served during the war with them—Should it be renewed on your arrival there you will please to communicate the circumstances to me, describing particularly the Tract of Land, the persons applying for it &c. and such part of the Transaction as may concern the Indians must, at the same time, to be reported to Sir John Johnson thro Mr. McKee, His Deputy at Detroit.—

In regard to persons from Virginia &c. Maryland who may propose themselves as Settlers in the Neighbourhood of Detroit, great attention must be paid not to receive any whose political characters will not bear the nicest Scrutiny, His Majesty's Instrutions for granting Lands, on the present occasion, positively, directing that none shall be permitted to settle in this Province but those of approved Loyalty, for which purpose it is directed that all persons who settle therein shall (besides the usual Oaths of Allegiance, &c.) make and Subscribe the following Declaration: "I, A B, do promise "and declare that I will maintain & defend to the utmost of my power the "authority of the King and his Parliament as the Supreme Legislature of "this Province." Persons of the above description I shall have no objection to receive, and should any offer you will report to me their Characters, &c., Requests before you enter into any Engagements with them.

Your last Query, "What you are to look upon as an Established precedent "for demanding & collecting all dues, Perquisites, &c., &c.," I am at a loss to understand. Quit Rents, and all dues whatever belonging to the Crown, must be regularly demanded, collected and accounted for to the Receiver General of the Province, as well in future as for six years back, for which the Lieutenant Governor, &c., several Commanding officers, must be accountable. In regard of Perquisites, I am ignorant of any accruing to the Crown, or to Lieutenant Governors in any part of this Province.

I am, Sir, &c.,

(Signed) FRED. HALDIMAND.

P.S.—Inclosed is a Warrant for the last year's allowance for House Rent, and an order for the Bell promised to the Hurons.

(Signed) F. H.

Lieut. Govr. Hay.

Endorsed:—Copy of a letter from His Excell'y General Haldimand to Lt. Governor Hay. Dated Quebec, 26th April, 1784.

[B 123 p 442]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MONTREAL, 29th April 1784.

SIR: Yesterday I was honoured with your Excellency's Instructions of the 25 Instant, enclosing a Warrant for the Allowance of House rent, with an order and Recept for a Bell promised to the Hurons.

As your Excellency is pleased to attend to my convenience, so far as to permit me to make my departure agreeable to myself, I shall remain here some days longer than would otherwise been necessary, tho' my being encumbered with a family consisting of twelve persons will not admit of great dispatch. Perhaps Vessels may arrive early with dispatches for your Excellency.

The great and unavoidable Expences I have been put to being such as to have almost dissipated the small resource I Had left for their maintainance: obliges me to keep them as near me as possible, and I would wish to prevent both the Expence and trouble of taking them up and returning immediately; which it seems from your Excellency's Letter will be the consequence—on the event of evacuating the posts taking place, which would put the finishing hand to my ruin without a recompense.

For tho' I have not made much complaint, and tho' my Family was not even known to, or received the value of a ration of provision from Government during my absence of three years and a half (on the contrary paid even their passage from Carleton Island to this place) my Fortune Has not been better'd by Government: much less can I boast of having realized twenty five or thirty thousand pounds at the Expence of my Country: and can truly say If it should please God to put a short period to my life I should leave a numerous family in more distress than may be imagined.

One reason for my having requested your Excellencys Instructions regarding Rights, dues and perquisites, is that by my commission I am appointed Lieut. Governor and Superintendant of Detroit to have and to Hold the same, with

all Rights, priviledges Profits, Perquisites, and advantages to the same belonging or appertaining: the meaning of which I may be a partial Judge of, being interested: which is a motive that frequently bias men, and sometimes even unknown to themselves.

Be that as it may: in the present case I can not Help thinking, I am straightened both in power, and advantage, but shall nevertheless do all and the best I can for the good of His Majestys Service, by a strict attention to the orders I Have or may have the honor of receiving from your Excellency.

I have the Honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most Humble Servant,

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

A 1784. From Lieut. Governor Hay, of the 29th April. Rec'd 2d May.

[B 123 p 446]

SECRETARY MATTHEWS TO LIEUT. GOV. HAY.

QUEBEC 3rd May 1784.

SIR, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander in Chief to acquaint you that he has received your Letter of the 29th Ultimo, containing the following passage, "much less can I boast of having realized Twenty-five thous- "and pounds at the expence of my country."—As this, in no way relates to any part of His Excellencys Letter of the 25th, to which yours is in answer, and as it conveys an insinuation that some Individual within Your knowledge has benefited very considerably at the expence of the public. His Excellency considers it your Duty, as an officer of the Crown fully to explain that part of your Letter, & to communicate to Him; without reserve, the circumstances on which it is founded, Which he requires you will do by the first opportunity.—

I am &c.

(Signed) R. MATHEWS.

Jehu Hay Esq.—
Lieut. Gov. of Detroit

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter from Major Mathews to Lieut. Governor Hay 3d May 1784.

[B 123 p 448]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MONTREAL 6th May 1784.

SIR, Yesterday I favored with a Letter from Major Mathews acquainting me your Excellency "considers it my Duty as an officer of the Crown fully to explain the following passage in my Letter of the 29th Ultimo, Vizt: much less can I boast of having realized, twenty-five, or thirty thousand pounds at the expence of my country."

That passage together with what I mentioned before it in the same Letter, of having been put to heavy Expences, and my Family during my absence (at least from the summer 1779) not having received the least succour from Government, I should have thought would be understood as regarding myself, as having supported them without any particular advantage from the Crown.

My saying that I am incapable of doing any one thing, can not in my weak opinion be construed as asserting that a second or third person can, or has done that thing.

I beg leave to assure your Excellency if I come to a perfect unequivocal knowledge of any person having made an assertion, directly contrary to my own alluded to, I shall not make use of Instructions for your Excellency's information, but the plainest Terms I am capable of.

I however hope (as I am not a correct penman and have nobody to write for me) Your Excellency will please to put the most favorable coustructions upon my Expressions or mistakes. And this leads me to request your Excellency will read, (straitened) instead of (straightened) which is a mistake I believe I made in my Letter of the 29th of last month—

I have the Honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient and most Humble Servant

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand

Endorsed:—From Lieut. Gov. Hay, 6th May. Rec'd 8th.

[B 123 p 449]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 26th May, 1784.

SIR: Two days ago an Indian of the Ottawa Nation, a little in Liquor, came here & told me that that nation had held several Councils about

going to War, wherein it was determined to cutt off this Place. How far this is true time must determine. However, I am on my Guard, and uncompleated and ill provided as the Fort is, they must give me a hearty Beating before they succeed.

Those people have received every attention from me, but they were and are much disgusted at the Presents their Warriors received on their arrivall at Detroit, acquainting both the Commanding officers there and the District of it, and have forbid any Person here to write anything about the matter.

I expect them from their Wintering Ground dayly, when I shall be better informed.

On the breaking up of the Ice the Wharf here was broke to Pieces, so that no kind of Craft could be loaded or unloaded. I set carpenters and others to work and is now in a situation to pass the Summer with management. It was a very troublesome Jobe, in very cold weather, & not a drop of Rum to give the workmen.

I have the honor to draw on His Excellency the Commander in favor of Mr. Geo. McBeath for Expenses at this Post, as per vouchers annexed, as follows:

For the Indian Department, the Sum of one Thousand, five Hundred, four Pounds and eleven shillings, New York Currency; and for the Engineer Department, the Sum of Eight Hundred, seventy-seven Pounds, Four shillings and eight pence, same currency.

Great part of this Expense is owing to my not getting any Corn from Detroit, and had it not been for some that the Traders got for their own use, I cannot tell what I should have done.

On this late alarm I was necessitated to employ Carpenters in the Fort in making Platforms, &c.

No Vessell from Detroit as yet.

I have the Honor to be, with great regard, Sir,
Your most obedt. and most Humble Servant,

DANL. ROBERTSON,
Capt. 84th Regt.

Major Mathews.

[B 98 p 247]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 10th June, 1784.

SIR, Your Excellency's Letter of the 6th of May I had the Honor to receive the 1st of June in the evening, I accordingly set out the next morning as commanded.

I examined with attention every Place likely for a Settlement and only found those mentioned in my Journall, herewith annexed likely to answer the purpose, to which I refer Your Excellency as I have given some description & my opinion.

As the River Tessalon appears to me to be the most eligible I would undertake to have the Barracks proposed, built by October 1785 there, with the same number of Artificers now here, and about thirty Canadians as labourers.

As there are two vessels come from Detroit half loaded with merchants effects only, I have detained one of them, the Wyndote, to transport from hence every material proper for a new settlement to Tessalon, which will greatly facilitate the undertaking and save expenses—they consist of Pine Logs, Planks, Barrels, Shingles, Sashes, Doors, Cart Wheels, &c. I hope this will meet with Your Excellencys approbation as otherwise the Americans would have the advantage of those usefull articles.

I have sent a non Commissioned officer with twelve men to take charge of the effects and clear a little ground by way of amusement.

I have sent a List of Tools wanting as likewise the artificers names now here.

On taking possession the Proprietors must be consulted, they are Chipeways and will expect a few Presents.

Since my last Letter to Major Mathews the Ottawas of Arbre Croche are come in and have acted as usual. I believe owing to their seeing me on my guard, They and others complain much of being neglected for their past Services, however I had nothing to give them but fair words and some hopes of getting something for them, and I am of opinion they should be handsomely taken Leave off if we mean to take Post in this Quarter.

The principal Artificers here are of the 84th Regt, without them the work cannot be carried on in Case they are Reduced.

Rum is very much wanted here for various purposes, particularly for Indians, and I have had only seven Barrells this twelve months.

If this Plan takes place I beg your Excellency will be pleased to cause Mr.

Sutherland of Montreal to be acquainted of it that he may provide my little wants accordingly.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's most obedt. & most humble Servant,

DANIEL ROBERTSON,
Capt. 84th Regt.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

[B 98 p 259]

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List of the Artificers of the 8th & 84th Regiments.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 10th June, 1784.

8th Regt.		84th Regt.	
Jno. Williams		Lee Cummings	Masons.
Elvin Powers Bright Butt Saul	Carpenters.	Corpt Jordan Thatcher, Alex Stuart, Rose Cochran	Carpenters.
Lewington Craigie Dowling Cox	Sawers	Price Kelly Jno. Stuart, Hill	Sawyers.
Hurst, Blacksmith.		Delahunty, Blacksmith.	
Joseph Jones, Plasterer.			

DANL. ROBERTSON,
Capt. 84th Regt.

[B 98 p 261]

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A List of Carpenters, Masons and Intrenching Tools wanting for the use of the Engineer Department.

ISLAND OF MICHILIMACKINAC June 9th 1784

Hand Saws	12	Broad Axes	24
Framing Chizls	24	Falling axes	48
Chareing Chizls	24	H Hinges pr	48
Founers of Sizes	18	H Hinges pr	48
Hand Saw Files	72	Door Locks	12
Whip Saw do	48	Stock Locks	24
Augurs of Sizes	36	Small flat Bar Iron	64

Adzes	12	Masons Trowels	24
Nail Hammers	36	Stone Hammers	1
Compasses	24	Shovels	48
Jack Planes	12	Spike Nails by Barrels	2
Smothing Planes	12	Two Shilling sail do	4
Gimlets of Sizes	72	Twenty penny do	4
Two feet rools	12	Boxes of Glass sq. 9	4
Oile Stones	2	Pad Locks	24
Glue do	12 lbs	Harness by sets	12

JAMES JORDAN,
Corporal in the 84th Regt. Foreman of Carpenters

[B 98 p 258]

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List of medicines wanted for His Majesty's Garrison at Michilinakina June 10th, 1784.

Alum Rup ℥ ir
Argent vir Hij
Acct. destill H4
" Scillitic Hi
Antim ppt Hi
Balsam Traumatic Hi
" Peruvian Hiv
Cantharides H4
Caustic Lunar ℥ ij
Cer: Flar H4
Conserr Rosar Hij
Cort: Aurantior ℥ 8
Elect Lenitir H4
Elexir Guiac Volatil ℥ 8
Emp: Adhesiv Hij
" Attrahens Hij
" Diachyl Gum Hj
" Mercurial Hj
" Vesicator Hij
Extract Cathartic ℥ i
" Gentian ℥ ij
" Hellebor nigo ℥ i
" Liquorit Hij
" Cicuto ℥ 4
" Thebiac ℥ ij
Flor: Benzoin ℥ ji
" Chamomel Hij
" Bosar rubr ℥ oiij·

Flor: Zinci ℥ i
" Sulphur Hij

Gum.

Gum Ammoniac ℥ 8
" ap: fotdia ℥ 4
" Arabic Hj
" Camphor ℥ 4.
" Myrrh ℥ 2
Magnes alb ℥ 4
Mann: opt Hij
Mercur: dulc ℥ ij
" Corroxi sub ℥ i
" proupit rub ℥ ji
" Flor ℥ ji
Ol menth: ppt ℥ i
" Olivo opt H4
" Vitriol ℥ iv
Pulv. Doveri ℥ 8
" Ipecac ℥ 8
" Jacob. chart 5j
" Peruvian H4
" Rhei ℥ viij
Pillal: Gummac ℥ 4
Rad: Gentian Hi
" Scill: Siccat ℥ 8
" Rhei ℥ 8
Sal Cathartic Amor Hvj
" Glauber H4
" Absynth ℥ 8

" Martir ℥ 2
" Nitr Hvj
Sacchar. Saturni ℥ 8
Sapon Venet Hij
Semen Cardamom ℥ 8
Spong: nst ℥ 8
Spt C. C. ℥ 8
" Lavenderl Comp ℥ 8
" nitr dulc ℥ 4
Spt Sal Ammoniac ℥ 4
" Volatil Aromat ʒ iv
Tartar Solubil ℥ 8
Theriac Edinensis ℥ 8
Ungt. Basilic H4
" Cerat H4
" Emolliens Hij
Vitriol alb ʒ i
" Coerul ʒ ij

INSTRUMENTS.

1 pr straight Scissors.
1 dressing probe.
1 pocket Spatula.
1 set Teeth Instruments.
2 Lancets.
1 Clyster Syringe with 2 Spare pipes.
2 Penis Syringes.
4 Clyster pipes for boys.

Lint Hj
Tow H8
Old sheets No 6
Leather Skins 2
Phials doz 6
Gally potts small doz 4
Phial Corks 2 gross
Pill Boxes 4 papers
Wrapping paper Quires 6

D. MITCHELL mate 8 Regt.

N. B. Vinegar much wanted at the Post.

Endorsed:—List of medicines wanted for the Garrison at Michelmakina 10 June 1784.

[B 98 p 261 a]

MR. FRY TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC, June 17th 1784.

SIR, Having been informed by Mr. Clowes that there is a Distribution of Lands amongst the Loyalists I have taken the Liberty to Sollicit your favor to represent me in the Light of a Sufferer in the late Contest, I make no doubt Sir, but many people could inform you of the prospects I had at Home had I not prefer'ed the duty I owed to my King to my private Interest—Lands may in some measure compensate my loss provided I could get them where they might be of some value, I am sensible that my situation will induce you to forgive me the importunity that this letter might occasion—

And beg leave to be with due Respect, Sir,
Your most obedt. Servant
PHIL. R. FRY.

Major Mathews
[B 98 p 262]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC 26th June 1784.

SIR, Since my last letter of the 10th Instant, I had the Honor of both your Excellency's of the 29th of March by Detroit—

I am highly sensible of the favours bestowed on me by your Excellency and my utmost Endeavours shall always be to obtain the approbation of my Superiors in every situation they may be pleased to put me in for the Kings Service or otherwise—

I shall have the men of the 84th Regt. now at Tessalon, relieved as soon as possible to be sent down, which will greatly derange the present plan of removing by degrees the effects from this, which I am about with very little trouble and no expense—by the returning vessels to Detroit, that are not above Half a Day on that account—

Several of these men and others, mostly Country Born have been Examining this River and Lands, and find them as set forth in my Journal, they wish much to be discharged here in order to settle there, with some Encouragement from Your Excellency, they are Loyalists that joined the 84th Regiment, some of them have Family's & have heard of the advantages their Friends had got below. I presume they would require some assistance on account of the extravagancies of every Article in these Parts—

I have had some Intelligence from white men and Indians of a very Fertile and advantageous Tract of Land between Lakes Ontario and Huron, worthy to be properly explored, and by communication that way the Trade with Canada must be carried on to put us on a footing with our neighbours from the Colony.

I had a letter from Captain McKee from Detroit acquainting me that there was to be one Interpreter at this Post, there are now here Gautier paid below young Langlade here, old Mr. Langlade at La Bay paid below, & Cadot at the Sault St. Mary's paid here—

The Service at present require their being employed untill we are properly established elsewhere, Cadot must be very usefull in case of taking Post from this, being well acquainted with the Proprietors of Lands intended to be taken possession of—

Indians are quiet and I am on my guard as I believe there was some intention against us, but they would not bring things to be general, and on my representations to them of the absurdity of such a Conduct they seem at present well satisfied—

If I could be appointed Indian Agent with propriety I flatter myself the

Service would not suffer by it, as I am equally acquainted with their customs in the Field & otherwise as any could get that Employment—

I have the Honor to be with Every Respect—

Your Excelly's most obedt and most humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Capt. Commt.

His Excellency General Haldimand

[B 98 p 264]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 27th June, 1784.

SIR: After Sealing my Letter to His Excellency the Commander in Chief I was applied to in the Civil Line. I therefore beg you will be pleased to acquaint him of the necessity of appointing me or some Person to act as a Magistrate and administer oaths, &c.

I likewise forgot to inform that there is a very advantageous fall for mills on the River Tessalon, and a large Pinery adjacent.

Two Family's and a single man have spoke to me to settle on that River.

We have not had any Supplies of any kind for this Post as yet, tho' much in want of every Article.

I have the Honor to be, with great Regard, Sir,

your most obt. humble Servant,

DAN'L ROBERTSON.

Major Mathews.

[B 98 p 266]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 10th July 1784.

SIR: I humbly beg leave to lay the following observations and Requisitions to your Excellency's considerations:

Messrs. Frobisher and McTavish of the North West Company are now here. With them I have had several conferences with regard of the future Communication to this Country, so as to enable them or others to trade in those Parts on a footing with the Americans, and after every Inquiry, that,

between Lakes Ontario and Huron is the only one to be attempted, and that very practicable, by shortening the Road greatly and avoiding the Niagara carrying place and any Interference with our neighbours.

For these considerations and the more speedy opening that communication, I am induced to request that your Excellency will be pleased to grant to them, Messrs. Sutherland & Grant, myself, with any others agreeable to your Excellency that would contribute to the undertaking the said Tract of Land between these two Lakes.

Mr. Benjamin Frobisher will have the Honor to wait on your Excellency in Person, on this subject, and in case it should take place he is to be acting person in Montreal. From my Connection with Indians during the War, I am well acquainted with some of the Principalls of those in that Country.

I have the Honor to acquaint Your Excellency that not one Indian is come here from the Mississippi this year, owing to my having sent them Paroles to that purpose last Fall. There have been several Bands from Lake Superior, La Cloche, Missisagay and Madjadash, which I was very sorry for, as I had nothing for them, having received no Presents but a Trifle in Spring, 1780, since my coming here.

As there is some appearance of being near neighbours to those People, who are numerous, and for fear of some future discontent, I was induced to borrow some Goods and Rum, at a very great Trouble, owing to the scarcity of them, and sent them off well pleased.

Your Excellency may be assured that this was not through any disregard to my Instructions, but a real opinion of the necessity of it.

I have the Honor to be, With the greatest Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servants

DANL. ROBERTSON.

His Excell'y Genl. Haldimand.

[B 98 p. 267]

Return of Provisions in His Majesty's Magazines at Detroit July 12th 1784.

	Salt Provisions.								Tallow mixed with Bears' Oil.	Corn.	Vinegar.		Salt.	Rum.	
	Flour.	Pork.	Pease.		Butter.		Oatmeal.								
	Pounds.	Pounds.	Gallons.	Pints.	Pounds.	Ounces.	Pounds.	Ounces.	Pounds.	Bushels.	Galls.	Pts.	Galls.	Galls.	Pts.
Total.....	20,155	66,359 2-7	12,311	2⅔	4089	14 6-7	9,587		425	29	87	8	28	.....	....
Rationed at.....	1 pound.	9 1-7 Ounces.	3-7 Pint.		6-7 Ounce.		1 1-7 Ounce.								
Rations.....	20,155	116,129	287,806		74,328		134,218								
Victuals 500 Men	40 days.	232 days.	579 days.		148 days.		268 days.								

N. B.—Near ¼ of the above mentioned quantity of Flour, is damaged and unfit for use.

THOMAS REYNOLDS,
Assistant Commissary.

JEHU HAY, Lieut. Govr. & Superintendent.

Endorsed:—Return of Provisions in His Majesty's Magazines at Detroit, July 12th, 1784.

[B 123 p 451]

An Inventory of Engineers Stores Taken at Detroit, 13th July, 1784.

| | | |

PETITION.

DETROIT, July 15th, 1784.

SIR: We the Subscribers being principally interested in the Trade of this Place having a large Quantity of Peltry now on hand and daily expecting more all of which are intended for Montreal, and from thence to London the Season being so far advanced we have reason to fear they cannot be transported in Time by His Majestys Vessels some of them being employed on other Services, there being three Small Shallops belonging to Individuals we pray you may allow them to Navigate between this and Fort Schlosser as well to transport the Packs as to bring Merchandize which is much wanted and will be the means of securing the Trade of this Country at least another year to Great Britain.

Being persuaded you will facilitate the Trade of this Country in every Matter that does not interfere with the Good of His Majesty's Service we rely on your granting our Request.

We are with Respect Sir,
Your most obedient Huml. Servants.

Signed

Pollard & Mason	Todd & McGill
Touss'r Pothier & co	Alexander Henry
John Martin	John Askin
Leith & Shepherd	T. Williams & co
Thos. Finshley	A. & W. Macomb
Andrews & Tremble	Geo. Lyons
Sharp & Wallace	Ant. Lassell

Lieut. Governor Hay
Commanding Detroit
&c its Dependencies &c &c.

[B 123 p 453]

FROM CAPTAIN GRANT. UNADDRESSED.

DETROIT, 15th July, 1784.

SIR, I am of opinion that from the loss of those Vessels on Lake Erie last Fall, and of two others being now employed on Lake Huron, the remainder from the lateness of the Season will not be sufficient for the transportation of the great quantity of Peltries now here, and expected in a short

time, and that the three Small Sloops (one of which has been permitted to Sail for Fort Erie already by Capt. Bird) may be employed to assist in the transportation of Packs of Peltry now here without being detrimental to His Majestys Service. The necessity is the greater as the Gage and Felicity are employed in Transporting the disbanded and discharged Troops.

Signed

ALEX GRANT,

Commandg. the Vessels Lakes Erie &c &c.

Copy Of a Representation and request from the Merchants at Detroit with Commander Grant's opinion of the same.

[B 123 p 454]

Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores in the Garrison of Detroit under the charge of John Sparkman, Conductor, the 15th July, 1784.

Species of Stores.				S.	R.	V.
Ordnance.	Brass	With Traveling Carriage, without Limbers &c.,	⅓ Pors.	1	------	------
					------	------
		With Travelling Carriages, Limbers &c, complete,	6 Pors.		------	------
				3	------	------
		With Grass Hopper, Do, 3 Por.,		1	------	------
		With Cavalier, Do, 3 Do,		1	------	------
		With Garrison, Do, 12 Por,		1	------	------
		Mortars with Beds 4 2-5 Inch		3	------	------
		Do, on Grasshopper Carriage, Do,		1	------	------
		With Garrison Carriages,	18 Pors.	1	------	------
		Iron Trucks &c complete,	9 "	2	------	------
	Iron	With Garrison Carriages,	12 Pors,	1	------	------
			9 "	2	------	------
		Wood Truck &c complete,	6 "	5	------	------
			4 "	4	------	------
		Dismounted,	4	------	------	2
			⅓	3	------	------
		Mortar with Bed, 4 2-5		1	------	------
		Pattirao		------	------	1
Ammunition.	Boxes	Side	6 Pors	6	------	------
			3 "	8	4	------
		Musket Cartridge		6	------	------
	Chests			4	------	------
Aprons of Lead Sorts				30	------	------
Budge Bancles, C. H.				4	------	------
Buckets, Leather,				7	------	2
Bags Sand, ¼ Bushel,				600	------	------
Bottles holding Oil,				1	------	------
Blocks	Treble			1	------	------
	Double			1	------	------
Butter, Damaged, lbs				28	------	------
Ball Cartridges,				3259	------	------

Species of Ordnance Stores continued.			S.	R.	V.
Ball Musqt, cwts., qrs., lbs.,			9	12	------
Buck Shot, cwts,			4	------	------
Cart, Sling, complete,			1	------	------
Crows of Iron,			1	------	------
Clouts, pairs,			2	------	------
Clothes-hair,			2		
Engine, &c	Fire		1	------	------
	Hook for Do.,		1	------	------
	Hose Lengths		10	------	------
Flints	Musqt		1374	------	------
	Carbine		100	------	------
Flasks for Priming			24	------	------
Flag, Union and complete,			1	------	------
Funnels of Plate,			2	------	------
Gyris	Triangle		1	------	------
	On Scales		1	------	------
Handspikes of Sorts,			72	------	------
Hides, Tanned			6	------	------
Handscrews, Large,			1	------	------
Hans Powder			7	------	------
Hammers, Claw,			6	------	6
Housing for Covering Guns,			17	------	------
Do., for two Light, 3 Pors,	Horse	Thrill	1	------	1
		Trace	2	------	------
	Men's Sets,		2	-----	------
	Pack Saddles,		2	2	------
	Side Boxes,		8	------	------
	Shoulder Pads,		2	------	------
	Wanties,		2	------	------
	Poles for Carrying Guns,		2	------	------
	Muzzles with Halters,		2	------	------
Iron Work for Sleds to run on 3 Pors,			2	------	------
Iron Bushell, lbs,			30	------	------
Kettles of Sorts,			6	------	------
Kitts for holding Grease,			2	------	------
Linstocks of Sorts,			20	------	------
Lanthorns of Sorts,			4	------	2

Species of Stores continued.		S.	R.	V.
Locks of Sorts,		8	------	------
Ladles of Sorts,		29	------	------
Match, Slow, lbs.		17	------	------
Muzzle Caps for Mortars, 4 2-5 Inch,		5	------	------
Nails, 20 d		1400	------	------
Oil, Linseed, Gallons,		5	------	------
Paint, lbs.,	White	62	------	------
	Yellow,	65	------	------
Punches for Vents,		10	------	------
Paper Musket Cartridge Rhurs. qm. Flds.		1-17-9	------	------
Rope, Tarred,	Of Sorts, Fathoms,	75	------	------
	Drag, Pairs,	3	------	------
Serchers Compleat,		2	------	------
Spunges of Sorts Compleat,		45	------	------
Spunge Heads and Rammers of Sorts H. B.,		20-16	------	------
Steel Spikes for Nailing Guns,		6	------	------
Sheep Skins,		4	------	------
Scales, of Wood with Iron Beam, Pairs,		1	------	------
Slings, for Guns, Do,		2	------	------
Scythe		1	------	------
Saws,	Hand,	1	------	------
	Pennant,	1	------	------
Spare Carriages,	18 Per Garrison,	1	------	------
	9 " "	1	------	------
	6 Por Travellg not Bound,	------	1	------
	3 Por for Mounting on Sleds,	2	------	------
	Grasshopper, Adapted for 4 2-5 Inch Mortar,	1	------	------
		See brass Ordnance.		
Tin Sheets,		100	------	------
Tampeous of Sorts,		22	------	------
Tools, Intrenching,	Spades,	7	------	------
	Shovels,	4	------	------
	Hand, Bills, Hatchets,	7	------ nei	------
	Axes, Broad,	1	------	------
	Axes, Felling,	10	------	------
	Axes, Pick,	5	------	------

Species of Ordnance Stores continued.					S.	R.	V.
Thread for Cartridges, lbs,					4¾	------	------
Wadhooks of Sorts,					22	------	------
Wadmill Tilts,					3	------	------
Weights of	Iron,	56 lbs.,			4	------	------
		Lead,	28		3	------	------
			14		1	------	------
			12		1	------	------
			4		1	------	------
			3		1	------	------
			2		1	------	------
			1		1	------	------
			½		1	------	------
	Labratory Stores.						
Brass,	Calibers, Pairs,				1	------	------
	Quadrants,				2	------	------
	Scales with Iron Beam,				1	------	------
	Wire Bottoms for Sieves,				1	------	------
Boxes Tin Tube with Straps, 6 Pors,					2	------	------
Do without Straps of Sorts,					15	------	------
Bottoms of Wood for Case Shot,					48	------	------
Flannl Cartridges Filled with Powder,	Empty		18 Pors		100	------	------
			12		400	------	------
			9		400	------	------
			6		628	------	------
			4		400	------	------
			3		206	------	------
			4 2-5		500	------	------
	Filled with Powder,			18 Pors	7	------	------
				12	22	------	------
				4	2	------	------
Cartridges Paper	Empty		18 Pors		100	------	------
			12		100	------	------
			9		219	------	------
			6		300	------	------
			4		450	------	------
	Filled with Powder 9 Pors				29	------	------

Species of Ordnance Stores continued.			S.	R.	V.
Cartoutches of Leather, 6 Pors,			5	.....	1
Chests, Labratory,			2	.....	.....
Catgut, Knots,			17	.....	.....
Cases of Tin for Case Shot,		6 Pors	46	.....	.....
		4	218	.....	.....
		3	200	.....	.....
Copper,	Hoops,		68	.....	.....
	Funnel,		1	.....	.....
	Salting Bores,		3	.....	.....
	Measures, set compleat,		1	.....	.....
	Odd Do,		2	.....	.....
	Adze, Vice driver of each,		1	.....	.....
Fuzes, 4 2-5 Inch,			500	.....	.....
Flaxs, lbs,			4	.....	.....
Founers of Wood, of Sorts,			9	.....	.....
Funnels, Tin,			1	.....	.....
Knives, Cutting,			12	.....	.....
Magazines, Traveling,			13	.....	.....
Match, quick, lbs,			4	.....	.....
Mallets and Setlers of Wood, 4 2-5 Inch M. S.,			3-3	.....	.....
Molds for Casting Ball,	Musqt,		1	.....	.....
	Carbine,		1	.....	.....
Powder, W. B. bbs.,			16-76½	.....	.....
Portfire,	Portfires, Dogs, Odd,		1-9	.....	.....
	Sticks for Do,		20	.....	.....
Potts, Watering,			3	.....	.....
Pincers, pairs,			1	.....	.....
Perpendicular, with Case,			1	.....	.....
Pasps, ½ round,			1	.....	.....
Shot, round,	In Piles	18 Pors	372	.....	.....
		12	1200	.....	.....
		9	804	.....	.....
		6	1000	.....	.....
		4	300	.....	.....
	Fixt to Wood	3	200	.....	.....
	bottoms only, 4 Pors,		70	.....	.....
	3		30	.....	.....

Species of Ordnance Stores continued.			S.	R.	V.
Shot fixt with Flanl	6 Pors	Round,	180	.....	17
		Case	455	.....	.....
Cartridges filled with Powder,	3 Pors	Round,	84	.....	.....
		Case,	87	.....	.....
Shot Case fix'd to	12 Pors		100	.....	.....
Wood bottoms only,	6		91	.....	.....
Shot quitted unfixt	9 Pors		230	.....	.....
	6		94	.....	.....
	4		27	.....	.....
Shells,	Fixt	4 2-5 Inch,	40	.....	.....
		Handgred's,	82	.....	.....
	Empty	4 2-5 Inch,	300	.....	.....
		Handgred's,	70	.....	.....
Scrapers for Shells, 4 2-5 Inch,			3	.....	.....
Scissors, pairs,			6	.....	.....
Sheers,			1	.....	.....
Shot Gauges, Iron,		18 Pors	1	.....	.....
		12	1	.....	.....
		9	1	.....	.....
		6	1	.....	.....
		4	1	.....	.....
		3	1	.....	.....
Spirits of Wine, Quarts,			3	.....	.....
Sulpher, lbs,			8	.....	.....
Tin Tubes,	Fixt	18 Pors	114	.....	.....
		12	160	.....	.....
		6	440	.....	.....
		3	230	.....	.....
	Empty	18 Pors	100	.....	.....
		12	300	.....	.....
Mealing Table with Rubber			1	.....	.....

JOHN SPARKMAN,
Cond^{r} of Ordnance Stores.

Jehu Hay, Lieut. Gov^{r}
and Superintendent of Detroit.

Endorsed:—Detroit 15th July 1784 Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores under the charge of John Sparkman Conductor—

[B 123 p 455.]

Monthly Return of His Majesty's Garrison of Detroit July 16th 1784.

Regiments	Officers Present. Commissioned Staff. Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Act'g Engineers.	Conductors.	Sergeants Present.	Drummers Present.	Effective Rank & File. Present and fit for duty.	Sick Present.	On Command.	On Furlough.	At other Quarters.	Total.	Alterations since last Return. Inlisted.	Dead.	Discharged.	Deserters.
Royal Artillery	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....
King's or 8th	1	2	1	1	.....	6	3	127	16	.....	.....	.....	157	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	1	2	1	1	1	6	3	139	16	.....	.....	.....	170	.....	.....	.....	.....

Thos. Reynolds, Commissary of Provisions,
George Anthon, Surgeon's Mate,
Abraham Albey, Barrack Master.

} Present not included in the above Return.

JEHU HAY,
Lieut. Gov[r] & Superint[d].

Endorsed :—Monthly Return of His Majesty's Garrison of Detroit 16th July 1784.

[B 123 p 465.]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT, JULY 16th, 1784.

SIR: I did not arrive at this place untill the 12th Instant, having been detained thirteen days at Carleton Island, and twenty-two between Niagara and Fort Erie. In obedience to your Excellency's orders of the 4th November, 1783, I, on my arrival, informed myself of the number of Loyalists at this Post and Dependencies, and find but one man of that description.

Inclosed is a Return of Rations Issued to different persons not belonging to the Garrison, Navy, or Indian Department, as also Returns of the Garrison, of Engineers' Stores, of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, and of Provisions.

As a Part of the Small quantity of flour in Store is damaged, I have wrote to Lieut. Colonel De Peyster to forward some by the first Vessall, to Prevent my being obliged to purchase, and which indeed cannot be done untill the present harvest is got in and the grain thrashed and grounded, many of the Inhabitants having been three months without Flour themselves, and the immoderate Price of Six Pounds York pr. Hundred being now offered by individuals and cannot be had.

Mr. Thomas Williams informs me he applied to your Excellency last year to resign his employments, but has not yet received an answer, and finding his own private affairs so accumulated as to take up his whole time, now declines acting any longer, which will oblige me to receive what Records of the place he has in his possession and to appoint another person to act until I receive your Excellency's instructions upon the matter. In the mean time I have to request your Excellency will furnish me with a Warrant, to demand of and oblige all Persons to pay in their arrears of Lots, et Ventes, and all other dues.

The Dunmore had a New main-mast put in her the day before yesterday, and is now almost loaded and ready to sail for Michilimackinac.

Captain Robinson has wrote for two Batteaux for the use of the two Posts of Michilimackinac and Tessalon, but only one can be sent, there not being any at this Post belonging to Government, except two and a Gun Boat.

The Gage has been carcen'd since I arrived, to try to stop a leak in her bottom, and is ready to sail for Fort Erie with the discharged men of the Garrison.

The circumstances of two Vessals being employed on Lake Huron, and the Gage and Felicity transporting the Troops, will prevent a great Part of a very considerable quantity of Peltry from being transported a cross the

Leakes early enough to be sent to Europe this year, to the great detriment of Commerce, which has been represented to me by those concerned in it; to obviate which, together with Commodore Grant's opinion, I have been induced to permit three small Sloops from Ten to Twenty Tons belonging to Individuals to sail to Fort Erie with Peltries, with orders not to quit Company with the Kings Vessell with which they are to Sail, except by stress of weather. One of these Small Sloops had already sailed for Fort Erie before my arrival.

Inclosed is a Copy of the representation above mentioned which I hope your Excellency will think sufficient for my granting their request as to the transportation of Peltries.

I beg your Excellency will let me know your pleasure regarding the validity of the conveyance of Lots of ground belonging to the King within the Fort by Lieut. Colonel De Peyster.

I have the Honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble Servant,

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

[B 123 p 462]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 17th July, 1784.

SIR, I have the Honor to draw on His Excellency the Commander in Chief for expenses at this Post, from the 1st April to 1st June last, in favor of Mr. Geo. McBeath the following Sums. Indian Department, One Thousand Eight Hundred, seventy seven Pounds, Five Shillings and eight Pence York Currency. Engineer Department, One Thousand, one Hundred, Twenty four Pounds, six shillings and two pence, three farthings same Currency, as per Vouchers annexed.

Not getting Corn from Detroit last Fall as I asked & what I wrote you this Spring are the causes of the amount being so high.

I have wrote for two Battoes which I am very much in want of.

No Provisions or anything else as yet for this Post.

I have the Honor to be with great Regard, Sir,

Your most obedt. Humble Servant,

DANL. ROBERTSON,

Captn Commt.

Major Matthews.

[B 98 p 269]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO COL. CLAUS.

MICHILIMAKINAC, 22nd July, 1784.

SIR, The Bearer Mr. Calvé arrived here a Week ago. I hope it has answered the intended purpose, in sending him among the Indians, he has had some disagreement with a Mr. Aird now at Montreal, from what I have heard this same Aird is a very improper Person to be in this Country, however Calvé will tell you the story himself.

The Indians are pretty quiet considering that I have nothing for them. I would have wrote to Sir John Johnson was I not told he was going to England.

I have the Honor to be with great regard Sir

Your most obedt. huml. Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Col. Clause.

[Indian Affairs M. G. IV.]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT 22nd July 1784

SIR, I take the opportunity of Commodore Grants going to Quebec, to inclose to your Excellency a List of the names of those who claim Indian Lands in the vicinity of this Place, from Grants recorded in the Recorders office, and as I understand by the knowledge of the Commanding Officers here since the year 1780, by which it will appear your Excellency's orders to me to discountenance such proceedings, is something too Late to have any effect, as almost all the Land between the Lakes Erie and Huron on both sides the Streight is claimed and a great part setttled upon and improved.— If it is your Excellency's pleasure this should be stopp'd nothing but your Excellency's publick and positive orders will affect it.

As Lieut. Governor Hamilton knows the most of the claimants he can inform your Excellency many of them are very unworthy any indulgence in that way.

I have consulted Mr. McKee upon the most probable method of obtaining a Tract for the Crown to be distributed as your Excellency may think proper, and he is of opinion with me, that a stripe of two or three Leagues deep on the Streight between the Lakes Erie and Huron may be easily obtained, but that a greater quantity might give umbrage to the nations on the Lakes. He likewise tells me the purchase which has been made at Niagara has not been made known to the Lake Indians, and it is more than probable they will not be pleased with the bounderies extending so far up Lake Erie.—

I am informed several of the reduced Provincial Officers and many of the Soldiers wish to settle on the South side of Detroit rather than anywhere else—

Several have built upon and improved Lands who have no other Pretensions than the Indians consent possession, Captains Bird and Caldwell are of the number, at a place they have called Fredericks Burg; besides all which there are some concessions of Lots in the Town of which I have not yet got a full account—

I have the Honor to be Your Excellency's, most obedient, and most Humble Servant,

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand

Endorsed:—From A 1784 Lt. Govr. Hay 22nd July Rec'd 11th Augt.

[B 124 p 466]

RETURN.

Dr. *Monthly Return of Provisions Received and Issued at Detroit from 25th June to 24th July 1784.*

Date.		From Whom Received.	Flour.	Pork.	Pease.		Butter.		Oatmeal.		Tallow mixed with Bears' Oil.	Corn.	Vinegar.		Salt.	Rum.	
			Pounds.	Pounds.	Galls.	Pints.	Pounds.	Oz.	Pounds.	Oz.	Pounds.	Bushels.	Galls.	Pints.	Galls.	Gal's.	Pints.
June	25th	Remained in Store.	34,055	74,691 2-7	12,976	2 1-7	4,711	14 6-7	10,365	3-7	425	29	87	3	.....	23	2½
July		From Mr. Warren.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	436	.....
Do	24th	Fort Erie From Salt Issues.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	.....	.....
Total			34,055	74,691 2-7	12,976	2 1-7	4,711	14 6-7	10,365	3-7	425	29	87	3	34	459	2½
Issued &c pr. Contra			23,986	11,668 4-7	1,094	6 3-7	1,012	8 6-7	1,080	9 1-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	549	2½
Remains July 24th			10,069	63,022 5-7	11,881	3 5-7	3,699	6	9,284	7 2-7	425	29	87	3	34	.....	.....
Rationed at			1 lb.	9 1-7 oz.	3-7 pint.		6-7 oz.		1 1-7 oz.								
Rations			10,069	110,290	221,783		69,055		129,976								
Victuals 400 Men			25 days.	275 days.	554 days.		172 days.		325 days.								

[B 123 p 468]

Monthly Return of Provisions.—Continued. *Cr.*

Date.	To whom Issued &c.	Flour.	Pork.	Pease.		Butter.		Oatmeal.		Tallow mixed with Bears' Oil.	Corn.	Vinegar.		Salt.	Rum.		Rations.	
		lbs.	Pounds.	Gals.	Pts.	lbs.	oz.	lbs.	oz.	Pounds.	Bush-els.	Gals.	Pts.	Gals.	Galls.	Pts.	Treas-ury.	Pro-vin-cal.
1 July 24th	King's (or 8th) Regiment	7,756	4,432	415	4	415	8	554	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,756	.....
2 Ditto do	Royal Artillery	390	222 6-7	20	7 1-7	20	14 2-7	27	13 5-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	390	.....
3 Ditto do	Navy	3,420	1,140	71	2	142	8	142	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	77	4½	.....	2,280
4 Ditto do	47th Regiment	61	34 6-7	3	2 1-7	3	4 2-7	4	5 5-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	61	.....
5 Ditto do	34th Regiment	560	320	30	.....	30	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	560	.....
6 Ditto do	84th Regiment	232	132 4-7	12	3 1-7	12	6 6-7	16	9 1-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	232	.....
7 Ditto do	Rangers	1,713	978 6-7	91	6 1-7	91	12 2-7	122	5 5-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,713	.....
8 Ditto do	Indians and Department	2,301	2,762	331	2	89	12	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,863⅔	.....
9 Ditto do	Prisoners of War and Loyalists	1,555	888 4-7	83	2 3-7	86	4 6-7	111	1 1-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,555	.....
10 Ditto do	Ditto ditto ditto	536	306 2-7	28	5 5-7	28	11 3-7	38	4 4-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	536	.....
11 Ditto do	Engineers	30	17 ½	1	4 6-7	1	9 5-7	2	2 2-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....
12 Ditto do	Commissary and Cooper	60	34 2-7	3	1 5-7	3	3 3-7	4	4 4-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....
13 Ditto do	Barrack Master	30	17 1-7	1	4 6-7	1	9 5-7	2	2 2-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....
14 Ditto do	Condemned by Survey	4,831	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
--	Rum borrowed pr. Former Returns	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	355	.....	.....	.....
15	Deficiences on Packages and Loss on Issues	511	382	.....	.....	85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	6	.....	.....
	Total	23,986	11,668 4-7	1,094	6 3-7	1,012	6 6-7	1,080	9 1-7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	459	2½	16,786⅔	2,280

THOMAS REYNOLDS,

Assistant Commissary.

[B 123 p 469]

Numbers and Denominations of Persons Victualled.

	Numbers.
Kings (or 8th) Regiment	258
Royal Artillery	13
Navy	76
Rangers	57
Indians and Department	129
Prisoners of war and Loyalists	67
Engineer	1
Commissary and Cooper	2
Barrack Master	1
Total	604

Exclusive of the above.

One Sergt. 47th Regiment on Furlow.

Regiments. { Party 34th for Michilemakinac.
Party 84th for Niagara.

[B 123 p 470]

Remarks on the dificiency of Rum.

In September, 1783, was borrowed of Merchants in Detroit 689 Gallons of Rum, to be forwarded to Michilimakinac, for the Supply of that Garrison, in Case the Kings Rum, should not arrive time enough, to be sent by the last Vessel for that Post, done by order of Lieut. Colonel De Peyster.

Lost in filling up the casks, to repay the said quantity borrowed of the Merchants.

	Gallons.	Pints.
Lost by natural Wastage, on 1,968 Gallons of Rum, Issued at His Majesty's Magazine at Detroit, between the 25th July 1783 and the 24th July 1784	8 16	 6
Total Gallons	26	6

N. B. All the casks of Rum that were received between the above periods from Fort Erie, were accounted full, tho they had not been filled up, from

the time, they left Niagara; except two Puncheons, that were on board the Angelica, at the time the vessel was wrecked.

THOMAS REYNOLDS
Assistant Commissary.

Endorsed:—Monthly Return of Provisions received and Issued at Detroit from 25 June to 24 July 1784.

[B 123 p 471]

CAPTAIN GRANT TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

NIAGARA July 31st 1784.

MY DEAR MAJOR, Having a report here that Sir Guy Carleton is coming out as Gouvernor Generl. in that case I suppose General Haldimand would go home immediately. My returning to Detroit to execute His Excellency order regarding reducing the Department, and affraid I would not be able to be at Quebec before the change took place, obliges me to forward the inclosed memorial to you, requesting the favor to present it to His Excellency, should you not see any impropriety in it. My best Compliments to De d^r and Miss Malave.

I am Dear Major your friend and Most respectfull Humble Servt.

ALEXR. GRANT.

Major Mathew.

Endorsed.—From Capt. Alexr. Grant 31st July Rec'd 18th Aug. 1784.

[B 123 p 474]

MEMORIAL.

To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esq. Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec &c &c &c

The Memorial of Alexander Grant commanding Majesty's Vessels on the upper Lakes humbly sheweth.

That there is a Balance of eight hundred and ninety three pounds Sterling due to your Memorialist from the Sales of his Vessels on the Lakes to Government, as appears by the Report of the Auditors of Accounts dated 1780—and already laid before your Excellency: that He solicits the payment of that Sum as a matter of Right according to said Report, and that he trusts your Excellency

will now order it to be paid as a final Settlement of all the Accounts and Charges of the naval Department is to take Place, and your Memorialist may run a great Risque of losing the Balance due to him if not settled by your Excellency which would be a very material Loss to him and his numerous Family, and he is willing to hope that his long and faithful Services will induce your Excellency to grant him this Favor at present, which knowing how much your Excellency was employed about matters of greater Consequence, he did not press upon you during the war.

And your Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray—

ALEXR. GRANT

Niagara July 30th 1784.

[B 123 p 472]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WILLIAMSON TO CAPTAIN HOPE RELATIVE TO GOVERNOR SINCLAIR.

ISLAND OF ORLEANS, 5th Augt., 1784.

I am sorry to inform you that your Friend the Governor is in a worse way than when you left him. I have called twice, but could not see him, & understand from Monsr. De Roski that he has taken it into his head that I am sent by you and Mr. Sinclair to pry into his affairs and see what is passing at his house, that I may give you Intelligence. so that I shall avoid giving him any more cause for uneasiness. It seems he is much displeased at you and Mr. Sinclair & thinks you persecute him. He has likewise accused Monsr. De Roski of being in the League. He sleeps little or none, keeps himself mostly shut up in his Chamber, with the Door locked, & has committed several little extravagancies which it is needless to mention. Monsr. De Roski is of opinion, and I think he is right, that if possible some Friend should come and stay with him, who could have some influence & who could amuse him. I wish you could devise some method, as you are acquainted with his connections, and I am fully persuaded you have his interest much at heart. Indeed, from Dr. Roche's Account of the matter it begins to be very serious; as his Melancholy increases daily, God knows what may be the consequence.

I thought it my Duty to give you a fair account of what I have heard from

Dr. Roche concerning him. I hope you will advise with some of his Friends what is to be done, without making it Public.

Endorsed :—Extract of a Letter from Dr. Williamson to Captain Hope, relative to Governor Sinclair's health. 5th August, 1784.

[B 98 p 270]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

MICHILIMACKINAC 5th Augt. 1784

SIR, Your Excellency's Letter of the 14th of June last, I had the Honor to receive on the 3d instant, and the Detachment of the 34th Regiment as therein mentioned arrived here the 4th instant—with the order of Relief and accordingly the Detachment of the 8th Regiment Embark to-morrow on board the Dunmore and Felicity for Detroit—

From my knowledge of Indians, the Traders & Commerce of this Country, with the situation of things at present, I humbly beg leave to represent to Your Excellency that this small Garrison is by no means adequate to a Post in those Parts—and very alarming to the well affected Traders who have some Property in hand, not less than four Thousand Packs from this Post and Dependencies, to Canada, this year and great outfits are made and now making for next year.

Since the report of the Ottawa's intention against this Post, well founded, the Inhabitants have mounted a Guard of Twenty men every night by my desire, and very cheerfully will continue so doing while there are a number of them sufficient for that purpose in the Traders' Village.

I have sent a Carefull man to Tessalon with three Canadians to take charge of the effects there untill Yonr Excellency's Intentions be made known.

A Mr. Grant, a Loyalist just arrived from taking a view of Tessalon and tells me that the Soil &c are very excellent and that he can procure Three Family's, with encouragement from Government to settle there—

I have the Honor to be, with great Respect,

Your Excellency's most obedt. most humble Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

[B 98 p 272]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT, August 5th, 1784.

SIR, In my Letter of the 16th July I mentioned to your Excellency Mr. Williams declining to act in a public capacity any longer and the necessity of appointing another person in his place. I have not however, nor shall I appoint any one untill I am Honored with your Excellency's Orders. In the mean time Mr. Williams has got a Mr. Monferton to do the business of Notary for and in Mr. Williams' place.

I think him a proper person for that office and Van due Master and recommend him to your Excellency as always having shewn grate zeal for His Majesty's Service, and from his attention and good example has maintained every good order in his Company of Militia on the South side the River.

As all public works are ordered to cease here, it is my duty to inform your Excellency that the Front and rear of this Town is open, the Pickets having been taken down by order of Lieut. Colonel De Peyster and the continuation of the Lots to the river given to the proprietors saving a Cart road at the Waters Edge, by which means a discontended Indian may any night set fire to the Town.

The Ground given by Lieut. Colonel De Peyster as above mentioned was formerly the wood yard, but now the Barrack Master is obliged to pile his wood at so great a distance on each side the Town that no Sentry from the Garrison can take charge of it.

Captain Bird acting Engineer has reported to me that part of Fort Lernoult has been much damaged this Spring and Summer by heavy rains, and if not repaired will soon not be defensible, but I shall not allow a sixpence expence upon either without your Excellency's orders. The Soldiers Barracks will not be lodgable this winter without some little repair.

Two Prisoners whom the Indians had promised to deliver up with many others, at a General Meeting held by Mr. McKee last year, came in from the Indian Country since I had the honore of writing to your Excellency, and many of the discharged rangers are returned here from Niagara, the most of whom will I believe follow the example of those at Niagara, and return to their homes in the Colonies whenever they can.

A certain Isaac Tines who has been Prisoner with the Hurons from his infancy, left this place before my arrival to purchase Cattle near Fort Pitt, and I am informed was pursued on his return by a Colonel Williams of Wheeling (the same who cut off the moravian Indians) who took his cattle from him, and carried him back Prisoner. Several of their People were

allowed (before my arrival) to come here on their private affairs and return without hindrance. It is this last description of People whom I requested your Excellency's instructions upon, in my letter of the 19th April from Montreal, to which your Excellency did not make an answer, and I do not find any orders (among the few I found here) for my guidance, on that, and many other subjects. It is likewise my duty to represent to your Excellency that the standing orders for the Posts in regard to Indian affairs, as given to the officer of that Department and to which your Excellency ordered me to conform to in the same manner as any merely Military Commandant, *have not been, nor can they be* strictly complied with, without disgusting the Indians; to support which I call upon all those who have had, or actually has the management of those affairs since 1782. That while these orders virtually annul that part of my appointment from the King as Superintendent here (of which I wrote to your Excellency before I left Quebec in November last) they empower the Deputy Agent to distribute Provisions and the Presents sent out by Government for the Indians, Independent of me and as he sees proper and yet I am ordered to prevent abuses therein: That as no Rum is sent up here or any allowed to be purchased with many other articles which can not be brought into an estimate, but not the less necessary, to keep the Indians in good Temper, a greater expence is brought on Government than otherwise would be necessary, and a Door opened for greater abuse, than that which it might be intended to prevent.

My long residence here and personal knowledge of the principal Indians and Tribes, and the confidence they always have and do now shew they have in me renders it very difficult for me to obey your Excellency's orders, and not displease them in such a manner as may bring on bad consequences. They look up to me as His Majesty's first servant here, and expect that advice they formerly received from me in an inferior Capacity, and I have been obliged in the presence and by desire of the Deputy Agent, to hear and Speake to them of Matters which I am ordered and prohibited from interfereing in at the same I have it not in my power to gratify the smallest trifling demand they may make, let me be ever so well convinced of the propriety of it.

The Deputy Agent Mr. McKee is a very good man and understands the management of Indians as well as any officer in the Department and is very sensible of the necessity of my shewing them the same attention I formerly did, and which they in a great measure expect, but which I cannot do, and strictly comply with the orders above mentioned,

My Zeal and wish to see His Majesty's Service carried on to the best ad-

vantage and with the least expense to the nation, and a duty I owe myself, obliges me to represent these things to your Excellency.—

Mr. Albay late Barrack Master being struck off from his Employ, and finding it impossible to live here on the Pay since offered him to act has requested permission to go to Quebec, which I have granted him, he having delivered over the Barrack stores to a person he named to do that duty here, who I believe is capable of it, a Mr. Sparkman. Conducter of Artillery. Mr. Albay's know good character, his age and long services will I make no doubt be considered by your Excellency.—

Captains McKee and Lamothe, have spoke to me concerning two Lots which are built upon belonging to the King, and which they now occupy on the outside the Town. The boundaries I have inclosed In case your Excellency will please to favour them with deeds, they wish they may be dated before the peace.

Mr. Joucair Chabert, late captain in the Indian Department informs me your Excellency gave him to understand his Pay should not be stopped before the rest of the Department, that nevertheless he was struck off when he left this for Quebec last year, but hopes your Excellency will answer a Bill drawn by Mr. McKee to put him on a footing with those who were paid since that time.

Upon a more strict enquiry than I was able to make when I wrote your Excellency the 16th Instant, I find there are twelve persons here who come under the description of Loyalists, and Captain Bird (from who's account of them I first made my Report) tells me there are many of other descriptions who wish to settle near where he is making a settlement for himself whos characters for their loyalty is very well known.

The Warrant which I requested from your Excellency in my Letter of the 16th July, for demanding and enforcing the payment of the Kings due here, I find daily more and more necessary.

Inclosed is a monthly return of provisions to the 24th July.

The Issues to prisoners will be now reduced as they are mostly sent away, many however remain with the Indians who will get off and come in when they find opportunities.

I have the Honour to be

Your Excellency's Most obedient

and most Humble Servant.

JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed.—A 1784 From Lt. Govr. Hay 5th Augt. Rec'd 13th.

[B 123 p 475]

CAPTAIN HOPE TO COLONEL HOPE.

Dear Sir, You know the Connection of Mrs. Hope with Governor Sinclair, and the motives of Gratitude that have induced her & me to pass some days at different times along with him, upon the Island of Orleans last Winter and this Spring, in the course of which I am sorry to have to say from the extravagance of his discourse at particular moments, we could not but suspect of late that the State of his mind was much disordered, & that His Health was daily impairing, in which sentiments we are both more confirmed by a conversation of Governor Sinclair's at our House late in the evening yesterday, & which therefore I think it now incumbent upon me to communicate in this manner to you, submitting it to your judgement whether it will not be proper that His Excellency the Commander in Chief should be made acquainted with it, that he may take such steps in the present unhappy situation of Governor Sinclair's mind as may appear fittest under such circumstances, to which I have only to add that if His Excellency shall think proper that Governor Sinclair should go to England for the recovery of his health, or to be under the more immediate care of his nearer Relations, and that the General will think proper to send him Home in the same ship that I am ordered to embark in, Mrs. Hope and I shall very readily pay every attention to him in our power during the passage and act in the best manner for him that circumstances on our arrival may make appear illegible or in such other, as His Excellency may think proper to direct. The conversation I allude to last night was to the best of my recollection nearly as follows:

"Mrs. Hope the season is now far advanced and it is absolutely requisite to come to some determination, I know from the late proceedings in the Council and the passing of the Habeas Corpus Bill, I say, I know, & I am certain the moment I read it of what has happened at Home, you may rely upon it that His Excellency is appointed Commander in Chief of America, and I am sure I am Civil Governor of Canada, it is certainly intended at Home, that Head Quarters shall be at Hallifax, & that General Haldimand is to be fixed there, upon those terms I would not accept of their appointment as Civil Governor here, however if His Excellency will promise me to remain in Canada, I shall take the burthen of the business and the acting contrary so far to any orders from Home by His Excelly. remaining here upon my shoulders, in that case I shall go Home, and there I shall be able to represent truths, upon my going Home, if I have not a Seat in Parliament I shall immediately purchase one, and in the course of two years, I am certain I shall be able to make things appear in their proper light, & then I shall return to Canada in any capacity they shall think proper under General Haldi-

mand, as this is a delicate matter to lay before His Excellency am at a little loss it what Channel it should be conveyed to him, however I think Colonel Hope is the proper Person—I therefore think it is necessary you should wait upon him early in the morning and repeat this conversation to him and, when he has laid it before the General, you will then inform me & I will do myself the Honor of waiting upon the Colonel, should the General see any part of this in a different light, I will do anything his Excelly thinks best for the Public good but upon a smaller scale I will do nothing."

The extravagance and wildness apparent throughout the whole of the above Rhapsidy cannot fail to strike you no doubt in much the same manner as it has done us, but as I said before I submit it entirely to your Judgement in what manner to act.

I have the Honor to be Dear Sir
Your most obedient Humble Servt.
ERSKINE HOPE.

Petit Riviere, near Quebec, 9th August, 1784.

From Captain Hope to Colonel Hope relatlve to Governor Sinclair's health. 9th August.

[B 98 p 274]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT August 13th 1784.

SIR, The information I got from Mr. McKee regarding Isaac Tines appears to be false as he and nine white men from the Ohio have since arrived here with Cattle, some of whom wanted to remain in this Settlement, but as I have been informed the behaviour of those who have come in at several different times has not been very proper, and as I think it very probable: if any number who are not of approved good characters should introduce themselves here it would be of bad consequence to His Majesty's Service, I ordered them to leave the Settlement as soon as they had sold their Cattle, Mr. Mckee, who is well acquainted with the People of that country is of the same opinion, but it appears that the Americans look upon it that they have a right to travel in any part of the boundaries of the American States, and in a Speech to the Indians have desired they will not molest any who may think proper so to do.—

The states of Pennsylvania & Virginia have proposed holding Councils with the Indians at Fort Pitt and the Falls of the Ohio which embarrasse them a good deal, as they naturally suppose these meetings are calculated for the

private Interest of the States who want to hold them, and may be different from the General Meeting by order of the Congress—

I beg your Excellency will Honour me with your Instructions with regard to Subjects of the States, who may come thro' the Indian Country to this Place. In the mean time tho' I can not prevent their coming here, I shall take every measure in my power to prevent their acting in any manner contrary to the good of His Majesty's Service.

I am however very apprehensive bad effects will be the consequence of those Peoples coming so hastily into the Indian Country before they have paved their way by some General Meetings with the Indians whos Savage Blood is not yet perfectly cool.

Agreeable to your Excellency's orders signified to me by Lieut. Colonel De Peyster, for disbanding all persons under the denomination of Provincials, the 24th June last. I ordered the accounts of all those who had been paid by Lieut. Colonel De Peyster to the 24th May, to be made up to that period; and have signed a Bill on your Excellency for the Amount being Seventy seven pounds 18–10 d 2–7 N. Y. Currency in favour of Messrs. Alexr. & Wm. Macomb. Mr. Chabert did not know his Pay had been drawn for to the 24th May last when he desired I should mention him to your Excellency. Yesterday I signed another Bill on your Excellency in favour of the same Gentlemen for, or, in lieu of Rum agreeable to the issues by the Commissary—amounting to Seventy Nine pounds 3–6 N. Y. Currency.

Notwithstanding the assistance the small vessels have given in taking Peltry from this to Fort Erie of which I informed your Excellency in my Letter of the 16th July; there is yet a quantity that can not be sent away for want of conveyance, besides upwards of a Thousand Packs which will be ready in a few days; and as the Reduction in the Navy Department has taken place in consequence of your Excellency's orders to Captain Grant (which he did me the favour to shew me) the greatest part will not be transported across the Lakes time enough for the Departure of the English ships *this* Autumn.

The Commissary of Provisions tells me the Garrison of Michilimakinac will be out of Provisions in a few days—Captain Robertson however has not mentioned it, but as a small Vessell with a Detachment of the 8th Regt. is expected daily from thence, if I find it to be the case on her arrival I shall be under the necessity of Permitting a small Vessell (private property) to sail for that port, and send in her as much as will serve them untill provisions can be sent in the Kings Vessells. We have received such supplies here as to prevent the necessity of purchasing.

Inclosed is a Monthly return of the Garrison the four men mentioned dis-

charged were sent from this place to Niagara since the last return, being entitled thereto.

I have the Honour to be your Excellencys most obedient and most Humble Servant— JEHU HAY.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

[B 123 p 482]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 19th Augt., 1784.

DEAR SIR, This morning I am informed that the North West Company have had Eight Hundred Packs this Season and now on their way to Montreal with them—

This I thought proper to inform you off as His Excellency seemed inclinable to assist them—

I have the Honor to be with great regard

Dear Sir Your most obedt. Humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON

Major Mathews

[B 98 p 278]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 26th Augt. 1784.

SIR, My constant study at this place has been to diminish Expenses as much as possible but I am now as much at a loss how to manage matters for all Publick Interest or to my own satisfaction—

The Works were never meant to stand above a season, however I have kept them up hitherto with some trouble and little expense as I then had men to Jot for almost nothing—

The Picketing of the Fort, the Road to it and the Wharf require repairing after every shower of Rain and Gust of Wind, the Kings Cattle require Forage for the Winter as they may be useful in case of taking Post elsewhere —and tho the season is thus far advanced I have every difficulty to procure men for the above Purposes—

I should be happy that Lieut Hocking's would give his opinion as to the solidity of what was done while he was here—

I was yesterday advertised that the Indians had not as yet abandoned their scheme of attacking this place, however I will not be surprised by them.—

The Traders do Duty every night in the Village—

There are five of the Garrison now sick and Lame—

You will be pleased to lay this before His Excellency thn Commander-in Chief for His information—

No Vessel from Detroit since the Relief took Place—

I have the Honour to be with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedt. Humble Servant.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Major Mathews.

[B 98 p 278]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

DETROIT, Septemr. 2d, 1784.

SIR, The 25th of August I had the honour to receive your Excellency's orders regarding the reduction of all persons under the Denomination of Provencials at this post which have been obeyed. As also your Excellency's Letter by Mr. Elliot, and should be happy your Excellency would put it in my power to serve him.

Inclosed is a List of Loyalists now at this place the most of whom were either in the Indian country, or at Niagara in Colonel Butlers Rangers when I made my first Report. They as well as a number of others who do not come under that description, but who have shewn themselves faithfull subjects to His Majesty and Government are in expectation of having Lands granted them here, as also many of the Inhabitants who to support themselves & family's have cultivated Land and built on Indian Gifts or purchases, but none of whom can be gratified in either their demands or hopes untill your Excellency impower me to do it in a permanent manner. Many have applied for liberty to build but as that would only be a temporary possession, and possibly in the end be rather of detriment than service to them I have declined it—

I have the Honour also to inclose to your Excellency a List of Names of People who live near Fort Pitt and wish to settle at this place under the

British Government, provided Lands will be granted them, in the manner prescribed by Government. I am well informed they are all men who did not take up arms against His Majesty in the late Rebellion, but who are most of them Men who served in the Highland and Sixtieth Regiments, if your Excellency approves of their coming, the sooner I am Honoured with your Excellencys Instructions how to receive and what encouragement to give them the better both for them and this Settlement.—

I have the Honour to be Your Excellency's
Most obedient and Most Humble Servant.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

Endorsed:—From Lieut. Govr. Hay, 2d Septr. Rec'd 24th. 1784.

[B 123 p 486]

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

List of Loyalists at Detroit.

DETROIT, September 2d, 1784.

Loyalists' Names.

Mathew Elliot
Robert Surplitt
Simon Gerty
Daniel Fields
Thomas Williams
George Girty
Simon Gerty
Nathanal Dalson
Isaac Dalson
John Wilson
Michael Herbert
John McKee
Alexr. McCormick
——— Dicker
Andrew Hamilton
Nathanl Lewis
John Elliot
John Cameron
Patrick Hill
Peter Shunk
Elisha Willcox
Jacob Rassy
John Little his wife
and two children
Benjamn Pawling
Samuel Newcairk
John Wright
Edwd. Neavill
Holtawas Yorgon
Jacob Quant
Nathanl. Fields
John Moss
Peter McDonald
Donald McGillis
John Clearwater
Isaac Dalson Junr
John Dalson
Mary Dalson
Danl. Dalson
John Dalson Junr
Mary Dalson Junr
Mathew Dalson
Gilbert Dalson
Peter Cumming
Elizabeth Cumming
Alexr Grant
Anne Grant
Cathrine Grant
Wm Pauling.

JEHU HAY
Lieut. Govr and Superintendt.

Endorsed:—List of Loyalists at Detroit 2d Septemr. 1784

[B 123 p 488]

List of Persons Wishing to Settle at Detroit.

Anthony Blackburn with twenty in family
Joseph Blackburn with eight in family
Joseph Blackburn, Junr
Conrad Winemiller
Jacob Winemiller with eight in family
Peter McCartney with ten in family
John McDonald with ten in family
Alexander Barr & family
John Girty & family
Charles Smith & family
A. McDonald & family
Roderick Frazer & family
A. McDonald & family
Thos Steele & family
Willm Richmond & family
Nathanl Stokes & family
John Bell & family
Thos Beall & family
John Taylor & family
John Ingles & family
James McCleland & family
Nathanl McCarty & family
John Smith & family
John Anderson & family
Joseph Cesna & family
Andrew Naugle & family

Endorsed :—List of persons & families who wish to settle under the British Government at Detroit from near Fort Pitt. Septem 2 1784

[B 123 p 489]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 7th Sept. 1784.

SIR, I am at last necessitated to lay my very particular and disagreeable situation before His Excellency the Commander in Chief through you, and I hope he will be so good, as on all occasions to me, to consider my case in its true light, as the Publick Interest has been, and ever will be my constant study, as far as concerned in Publick matters—

Last year and this I borrowed some Rum at different times as the service required it, on the good faith and expectation of getting up some of this article, as well as other Indian Goods, sufficient to replace the same, as I agreed, one article for another, according to their different Prices, but to my grea sorrow not a single article has been sent to this Post since June 1783—and by Colonel Campbell at that time—

Mr. McBeath, who I employed to procure me the Rum, apply'd in behalf of the Concerned, repeatedly, but I always delayed, still in expectation of some comfort from below, untill now, when I am asked the Payment as all their Outfitts are made and of course that article entirely useless to them, and Returns for their Goods expected below this Fall, therefore I will be oblidged to Include that in the Three Months' Account.

I have notified to Mr. McBeath that the Price shall be as at the different Periods received, as that differed often during last & this year, owing to the small quantity on the communication.

An Indian, Matichquiex, a noted Chief of the Chipeways came here a few days ago, and on my not consenting to His demands, & altho' sober, abused me in a very particular manner, as all our great men below, saying we were all Lyers, Impostures &c. that had encouraged him and others to go to Canada &c. to fight and loose their Brothers and Children, now despise them, and let them starve, and that they, the Indians ought to chasse us and our connections out of the country, on my answering him, in the manner I thought proper, he said he would go to Canada and complain to his Father at Quebec, and Colonel Campbell of me and reproach them of their promises to him and Band when he went with General Burgoyne, he has gone since much Displeased—

Since my last Letter to you, the Wharf is again broke up by a Gale of Wind—

No Vessel since from Detroit tho' much in want of Provisions &c.

I have the Honor to be with great regard, Sir,

your most obedt. humble Servant

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Major Mathews.

[B 98 p 280]

CAPTAIN ROBERTSON TO SECRETARY MATTHEWS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 19th Sept. 1784.

SIR, Since my last Letter to you of the 16th Instant, I received your favor of the 22d July directing me to address all Indian Accounts to Sir John Johnson which shall be obeyed for the future—

I have also received a Letter from Lieut. and Adjutant Armstrong, by the Wyndote, inclosing a copy of one from you to the purport of not carrying on any works at Posts ceded to the Americans, which I have always complied with since the Treaty and order was communicated to me, only keeping the temporary works together, so as to command some Respect for the safety of

the Garrison & Traders, surrounded as I am by a great number of Indians not in the best Humour.

I am with regard Sir your most obedt. humble Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Major Mathews.

[B 98 p 283]

FROM LIEUTENANT CLOWES. UNADDRESSED.

QUEBEC 26th September 1784.

SIR, Having been ordered to Head Quarters for the purpose of attending an examination into the Public accounts of Michilimackinac in expectation of being call'd upon, I have deferred making any application to be reimbursed for the articles belonging to me, taken by Lieut. Governor Sinclair and charged in Mr. Elli's books, which would in that case have appeared of course, but being now ordered to join my Regiment, and the examination not having been made, I think it incumbent upon me to state the matter to your Excellency, not only because the extraordinary expense which my long attendance here has unavoidably occasioned me, makes the recovery of the Sum I have advanced an object of consequence to one, but because the sum due to me is included in an account of Lieut. Governor Sinclair's, which is disputed or disapproved of by Your Excellency for these reasons I have to request Your Excellency will be pleased previous to my departure to direct that such Person, or persons as you shall think proper may examine into and report to Your Excellency upon the matter in Question. The true State of which is as follows—

Having made application & obtained a Deed for a small Lot of Land from Lieut. Governor Sinclair when at Michilimackinac, I was induced to build a House upon it, with a View of giving it to a Person with whom I was connected, when I should leave that Place, I sent to Montreal to Purchase a Chest of Carpenters Tools, a Case of Window Glass, with Locks, Bolts, & other materials, & when at Detroit I engaged a Carpenter & four axemen whom I took up with me provision'd & paid at my own charge, for the space of two months whilst they fram'd a House for me, in the Fall of eighty one, when I left that Post in my absence Lieutenant Governor Sinclair took the Timber to cover in the King's Bake House, & the above articles for the use of the Crown, the whole as he had valued at my cost to the amount of £137. 10,

Hallifax, which is charged in Mr. Ellice's accounts, I have the merchants Bill for these Articles & Lieut. Governor Sinclair's Certificate for having taken the House for the use of Government—

Michilimackinac 20th Augt. 1782.

These are to certify that Timber of the Bake House is the property of Lt. Clowes & that it was taken to cover the King's oven last Autumn, and that a Box of Glass, a Chest of Tools, now in the works, are likewise his property—and not yet charged as he was absent from the Post—

(signed)

PATT. SINCLAIR Lt. Govr.

I have the Honor to be with perfect respect
Your Excllency's most obedt. & most humble Servt—

G. CLOWES—

[B 98 p 301]

TO MR. ROSE. WITHOUT SIGNATURE.

QUEBEC 3rd November 1784.

George Rose Esqre

SIR, I have to request that you will Lay before the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, the enclosed Reports of a Committee which I appointed to examine and State the accounts of the Reception of the Casual and Territorial Revenues at Detroit from the 1st of May 1775 the period that Detroit was annexed to the Province of Quebec Lieut Gov. Hamilton has lately acquainted me, that he has transmitted a memorial to their Lordships stating his claim to that part of the Casual & Territorial Revenue, which had been received during his Command at Detroit. Major Lernoult and Lieut Colonel de Peyster of the 8th Regiment, who were his Successors in the Command of that Post, made the same claim for such part of that Revenue, as had been received during the time they respectively commanded, as I know that the Casual and Territorial Revenues within the Province is appropriated by his Majesty's orders to defray the Expences of the Civil Establishment of the same. I have thought fit not to admit the claims of these gentlemen, but at the same time from Consideration of them have delayed to order payment to the Acting Receiver General of the sums stated.

[B 59 p 122]

MAJOR SINCLAIR TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

When it may be convenient for General Haldimand—Major Sinclair will do himself the Honor to wait upon Him, being this moment arrived in Town—

LONDON Monday 28th February 1785.

[B. 98 p 303]

FROM MAJOR SINCLAIR. UNADDRESSED.

SIR, I am this moment liberated from Newgate Prison, upon paying the amount of the Michilimackinac Bills protested by you.

Will it, Sir, be more agreeable to you that I apply for a Court Martial, or that you see paid, without fail, into the Hands of Mr. Spottiswoode attorney, Austin Friars, near the Exchange, in the course of the day to-morrow, the whole of the Sum exacted from me, as well as the amount of all Bills in my favour, not honoured on the account of your protest, with Interest &c. &c.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your most humble Servant

PATT SINCLAIR

No 16. Manchester Buildings 17th March 1785 half after 8 in the evening

[B 98 p 303]

FROM MAJOR SINCLAIR. UNADDRESSED.

SIR, I have received your Letter of this days date on His Majesty's Service rewording what you did me the honour to mention verbally. The issue of the tryall which I shall apply for to-morrow, if it continues to be your wish, will determine all I can expect—

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most humble Servant

PATT SINCLAIR

Major in the army and Governor of Michilimackinac

No 16. Manchester Buildings 18th March 1785

[B 98 p 304]

FROM MAJOR SINCLAIR. UNADDRESSED.

Sir, The offences assigned by you, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, for protesting Bills drawn by me for Michilm^{o} District have not yet been constituted crimes, nor have they, it seems, been allowed extenuation sufficient to admitt the Bills to their Lordships acceptance, therefore, I am moved by necessity to see how far a Court Martial may incline to either, you allow, Sir, could have no right to speak to a Treasury for Bills you were answerable, They never gave me Powers to draw, nor will I ever ask them to grant to my own request what in their situation I would refuse.

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most obedt. & most humble Servant

Patt Sinclair

19th March 1785
[B 98 p 304]

FROM MAJOR SINCLAIR. UNADDRESSED.

Sir, Have you any objections to my leaving a copy of your Letter of yesterday at the War Office, with my request for a Court Martial.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble Servant

Patt Sinclair

London 19th March 1785
[B 98 p 305]

CAPTAIN MCKEE TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON.

Detroit 2d June 1785.

Sir, This day I have received from Simon Girty (Interpreter) who is returned from the Indian Country where I had sent him upon Service: the enclosed copy of a meeting held by the several nations Inhabiting the Country contiguous to the Ohio, which fully declares their sentiments respecting the impolitic terms imposed by the American Commissioners: and I find the same opinion is general amongst all the nations to the Westward, and that they appear unanimously determined to support their right to the Country

as long as they are able. They say they did not call out for Peace, they always thought the Americans desired it, and they listened to it thro' the advice of their father; but never entertained an Idea that the Americans looked upon them a conquered people until the Declaration of their Commissioners inform them thereof.

Notwithstanding their pacific disposition heretofore and readiness to be advised upon this head; the dayly proofs they are receiving of their designs upon their Country; lessens the influence of restraining and keeping them peaceable.

Several persons are arrived yesterday from the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, seeking an asylum from the persecutions they are subjected to in the states on account of their principles during the late war, and they say that many others in the same predicament are about to remove to this place, or some other within the protection of His Majesty's Government, where encouragement will be given to them.

I am informed by a Letter from Pittsburgh that Congress is settling the mode for disposing of the Country claimed by the late Treaty.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect Sir,

Your most obedt & very Hble Servt,
(signed) A. McKee

Sir John Johnson Bart^{t} &c.

Endorsed:—Detroit 2nd June 1785. Alexr. McKee to Sir John Johnson on the discontentments of the Indian Nations on account of unreasonable demands made by the Americans. In Lieut Govr. Hamiltons of 8 July 1785.

[Q 25 p 72]

LIEUT. GOV. HAY TO LIEUT. GOV. HAMILTON.

Detroit, July 16th, 1785.

Sir, At the request of the greatest part of the people in Trade at this place I have the Honor to transmit the enclosed petition and representation, and in Justice to them cannot help assuring you, that I think their present situation alarming, and that if more vessels are not employ'd by Government or permission given for them to transport their property in Craft of their own, the trade of this place will suffer very materially, and probably cause the fall of some of the first houses concern'd in supplying the Merchandize for this place; if not totally prevent Great Britain from reaping the benefits

heretofore arising from the sale of a great quantity of her Manufactures—It is my humble opinion also that if the Merchandize which is now on the way to this place, and which may be commissioned hereafter, can be forwarded early enough to supply the trade of the Adjacent Country, as well as many traders in the Mississippi (who can not barter their furrs to so great advantage to any as to our traders) the returns will encrease instead of diminishing, of which I have already had the Honor to write you more circumstantially—

A Memorial to Colonel Hope is likewise gone down requesting the temporary relief of the Gage being ordered to be fitted up; but I am apprehensive if it should be granted the season will be too far advanced for them to reap any material advantage by it—

Many families have arrived here from the Colonies since I had the honor of writing to you concerning them, and many more are on the way, as they can not subsist long on what they have brought with them and as there are no vacant Crown Lands to settle them on they will suffer exceedingly, and hitherto I am not authorized to do anything for them—

I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient most humble servant

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

The Honble Lt Govr Hamilton—

Endorsed:—No. 2 Letter from Lieut Govr. Hay received 17th Augt. 1785 Quebec H Hamilton In Lieut Govr Hamilton's of 17th Augst. 1785.

[Q 25 p 132]

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PETITION.

To the Honorable the Governor and Council of Quebec:

The Petition and Representation of the Merchants of Detroit,

Sheweth That your Petitioners with due Difference and respect beg leave to represent, that since vessels of private property have been prohibited from navigating these Lakes for the purpose of transporting Merchandise for the Supply of this Country, &c., and since that Service has been by express order performed by the Kings vessels when not wanted for transporting Troops, Provisions & Stores: Your Petitioners from the number of these being altogether inadequate to both Services and since the Reduction of the Naval Establishment not more than would be necessary for the Mercantile Service alone have suffer'd year after year such unheard of Losses from this cause that they have now but too much Reason to apprehend the total Ruin of their affairs, by which not only the Merchants in Canada but also those

in England, to whom from this Country there are immense Sums still due, will be materially injured if not altogether ruined.

Your Petitioners most solemnly affirm that they have for some years past been paying an annual Interest of upwards of Three Thousand seven Hundred pounds Sterling on the amount of Property detain'd on its way hither at Carleton Island and on the Communication at Niagara; and this as is obviously known proceeds from the want of a Sufficient number of King's vessels to transport the goods destin'd for this Country, or a permission to Merchants vessels to carry their own property.

Your Petitioners further represent that though the King's vessels have made several Voyages to and from Fort Erie this season none of the Merchandise that have remain'd in the Store Houses on the Communication above Niagara & at Fort Erie since last fall and which amount to a very considerable sum is yet arrived.

Your Petitioners have had the honor to transmit a memorial through Lieut. Govr. Hay to Colonel Hope requesting that the Gage which now lies here & could as they are informed soon be got ready may be ordered to sail; in this Request your Petitioners solicitously beg your approbation & support as a measure tending to lessen their present misfortune and as affording them some temporary relief.

Your Petitioners think it incumbent on them to make this General Representation—That from the Delays, Difficulties & Consequent Losses arising from the same (to say nothing of the notorious and unparallelled Thefts that have been committed) that have for some time attended the carrying on the Trade of this upper Country owing principally to the prohibition of Merchants Vessels from carrying their own Goods, or the Want of a Sufficient number of King's Vessels to transport without Embarrassment & Delay the Merchandise necessary for the Supply of this Post & its Dependences and for the carrying on the Fur Trade that Trade in General & this Branch in particular, has been much circumscribed & of late nearly ruined; that last year owing to the late arrival of such Goods as did reach this post, above one Thousand Packs of Furs and Peltry which used annually to be remitted to Detroit have this Year from our Inability to supply the Traders in time been sent to New Orleans; & that upwards of Fifty of the Pettyaugers which left this place last Fall loaded with Goods proper for the Indian Trade were from their late Departure frozen up before they reached the places of their Destination, & that many Traders after a fruitless attendance returned unsupplied.

Your Petitioners solemmly declare that unless a speedy and effectual Rem-

edy is devised there is the most well grounded Reason to apprehend from the continued Influence and Operation of these Evils that this valuable Branch of Commerce will be driven into other Channels and together with the vast Sums still due be irretrievably lost to Great Britain.

Your Petitioners therefore as a duty they owe to their Country to those to whom they are indebted and to themselves, and if possible to escape the impending Ruin with which they are threaten'd, do hereby make and sub scribe this Petition and Representation, relying on your Wisdom for an adequate Redress; and they as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

(signed) Detroit July 16th 1785

Alex & Wm. Macomb
James Abbot
Tons St Pothier
Nathan Williams
Leith & Shepherd
Angus Macintosh & Co
William Robertson
Geo. Forsyth
George Lyons
Thos. Finchley
Howard & McCarlan
John Macpherson
Meldrum & Park
Sharp & Wallace
Pollard & Mason
Ant Lasselle
John Martin
T. Williams & Co
Montague Trimble
McKillip & Jacob
Wm. Pauling

Endorsed:—No 1. Representation of the traders at Detroit. Received 17th August 1785 Quebec. H. Hamilton. In Lieut Govr. Hamilton's of 17th Augt. 1785.

[Q 25 p 128]

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FROM JAMES MCGILL. UNADDRESSED.

MONTREAL, 1st August, 1785.

DEAR SIR, In my last respects I partly anticipated yours of the 29th relative to the probability of the trade to the port of Detroit & its dependencies falling soon into the hands of the Americans were private Vessels permitted on the lakes at present, anything further which I may observe will be almost a repetition or perhaps setting the matter in a clearer point of view.

You will be good enough to remark that the Upper Country Trade in general, as now carried on from this place, is extended as far South as the mouth of the Ohio, to the Westward as far as the Rivers falling from that side of the Mississippi, will carry canoes, including from the River of ———

in Latitude 33 degrees S to the Sources of the Mississippi & to the Northwest as far as lake Arabaskda including the whole north side of Lake Huron and Superior, the value of the whole I esteem at £180,000 currency for the sake of statement and I believe I am not £20,000 on either side of the reality— £100,000 Value I think is brought from the Country now within the American line as fix'd by the late treaty of Peace; the other £80,000 I consider as being within our own Line—If this Statement is nearly Just & I am satisfied to risk my reputation upon it as a Merchant, the question will be, whither the Americans are likely to take away any part of our trade when they shall have got possession of the posts & vessels on the Lakes, or wither we are not more likely by having posts on the same Lakes and vessels to interfere with them.

For my own part I am clearly of opinion that it must be a very long time before they can even winter on the smallest part of our trade, for the little that is to be had in the tract of Country lying between Lakes Ontario, Erie & Huron as South Boundaries & the Ottawa River, lake Nipissing and its discharge into Lake Huron as Northern Boundaries, can only be obtained by traders going up the different Rivers which water that tract of Country, there passing the Winter and trading with the Indians—and this can only be done in Birch Canoes, which will require them a long time to become accustomed to, exclusive of the Legal impediment of trading in a Country to which they are Aliens—

The same reasons are applicable to the trade on the North Shores of Huron & Superior & to the North West Trade, in my opinion for some contest that the Grand Portage is within the American line, but to us it does not appear very certain, or if it were, it is of no great moment with regard to the N. W. Trade; for a New road has been discovered from the Lake of ———— or Nipigan which runs to the N of Wood, Lakes & falls into the discharge of that Lake ———— (which is commonly known by the name of the River) at the distance of fifty Leagues from its N. W. termination—It was gone over last Summer and found to be more practicable than the road from the Grand Portage now in use—

These circumstances being considered, what are the reasons that could induce the traders from this country to dis-pose of their fine furr's which are got within our Lines ? Will the Americans pay a higher price for them than can be obtained in London ! No. and were the desirous of tempting with a higher offer—No man in his sences would trust to them, and surely they cannot carry up money to buy them, besides it is well known that were these fine furrs to fall into their hands in any quantity they must send them to England for a Market as amongst themselves the consumption is very trifling—We may

therefore infer that there is little probability of the Americans rivaling us soon in the tract which legally belongs to the Province were they even allowed a free Competition—

It remains to consider how far we may interfere with the trade within their line & by what means, should the Americans under pain of confiscation prohibit all British Subjects from trading in the Indian Country within their Line, I make no doubt that the greatest part of the traders who are now at Detroit will become American Subjects, because they will thereby keep in their hands the trade they at present pursue, for I am of opinion that the Americans by Establishing a very few posts on the South of Lake Erie might hinder smuggling in any great degree, but at the same time if we can afford Goods at Detroit cheaper than they can & are enabled to give better prices for furrs or Peltries. The traders on their side will fall on means to do business with us even at Detroit, notwithstanding any regulations they may make to the contrary—That both these things may take place I am pretty confident, for we can without doubt transport Goods to the Upper posts cheaper than they can, provided we were allowed equal means of facility and by the same reasoning we can bring down Peltries at less expence—Such being the case we are more likely to be of Injury to their part of the trade than they are to ours, more especially if it is considered that even when they were British Subjects and had every facility and benefit in the whole of the Indian trade, there was not consumed amongst themselves above half of the Peltries the obtained, the other half going home to England as a permittance; indeed except Deer Skins which then formed their Chief Article with some Beaver and Racoons, every other article was sent to England, if therefore they are obliged to send them still in same manner, they can be on no better footing at Albany than we are here, but rather worse as their expences to bring the Peltries to that place will be greater than ours—

All then that Government has to do is to give every facility to the trade that is possible, and I do not see a more certain means of conveniency and certainty than by allowing the merchants to have small deck'd vessels of their own—with them they can ever be morally certain of having their Goods at Market in June and July and then Goods may be imported the same year from England, which will save them from leakage imbesslement and wait of their property besides Interest of money which you know is a dreadful moth if ones allowed to get to any head.

That these Vessels should be under proper regulations is highly requisite, but time must be allowed for digesting a proper System—the present is to busy a Season besides I would not wish to attempt it alone, and I would be

also desirous of having a more perfect local knowledge of Lake Erie than I now have before I venture on such a task.

But whatever future regulations may be adopted, they do not relieve us from our present distress, the last Information from Niagara is so late as the 16 of last month at which time there were little if any thing short of 100 Battoe Loads of Goods to cross Lake Erie, besides from thirty to forty at Cataraquoi mostly intended in the same way—That a considerable part of these will be got over this season is highly probable, but unless measures are taken without any delay whatever to have them transported speedily, it is to be apprehended that they may, as last year arrive at Detroit too late to admitt of being sent into the more interior Country amongst the Indians, in which case fewer furrs will be got, for you will remark that the Indians do not bring much of their Peltry to the Post—the Traders must go for it, they must pass the Winter amongst them and supply them occasionally with Cloathing Ammunition &c, otherwise the hunt little and are not careful of their Peltry. The measures which in my opinion might be adopted without any great hindrance to the Service or any great infraction of orders would be, to order that the four vessels on Lake Erie (as soon as Michilimackinac is supplied) do each of them make two trips to Detroit with Merchant's Goods, but that the second trip is not to exceed the 15th October at latest for the time of loading at Fort Erie, after which time they can very easily make another, which I should think would be more than sufficient to carry provisions for one year for the Garrison, and at the same time as there are three or four small private vessels, that, they may for this Season be allowed to sail for benefit of their owners under Command or Inspection of a King's Officer, so as to prevent at all events any smuggling whilst we hold the Indians tract exclusively. If some such plan is not adopted I fear that bad Consequences will be the effects of the present System. The traders will get disperited and careless, they will even wish for a change of Government in hopes of being bettered tho' they certainly will be much worse; but such were their Sufferings last Year with the untoward prospect for the present one, that I fear few Goods will be ordered for the ensuing or Houses of any Reputation here found to execute them until this defect is remedied. As this Letter is chiefly occasioned by the impediments to the Detroit trade, which I have endeavoured to show you may be removed without giving any encouragement, to the Americans therein. I have said nothing of the trade on the South side of Lake Huron, Superior or to the West of Michilimackinac because it is carried on in Canoes from hence, and therefore meets no obstruction, nor will it be an easy matter for the Americans to get any part of it, notwithstanding the Country is within their Line. In short I am decidedly

of opinion that no part whatever of the Trade belonging to this Province by the treaty of Peace is likely to fall into the hands of the Americans but on the contrary that we may get a considerable part of theirs.

I am Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and very Humble Servant,

(signed) JAMES McGILL.

P. S.—I must not omit mentioning that the merit of discovering the new route to the N. W. belongs to the Messrs Benjamin & Jo's Frobisher who are the Directors of an extensive trade to that Country & had it explored in order to secure that trade to this Province in case it should be found that the Great carrying place falls within the American Limits.

Endorsed:—In Lieut Govr Hamilton's of 12th Augst 1785.

No 1.

[Q 25 p 111.]

LORD HOWE TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

ADMIRALTY 26th August 1785.

SIR, The admission of officers, upon the Superannuated List of the Navy, depends on a stated Time of Service, and Report of their Inability certified, on the Examination they are necessary to undergo;

The first step for this end depends on Facts, set forth, in their Memorials, addressed to the secretary of the admiralty for the Information of the Board. For this reason I return the Memorial, Transmitted, with your commands, of yesterdays Date; that Mr. Lernoult may be pleased to address a similar, Representation of his case, to the Board, his Time of Service will then be enquired into, and the subsequent steps taken, correspondent, to his pretentions; if these are found adequate, the desired appointment follows of course. But it is not otherwise in my power, to embrace, that opportunity for testifying the consideration with which I am Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

HOWE.

General Haldimand

Endorsed:—From Lord Vicount Howe 26th Augst. 1785

[B 49 p 157]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

DETROIT 20th September 1785

At a meeting held by the several nations of Lake Indians, Hurons, Ottawas, Chippawas, and Powttawatamies at which were present messengers

from the Nations on the South Side of the Lake to deliberate on Messages received by them; from the American Commissioners to attend a Treaty to be held on the 1st October next—

Brethren (Americans)

We acknowledge the receipt of your messages calling us to the mouth of the big Miamis River on the Ohio to a Treaty to be held there in ten days from this date,—when we consider that the important business that has been already transacted with you at Forts Stamoix and McIntosh have not yet had time to be made known and determined upon by the nations concerned in it through this great Country, we cannot help expressing that you have been too precipitate in calling upon us, before the affairs which we are now engaged in and have to settle amongst ourselves are finally settled, and which are essentially necessary to accomplish the desirable End of Peace, and make it permanent.—

We are equally surprised to find that you seem to take no notice of the ancient Council Fires kindled by our Forefathers, where the good Works of Peace can be only accommodated to mutual satisfaction and the Sincerity of your Hearts be made appear. Your messengers a few days ago arrived within sight of the Smoke of this Fire and suddenly turned off to avoid it.

When our business is fully settled and we are ready to meet you, which we hope will be early next Spring, it will be at such a place as our ancestors formerly met to settle matters tending to their Welfare and Happiness.

A String of Wampum.

A Message to the Half King

The Chiefs of the Council having received your message accompanying an Invitation from the Americans to attend a Treaty to be held by them are of opinion that you have not well considered the purport of it, otherwise you would not have delivered yourself so hastily or rashly, therefore they return it to you, desiring you may consider it wisely; recollecting at the same time that your directions from this Council when detached to that side of the Lake, were to receive Speeches or Messages, and not to determine upon them, but to rise up and lay them before this Council yourself to be settled here, and that they now expect your conduct upon this occasion will be such as to meet the approbation of all Parties.

A String of Wampum.

Message to the several Nations South Side of the Lake.

Brethren, as we could not be prepared to meet the Americans agreeable to their Invitation to us, we have sent them our answer, which will be com-

municated to you, in the mean time we are sorry to observe the pernicious conduct of some foolish men amongst you, who contrary to our advice, and that of our father, continue to carry on depredations tending to destroy the Quiet of the Country, as well as the good works the General Councils of our Confederacy are labouring to accomplish. We earnestly therefore desire the wise men amongst you, may exert themselves to restrain such headstrong men as persist in following their own Inclinations, as their bad behaviour must in the end operate as much against themselves as those they are endeavouring to injure. We fill your pipes with tobacco, wishing you to consider well in your present situation, and trust that you will be able to keep all your people quiet, till the result of our Gen^{l} Councils is known.

A Belt of Wampum with a piece of Tobacco,

(A true copy.) HENRY HOPE.

Endorsed:—Meeting held by the Lake Indians, Sept 20th 1785, In Lieut Gov^{r} Hope's No 3 of 24th Octo 1785.

No 4.

[Q 25 p 209.]

INDIAN SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Speech of the United Indian Nations at their Confederate Council held near the mouth of the Detroit River, between the 28th Nov. & the 18th Dec. 1786—

Present the Chief of the Five Nations, the Hurons, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippiwas, Poutiw-atimies, Troichtivees, Cherokees, amd the Wabash Confederates—

To the Congress of the United States of America

Brethren of the Thirteen United States of Anerica.

It is now upwards of three years since the peace was made between the King of great Britain and you, but we the Indians were disappointed, as matters did not turn out to our expectations, for we thought that after its conclusion a lasting Friendship would also ensue between the United States and the Indians, and that we might enjoy that happiness that formerly subsisted between us and our oldest brethren, we have received two very agreeable messages from you the thirteen United States, we at the same time received a message from the King, whose war we were engaged in, desiring us to remain quiet, we acted accordingly and all our brethren remained quiet—During

the time of this tranquility, we were devising the best method we could to form as good a reconciliation as possible with you the thirteen United States—that might be permanent and lasting—and at the same time we thought that we were to make an agreeable reconciliation and lasting frindship with a set of people born on the same continent with ourselves, and that the quarrel that was between us was not of our own making.

In the course of our animadversions, we found out one thing that might occasion a lasting peace between us.

Brothers, We the Indian nations are still of the same opinion as at that time with respect to the matter that may tend to reconcile us to each other at this Council. Notwithstanding we had the best thoughts in our minds during the before mentioned period, nevertheless mischief has happened between you and us. We are however still anxious of putting our laudable plan of accomodation into Execution, and we shall now inform you of the matter, which we devised and considered of, as tending to make a peace, which is, that we intended, whenever we the Indians entered into any negociations with you, we should be all of one mind and one voice in our speeches, with the whole of our confederacy of the different languages which the Great Spirit planted on this ground we meant to finish them in a general manner.

For we understood that your meaning was, that whenever we should have a Council that some landed matters were to be transacted at it—a matter of the greatest importance to us, is that respecting our territories or giving away lands—when a division of territory is agreed to by some particular nations without the concurrence of the whole of our confederacy, we look upon it as illegal and of no effect, for it is a general concern, and unless it is transacted with the unanimous consent of the whole, it can never stand good.

Brothers, we think it is owing to yourselves that the peace between us has not lasted, and that that essential good has been blended with confusion, because that you did everything respecting it your own way, you made your Council fires where you thought proper. Our plan was not followed which was to speak to you in a general manner and with the voices of all the Different nations of our Confederacy.

If this had taken place, we are almost certain that you and we, would now have been on the most amicable footing.

We did everything in our power at the Treaty of Fort Stamoix to pursue this plan, as our real intentions were at that very time to promote peace and concord between us, and that we might look upon each other as friends, and we gave you no cause or provocation to be otherwise.

Brothers, We are still of opinion to pursue those just steps of promoting tranquility and happiness between us, notwithstanding the mischief that happened—we wish you would take it into consideration and let us speak to you in the manner we proposed.

Let us have a treaty with you early in the spring, let us pursue reasonable steps, let us meet half way for our mutual convenience. We shall then bury in oblivion the mischief that has happened, and speak to each other in the style of friendship.

Brothers, We say let us meet half way and pursue such steps as become upright and honest men, until which time we beg that you will prevent your Surveyors and other people from coming on our side of the Ohio River; we have told you before we wish you to pursue just steps, and we are determined that they shall appear just and reasonable in the eyes of the World. This is the determination of all our Chiefs of our Confederacy now assembled here, notwithstanding the accidents that have happened in our Villages and when in Council, where several innocent Chiefs were killed when absolutely engaged in promoting a peace with you the thirteen United States. Altho' then interrupted, the Chiefs here present still wish to meet you in the Spring for the before mentioned good purpose, when we hope to speak to each other in a style unaccompanied by haughtyness or menaces.

Brothers, We again request of you in the most earnest manner that you will order your Surveyors and others that march on lands to cease from crossing the Ohio, untill we shall have spoke to you because the mischief that has recently happened has always originated in that quarter, we shall likewise preserve our people from going over untill that time.

Brothers, It will be owing to your arrogance if this laudable plan, which we so earnestly wish for, is not carried into execution, in that case the result will be very precarious and if fresh ruptures ensue, we are confident we shall be able to exculpate ourselves & most assuredly with our united force be obliged to defend those immunities which the Great Spirit has been pleased to give us, and if we should then be reduced to misfortune, the world will pity us, when they think of the amicable proposals we made to prevent the effusion of unnecessary blood. This is the purposes of our determinations and we ardently desire that you will transmit to us, as soon as possible your answer, be it what it will. Done at our Confederate Council here at the Huron Village near the mouth of the Detroit River.

Dec^{r} 18th 1786.

Here are our names

The Five Nations

Hurons

Shawnese
Delawares
Ottawas
Chippewas
Poutewatimies
Twichtwees
Cherokees
The whole Wabash Confederates.

Endorsed.—Letter No. 13 Inclo: A. In Lord Dorchesters No. 13 23th Feby 1787.

No. 1.

[Q 27 p 1—page 69]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

DETROIT 24th December 1786

A Council was held with the deputation of the Six Nations and the several Nations of Western Indians.—

Mr. McKee opened the Council by saluting the several nations present and passing the ceremonies usual in such occasions—Then informed the Indians that we ready to hear anything they had to say, as they had requested this meeting—

Captain Brandt in behalf of the Indian Confederacy returned their grateful thanks for the kind and generous reception we had given them, as well as the attention paid in conformity to the ancient customs of their Forefathers, in opening the Council this day, and continued—

Father and Brethren Listen to us with attention; You are well acquainted that we went to the Shawnese Country to hold Council there, you are also sensible of what happened to us, and what passed afterwards and what obliged us to reassemble at the mouth of this River, our business at these places we shall now explain to you it being final settled—The reason that called us to Council at those different places is that the Americans have given us great trouble since the peace concluded between you and them, in which we, the Indians were left out, although it was our attachment to you that led us into your disputes, the treatment we have met with from the Americans has involved us in great difficulty and trouble, but we have at last agreed how to act in this important matter, which is to send a letter to Congress and pro-

pose for them to come and meet us half way between their country and ours, to treat with them on matters which may be mutually beneficial to us both if they are so disposed, particularly respecting the Establishing a boundary line, as the only certain means of procuring a lasting peace between them and us—We mean to do it on as reasonable terms as Equity and justice to ourselves will permit—The first steps we desire them to take, is to forbid their people crossing the Ohio River till our negotiation will take place, which we propose to be in about four months from this day, we have for this end appointed deputies from our late Councils to go to all the nations both Southward and Westward to make them acquainted with our resolutions, and to require them to be in readiness and to assemble by the time appointed, to defend themselves & their rights if necessity requires, but in the mean time to keep within their own limits untill we see farther—

This Father and Brethren is the purport of our late Council at the Huron Village and which we finish on the 18th Instant.

Father and Brethren, We have now told you the heads of the different matters that were transacted at our late Council, and we earnestly beg of you to reflect seriously upon the consequences and our critical situation, I was from an attachment to your interests that we made enemies of the Americans, and we are still involved in hostilities, whilst you are enjoying the blessings of Peace, of which we, your allies, have not hitherto felt the good effects—This you must acknowledge yourselves is a hardship, we again earnestly require your reflections upon our situation, you are not ignorant of the advantages the Americans would take of us, had they it in their power—

We request as the great Representative of the King is now arrived on this Continent, that the English will give us such ample answers as the importance of the subject requires, we call it a subject of importance as our future welfare depends much upon the present prudent management of our affairs—We beg that there may be no delay on your part, to give us an answer, as our affairs with the Americans must absolutely be determined in about five months hence—We will be happy if the English would previous to that period give us a determined answer, which we may rely on, and by all means freely to speak their sentiments, as far as it is consistent with the nature of our alliance.

Major Ancrum then answered and told them that he was sorry for the interruptions they met with and the misfortunes that happened at their first Council fire, and at the same time he was happy to find that their late Council had been conducted with moderation and wisdom, and hoped it would be productive of the desireable end, and that we might all equally enjoy the Bless-

ings of Peace, and that he would likewise take the earliest opportunity to transmit to His Excellency the Commander in Chief the result of their determinations, being always happy to promote that ancient friendship which had subsisted between them and us, and was sanguine in his hopes and wishes for a long continuance—

Mr. McKee closed the Council by telling the Indians that he was happy to find that they had calmly, and at the same time with firmness considered those important points tending to promote their Interests, which could not fail of meeting with the aid and protection of the Great Spirit, as well as the approbation of all disinterested and unprejudiced people, and that he would always be happy to give them every assistance in his power consistent with the directions he received—A present usual upon such occasions was hereupon delivered to the Indians.

(signed) A. McKee D. A. I. A.

Endorsed:—Letter No. 13 inch: B. In Lord Dorchester's No. 13 of 28th Feby. 1787. (No 2)
[Q 27 p. 1, p 76.]

REPORT OF THE MERCHANTS OF MONTREAL BY THEIR COMMITTEE TO THE HONORABLE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS AND POLICE.

In compliance with the request of the Honorable the Committee of Council on Commercial Affairs and Police signified by Letter bearing date the fifteenth of November last, desiring our Sentiments on the State of the External and Internal Trade, and "Police of this Province with such Improvements as we may suggest to be requisite to make therein"—

We are in the first place respectfully acknowledge our obligations to the Honorable Committee in having thought proper to consult us in this important business, and how truly sensible we are of the confidence they have been pleased to repose in us—

In order to obtain every information on a subject of so much importance to the prosperity and welfare of the Province, we have called divers meetings of the Merchants of this City, and altho' the time has been short and our abilities perhaps inadequate to the Investigation of objects so extensive and mementous; we consider ourselves called upon by duty to our fellow Subjects, and report to Government to offer with the greatest Deference our sentiments thereon, trusting that as we submit them to the better Judgement of the

Honorable Committee, they will be taken into consideration with candour and liberality.

In treating of those subjects, we have divided them under different Heads or propositions which we shall state with our observations thereon as they occur.

Questions.

1st. What are the best and most advantageous means of carrying on the Trade to the Upper Countries, having regard to the different communications of the Grand River, and that of the Lakes, and whether there should not be a fixed and permanent Law for regulating that trade and ascertaining the Rights of *derniers Equipeurs* and other objects relating thereto?

2nd. A Judicial Establishment for the decisions of Suits at the Posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac under certain restrictions—

3rd. In the Event that the Navigation of the Lakes be not open and free for private vessels, what are the best regulations to be demanded for the Transport of the Merchants goods?

4th. The best means for the Encouragement of the New Settlements.

It is the opinion of this Committee that the trade be continued open and free to all His Majesty's Subjects, and that every facility and protection which the peculiar nature of this Trade, its extent and consequence require, be laid before the Honorable Committee of Council.

In considering of the upper Country Trade, it will be proper to estimate the Balance which it now owes to this Province, its annual value and the means of facility and protection for carrying it on which appears to be absolutely necessary.

First. With regard to the Balance at present owing by that Trade to this province, and chiefly to the Town of Montreal, we may with safety assure, that it rather exceeds than falls short of £300,000 Sterling, of which about £125,000 from Cataraqui to Detroit, and the Dependencies of that Post, and £175,000 by Michilimackinac and the Country depending thereon, which comprehends the whole Tracts to the Westward and Northward of the East side of Lake Huron and as the returns of two years at least will be requisite to pay of that Balance it points out strongly the necessity of keeping possession of the Posts, for were they to be given up, a very great proportion of that large sum would be lost, to the hurt of the nation, and the ruin of numberless individuals.

In Speaking of the annual returns of the Indian Trade from above Montreal, it is hardly necessary to observe that every Article of Merchandize employed in it is of British Manufactory. This fact is so well known as to require no formal proof.

It follows therefore of course that every increase of the Trade tends to benefit the parent state, a circumstance deserving the most serious consideration. Without entering into a detail of the number of every species of Furs and Skins received from the Upper Country, we ventufe to warrant after the maturest deliberation, that the whole value from Michilimackinac to Detroit with their Dependencies is not short of £160,000 Sterling, of which we esteem 3-5^{ths} to proceed from the Grand River communication, and the other 2-5^{ths} from the communication of the Lakes.

To facilitate and protect this Trade, which by the emulation of Individuals, or by the efforts of temporary concerns, has been carried to a much greater extent and distance than whilst it was confined to Farmers or Proprietors of Posts, and is still susceptible of further improvements, it is not only necessary that it should continue open and free, and that the Posts should be kept possession of, but some Regulations and Laws are also wanted to put it on a Better footing than it is at present, and of these we shall take the liberty of speaking as they occur.

Licenses.

By the present regulations Traders are obliged to give in the names and places of abode of their Canoe and batteaumen upon oath; this cannot possibly be complied with, for it frequently happens, that from sickness, Desertion or some other cause, one, two or three of the men engaged for a Canoe, will be wanting at the moment it is necessary to sett off. The Trader must of course engage others, which is frequently done at La Chine, or in proceeding to the end of the Island, and it would be too hard to oblige him to return to Town, in order to have their names inserted in place of those who may have left him. This ceremony therefore of swearing should be dispensed with, and we cannot help thinking that no inconvenience would arise to Government, were they to dispense altogether with the names and places of abode of the men, or if required, that it should be confined to such as are engaged for long voyages, and not generally extended to the men engaged in battoeing goods to Carleton Island, or Cataraqui, whose Voyage is within the Province, and not of more than fifteen days duration and who frequently are engaged at La Chine the moment they are wanted. But if Policy requires that the number of Hands and the Districts which furnish them should be known to Government, it would be a more easy and certain method to obtain their names after the Canoes and Batteaus are sent off, either from the Trader himself or his Sureties.

Treatment of the Traders at the Posts.

Some few years ago it was assumed by the officers or Lieut Governors com-

manding at Posts to parcel out the places of Trade to such only as they thought proper of the Traders, to make them pay High Fees for Passes and Bonds, and also for wood as a supposed perquisite, and all this notwithstanding the Licenses of the Governor Commander in Chief of the Province—A check has been put to those Practices by an article inserted in the Licenses, which restrains officers commanding at the Posts, as well from preventing the Traders, their clerks or men going to the posts or places as they think best for the purpose of Trade—and further requires them to grant passes for that purpose without any other charge than a Dollar for a Pass—Pointed orders to that effect ought to be at all Garrisons. The protection and not the impeding the Trade being the principal occasion of Frontier distant Garrisons.

1st There is an article of the License which by mistake subjects the Michilimackinac Traders to bring down their Furrs in the King's Vessels, and altho' the good sense of the officer commanding at that Post has seen it in that light, and therefore permitted the Furrs to be sent down as usual, by the way of the Grand River, it would be proper to have it rectified for the time to come.

2d. Men deserting.

In carrying on the Indian Trade it is frequently necessary to advance money to the Canoe-men, in contemplation of the Services they are to perform, and it too often happens that some of them desert, or do not appear to perform the Voyage. In such cases, and where no good and sufficient reason can be given for such absence, besides an action for Debt and Damages they ought to be subject to Improvement, not exceeding three months, but untill they shall have satisfied the Judgement as a Punishment for breach of Covenant, and as an example to others, it being well known that the dread of a Prison operates very powerfully on that class of men.

3d. Engages not to be stopped for Debt.

In order to prevent misunderstandings and Difficulties between Traders and Canoe-men or Battoe-men their Engagements, when for continuing during the Winter in the Upper Country, should be made out by a notary when practicable, under pain of nullity. Traders advancing to other than their own men, ought not to have the power or right at Michilimackinac of preventing such men from prosecuting any voyage they may engage with for another.

4th. Privilege of last Outfitter & Canoe-men.

As in the Indian Trade it has generally been considered that the Merchant

advancing Goods to a Trader was running greater risk, than is esteemed to be the case in any other line of business, and that the labour of the Canoe-men merited the most punctual Payment of their wages; it has been a Law of Custom to assure to the Canoe-men a Privilege on the returns for Payment of their wages, and after them to the Merchant for his advances; but of late it has been found extremely difficult, from the Trade having become more general, or the mal practices of the Traders, to ascertain this customary Privilege to the Merchant, and in consequence many suits have arisen to the Injury and Detriment of the Merchant—being the last outfitter. To remedy this evil as far as appears possible, and without laying unnecessary restraints on Persons concerned in that Business, It seems proper that a Law should be made to assure the Canoe-men of their wages *from the Returns or Goods Remaining* provided they apply for the same within one month after their arrival at the place where their voyage ends, but not to admit them to any Preference after that time is elapsed—as it might subject a *bonâ fide* Purchaser of such Returns or Goods remaining, or a *bonâ fide* creditor who may have received payment. The one to pay twice, and the other to restitution. And the same Law should enact, That no other Claims whatever (such as are hereafter mentioned excepted) shall be intitled to Payment from the Goods of a last Outfitter in the hands of a Trader, or the returns of these Goods, untill such last out-fitters just and legal Demand for the *last outfit* is completed, that so the last outfitter may at least be assured that the property is bound to him for payment unless fraudalently alienated by the Trader, in which case, as it would be difficult, if not impracticable to trace such Property, and besides contrary to every principle of justice, to oblige the Creditor tho' of an old date, who may have *bonâ fide* received payment from his debtor, being an Indian Trader, to return the money so received, or that a *bonâ fide* purchaser of the Goods or Peltries arising therefrom, and who may have paid for the same to the satisfaction of the seller, should be compelled to pay a second time.

But to prevent the Traders from paying away the Goods or produce of their last outfit, to the prejudice of men's wages, and their last outfitter's privileged claim, some degree of Punishment should be inflicted (more than on insolvent Debtors in general) or those who may wilfully and knowingly in discharge of their claims pay away or otherwise misuse the Goods or produce of their last outfit. And the rather as it it well known that Merchants fitting out Indian Traders are willing to be their sole Creditors. The Traders having therefore no complicated business, it is in their power to do the strictest Justice to the Merchants, which should they depart from, they must blame themselves for being the authors of their own Disgrace & Punishment. It is not however understood, or wished for, that the Law should deprive an Indian

Trader (who by misfortune may become insolvent) from the Indulgence and Benefit of the Laws in general, on the contrary they ought to be protected as all others in similar cases, against the violence of relentless creditors. Thus far relates to outfits made from Montreal and on a supposition that the Trader has not afterwards occasion to purchase anything further for the Purpose of his Trade, but it is otherwise for they cannot carry the Provisions necessary for the whole Voyage along with them, they must therefore buy at Michilimackinac; and further it frequently happens, that after having passed a winter in the country, they return to Michilimackinac with a considerable part of their Goods remaining, and then purchase goods anew, and it has been generally understood that such provisions and goods were (after men's wages) payable in preference te every other claim, but this custom seems, so far at least as relates to Merchandise, to be injurious to the Montreal outfitter, part of whose outfit being still on hand, it is but reasonable, that he should be intitled to a proportion of the returns of the year following, but not to extend further as a privileged Creditor. Therefore it would be necessary to enact,—That (after men's wages) Canoes, Guns, Bark & Provisions bought at Michilimackinac should be considered for their amount as payable in preference to everything else, and with respect to goods advanced at that Post, where part of a former outfit remains, the new outfitter ought to take the precaution of having an Inventory made out upon the oath of the Trader of the Goods he has remaining and to be valued by two indifferent Persons, also upon Oath, which valuation to be considered as part of the new outfit and payable as such pro rata, and in default of this precaution that the Balance owing on account of the last outfit should be considered as part of the new, and entitled to benefit of Privilege as already mentioned of Goods remaining —Detroit. The foregoing remarks relate generally to the Trade carried on to Michilimackinac, and its dependencies, by way of the Grand River, and we are now to advert more particularly to the Trade above St. Regis, and as far as Detroit & the Country adjacent carried on by the communication of the Lakes.

The same freedom of Trade as for Michilimackinac. The same means of obliging the Battoe-men to fulfill their Engagements and similar Punishment on such as wilfully fail or break through them. A preference Law in favor of a Last Outfitter from Montreal cannot be so well applied as in the trade to Michilimackinac, because the Business by the Communication of the Lakes comprehends an extensive Trade with the Inhabitants of many Settlements, and becomes too complicated to leave a possibility of determining how far the person outfitted may have applied or misused the returns of the outfit in discharge thereof—

The Trade therefore to the new Settlements, and as far as the Post of Detroit can only be considered in the same light as in the Lower parts of the Province—touching the claims of different Creditors—But as the Indian Trade carried on from Detroit to the adjacent Country is limited in its nature, with equally great Risks as from Montreal to Michilimackinac, it is the opinion of this committee, that the *Law* of *Privilege to* last *outfitters, should be in force with regard to all outfits made at Detroit for the Indian Trade.*

Judicial Establishment.

For further facilitating and encouraging the Trade to the Upper Countries, and for the ease, convenience, & advantage of His Majesty's Subjects settled in those parts, and for those Trading thereto, who might have actions to prosecute—It would become necessary to erect the Posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac into a separate District from that of Montreal to be divided and bounded by----------

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That a Court of Civil Jurisdiction should be established therein, to be called the Court of Common pleas, with similar Powers, Jurisdiction and Authority as is invested in the Courts of Common Pleas now established in this Province, for the Determining all matters of controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, excepting as is hereafter excepted—

That one Judge shall be sufficient to constitute such Court, whose Decisions should be final in all cases where the matter in Dispute should not exceed the sum of Fifty Pounds of Lawful Money of this Province, except in matters which might relate to the taking or demanding any Duty, payable to His Majesty, or to any Fee of office, or annual Rents, or other such like matters or thing where the Rights in future may be bound; in which cases & also in all matters that exceed the said value of Fifty Pounds of Lawful Money of this Province, an appeal should lie to the Court of Montreal, provided security be duly given by the appellent to effectually prove the same and answer the condemnation with such Costs and Damages as might be awarded in case the Judgement should be affirmed—

That the appeal ought not to be on the footing of appeals (as at present constituted) from the Courts of Common Pleas here, to the Court of Appeals, but should be in the nature of a new Trial; where the parties might be at Liberty to set forth the whole Justice of their Case, and adduce all evi-

dence in support thereof, in like manner as is resited on new Trials granted at Westminster Hall.

That to avoid great expence & Inconvenience which would otherwise attend the bringing witnesses so great a Distance to attend Trials here, and which in many cases would prove impracticable—It would be lawful for the Judge, on the request of either Party, Plaintiff or Defendant, and in their Presence, or in the Presence of their attornies, or Agents, or in their or either of their absence after due notice signified, to take the Deposition of any witness in writing to be signed or sworn to, and that such Deposition so taken should be transmitted with the Record (if had in time) to the Court of Montreal—and on the Trial of the Cause, should be held as legal evidence, and to be read to the Court and Jury as such—

That the same Rule of Decision for determining causes, which the courts are bound to observe here, should be followed by the Judges above—

That the Judges residence should be at Detroit, with orders however, to go from thence once in every year, say in all the month of May to Michilimackinac, there to remain till the 25th of July, during which Time, he should take cognizance of all matters brought before him, not exceeding one Hunderd Pounds currency, whether between Trader and Trader, Bourgeois or Clerk, or Bourgeois and Engagé, and determine thereupon in like manner as he is authorised to do at Detroit—

That considering the peculiar situation and particular Trade of Michilimackinac, it should and might be lawful for the Judge, in all matters above one Hundred Pounds currency, on a Petition presented to him by any Trader or other setting forth his special right by Privilege as *Dernier Equippeur* to any Property in the Possession of the Defendant, or in the Power and Possession of any other Person, in trust for him, and that he had reason to believe that the Defendant was clandestinely or fraudulently about to dispose of such Property to his prejudice, which Facts should be further ascertained on oath before the said Judge, who thereupon should be empowered to Issue his Warrant, whereby the Property of the Defendant or such particular part thereof as might be specified in the complainants Petition should be attached and seized upon, either in the possession of the Defendant, or in the possession of any other Person or Persons, who might hold the same in trust for him, and that after such seizure being made as aforesaid the Plaintiff should enter into a recognizance before the Judge to prosecute his claim to Effect, on the Property so seized before the Court at Montreal, within four months at farthest after such seizure and on the Defendants refusing to give good and security to respond the event of such suit, the Judge should be further impowered to issue a Summons commanding the Parties to appear

before him, for the purpose of naming a Sequestrator, to whom the custody of the Property so seized, shall be committed or given, and in Default of the r p pearing, or either of them at the time specified in the summons, after due proof the service thereof, or in case of appearance, shall either of them refuse to name, then and in either case, the Judge alone to appoint one, to whom the custody and care of the Property so seized shall be committed— Nevertheless in all cases where the Possessor will give good and sufficient security to abide the event of the suit at Montreal, the Property seized shall be released and left at his own Disposal.

That the Sequestrator to be appointed either by the Parties or Judge shall enter into a Recognizance under a sufficient Penalty to convey the Property so sequestrated by the easiest, most expeditious, and safest conveyance to Montreal, without being answerable for the Risk attending on Transporting the same from Michilimackinac or elsewhere to Montreal, by the way of the GRand aiver or Lakes, as may be deemed most convenient, and to obey the order of Court there respecting the Disposition thereof—

That the Recognizance of the Plaintiff for prosecuting the suit, and the Recognizance entered into by the Defendant, with surety to abide the event of the suit, if he gives security, if not, then the Recognizance entered into by the Sequestrator, together with all other papers regarding the matter in Question, shall be transmitted under the Hands and Seal of the Judge by the earliest opportunity to Montreal, directed to the Clerk of the Court there—

That on any Property being attached and lodged in the hands of a Sequestrator in the manner before set forth, that the Plaintiff shall thereupon, within two days afterwards, cause an acknowledgement to be fixed in the most Public and frequented Place in Michilimackinac stating the names of the Parties, and setting forth the complaint on which such seizure was made, and thereupon requiring all Person, or Persons there, who may have any claim, or claims on the Property seized, to certify the same to the Judge without delay in order to the same being transmitted with the other Papers to Montreal—

That from and after ten days of the said advertisement being so affixed if any Person, or Persons present at the Post, and having claim on the Property seized shall neglect to certify the same to the Judge, in such case he shall be wholly debarred from any privilege, Right, Title, Interest, Claim or Demand whatsoever, he or they might have on the Property so seized, as aforesaid, until all other claimants, that may have duly certified their claims within due time, be first satisfied thereout.

That the Judge shall be impowered to take the Depositions of Witnesses in like manner as has been already set forth; and the same so taken shall

have the like force and effect in the Court here on the Trial of any cause transmitted from Michilimackinac, as on an appeal from Detroit.

That on the proceedings of any cause being transmitted by the Judge from Michilimackinac to this Place, and being filed with the Clerk, the Parties thereupon shall be considered before the Court here, as much so, to all intents and Purposes, as if original process had issued thereout.

Observation—The utility of this separate District with a civil Jurisdiction erected therein, is obvious to every Person residing in, or trading to those Posts, yet we consider it our Duty to point out more particularly the necessity of it to the Honorable Committee of Council.

Detroit is become a settlement, both of great extent and great consequence, it annually fits out a vast trade to the Interior Posts circum-jacent to it, which in the course of carrying on, disputes and differences invariably arise, to determine which for the want of a judicial power on the spot, they are obliged to have resorts to the Courts at Montreal, where from the delay and expense occasioned by the great distance of one Place from the other, the suitor is generally more oppressed than benefitted; the great delay affords an opportunity to the Debtor of making away with his Property, and the Plaintiff thereby independant of the Loss of his Debt, becomes further saddled with the costs of suit. For instance the Merchant of Detroit sends to Montreal for a summons against some one of his Debtors at that Post, his Letter takes a month frequently coming down, the summons Issues and three months is the shortest space allowed for its return, and often according to the season, four, five and six months, is granted. The summons goes up, and by a special warrant from the Sheriff, some Ignorant Person is appointed to serve it, he commits an Error; so that when the writ is returned the Service is found defective, and the only Remedy then left to the Plaintiff is to begin again, this happens at least three times out of five, but if per chance the Summons is returned properly served, and that Judgment goes by Default, it then requires six months before the Property of the Debtor can be seized upon at Detroit, by virtue of an execution issuing on a Judgment so obtained, and even when execution goes up, its of no avail, unless the Commanding Officer of the Post interferes, by affording Military Aid to enforce it. There is not less than forty suits a year (all above Ten Pounds Sterling) instituted here in this Court in the foregoing manner, by Persons residing at Detroit against others in the same place, out of which not above one fourth have the desired effect, besides the great expense for costs of suit of so much Importance and so great is the Trade, carried on to and from Detroit, that we believe a Judge there, would not have less than from Three to Four Hundred causes a year to Determine, including those above as well as under Ten Pounds Sterling. For their

present state, they have no means to enforce payment from their Debtors, it is on their Honor and Honesty they must rely—a sorry dependance in a Country where there is neither a power to check or restrain the most disolute and Licentious morals. We therefore trust that Government will see the Policy of Granting a reasonable demand to a District of Country that owes no less than Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling to this Place—for if means are not given them to enforce the recovery of their Property, we cannot expect to be paid, and if we are not, the Loss ultimately falls on the Parent State. In these times of Public Oeconomy the expense attending such an Establishment may be made an objection; to this, we beg leave to observe that the quit-rents and other Revenues arising to the Crown at Detroit only, and heretofore taken and claimed as the Perquisites of the Lieut. Governor, or Commanding officer would nearly, if not fully, defray the expense of the Judicial Establishment demanded—

[Q 27, part I, page 326]

CAPTAIN MCKEE TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON.

DETROIT 25th February 1786

DEAR SIR, "At present our Information from the Indian Country is that most of the Nations from the other side of the Lake have at last been induced to attend the meeting with the American Commissioners at the mouth of the Great Miamis, in order to settle some amicable measures, and to avoid extremeties till they can receive advice and assistance next year from their Father and the general Councils of the Indians; at the same time fully determined not to enter into any Engagements respecting Lands, or listen to any proposals on this Head—We understand that they are still at the meeting, but have not as yet learned any particulars of their transactions. The Cherokees and Mingoes have refused entering into any negociations with them, and continue their Depredations on their Frontiers, and we hear that most of the Wabash Indians are in the same situation.

I find that a number of chiefs from the several Nations will be disposed to go to Canada this Spring, as well from the invitation delivered to them in the name of the nations of Canada, as to be informed of their Fathers sentiments towards them, and what their hopes may be from him in future, as they still look towards him as the real support of their Interests.

It is certain now tho'; that every art will be made use of at the present meeting to alienate their affections and remove their Dependance on us, but

the principal design of the Commissioners being to obtain their consent to give up the Country, must destroy the confidence the Indians in every other respect, and I am informed they are gone prepared to withstand every attempt to lead them to an acknowledgement of the American claims—It is beyond a doubt their greatest wish at present to receive some favorable support towards their right of the Country; this is the object that secures their Reliance on and attachment to us, which must continue while this is their expectation notwithstanding two horrid murders have been committed on four of His Majesty's Subjects in the beginning of this Winter by Chipawa Indians of Sagana, a place noted for misbehaviour, the first on two men near this place, and the second on two others on their way to that Village, both perpetrated by the same Indians who are an old man and his two sons, one of the latter was killed by the white People in their defence at the last place, and it does not appear that any other Indians have been concerned or privy to this flagrant Breach of Friendship, on the contrary the nations in general have declared their abhorrance of the action, and the Chiefs of the village they belong to, have engaged either to deliver them up to Justice or put to Death themselves, but from the State of Society they live in coercive measures are seldom in practice, and then only after much deliberation, it will require some time, and as we have peremptorily demanded them, I hope before long they will be able to deliver them up, and restore tranquility and confidence as usual. I shall take the earliest opportunity of informing you of the Result of their Treaty, and in the mean time have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) A. McKee

Sir John Johnson Bart

Endorsed:—No 3. Mr. McKee's Letter from Detroit to Sir John Johnson dated 25th Feb. 1786 transmitted to Sir J. Johnson. Henry Hope. In Lieut Govr Hope's No 24 of 26 June 1786.

[Q 26 part II page 359]

MEMORIAL.

To Sir John Johnson Baronet Superintendant General of Indians in the province of Quebec &c., &c., &c.

The Memorial of the Merchants of Montreal concerned in the Indian Trade to Michilimakinac & its Dependencies—

Sheweth, That the Trade carried on under the protection and within the Dependencies of that post is of the utmost importance to this province, as it comprehends nearly three-fifths of the whole of the Upper Country Trade

and is extended over a Tract of Country reaching from the Latitude of 39° S. on the Mississippi to the North and West of Hudson's Bay in the Latitude of 60° Degrees—

That the Indians who occupy this vast tract of Country are of fierce and Warlike dispositions and unfortunately for the Traders, they are at present engaged in a cruel war with one another, which not only prevents them from hunting but exposes the Traders to great danger of their lives or the loss of their property when met by the war parties, whether in the course of the voyage or when in their Winter Habitations.

That some attempts have been made to reconcile the jarring Nations, and at times the Traders when on the spot have so far succeeded as to keep them in Peace for a season; the good effects whereof were not less esteemed by the Indians than beneficial to the Traders as by that means the Indians remained unmolested on their respective wintering grounds which naturally produced a considerable degree of success & advantage to the Merchant, but lately the disputes of those Nations have arose to a height above the power of the Traders, assisted by the officer commanding at Michilimakinac to control or appease, in consequence whereof the Trade has suffered greatly and unless some remedy is applied in time there is reason to fear the loss of a considerable part of that valuable branch of Commerce, in particular the whole of that carried on upon the Mississippi from the Illinois to its source—

Your Memorialists pray such aid and relief in the premises as to you may seem meet, respectfully suggesting the expedient of proper persons being employed to bring about a peace which no doubt will require considerable presents, but at same time will be greatly facilitated by the name of Sir John Johnson; a name well known amongst the Indians, much respected by them and always considered as the Harbinger of Peace to these Nations.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

Montreal 4th April 1786.

Robert Ellice & Co	Todd & McGill
Charles Morrison	Benj. & Jos. Frobisher
David McCrae	Richard Dobie
Robert Cruickshanks	William Grant
Fran Winter	Sutherland & Grant
Mrs. Mandeau	John McGill
Chles. Chaboiley	Simon McTavish
Alexr. Henry	Andrew Todd
John Reeves	William Kay
John McKindlay	Joseph Howard
James Finlay	Grant & Griffin

F. Chaboiliez
Gregory & Maitland

Auldjo & Maitland
John Bapt. Durocher
G. Cotti
Pollard & Mason

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MEMORANDUMS.

No. 4. Memorandums for Sir John Johnson Baronet submitted to his consideration by the Committee of Merchants who had the honor of presenting to him a Memorial dated 4th April relative to the Indian Trade.

The Indian Nations who are at War with one another, to the great prejudice of the Trader are the Ottawas, the Chippeways, the Fallisavoines, the Winipigoes or picants—The Osakies—the Ontagamies or Foxes & the Scioux—

To bring about a peace amongst these Indians, considerable presents will be necessary, and in order to judge of the necessary quantums, it may be proper to mention the number of men in each Nation with their situation in the Country and the means that may be adopted to effect that purpose.—

The Ottawas consist of nearly——Men and are situated along the south and east side of Lake Michigan, beginning at the distance of eight leagues from Michilimackinac, and extending nearly to the River St. Joseph, but being immediately under the eye of the Commandant of Michilimackinac from whom it is presumed they receive presents, no account will be made of them in speaking of those which will be thought necessary for the present purpose. It is proper however to observe, that they are a Nation much respected by all the others, therefore their friendship may be rendered serviceable in any transactions with the others.

The Chipeways 800 men.

A few of them are around Lake Huron & at Michilimackinac but by far the most numerous and warlike part (and to whom the present remark more particularly alludes) inhabit the south side of Lake Superior, from the Falls of St. Mary to the west end of that Great Lake with the Country adjacent and a very numerous tribe of them occupy the sources of the Mississippi with all the Country on the East side of that famous River, so low as the River of the Chipeways, which falls into the Mississippi about the Latitude of 40° North. This tract cannot be surpassed or perhaps equalled by any in the

Upper Country for the fine furrs it produces, but owing to the vicinity of the Scioux and the constant war between these rival Nations, the Traders, do not procure from it one forth part of the furrs, which it is capable of producing annually. The number of men fit to bear arms of this Nation from St. Mary's to the sources of the Mississippi and in the Country described cannot fall much under eight hundred.—

Manominis or Follisavoines 150 men.

The prosecuting the Voyage from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi by the direct and short road of La Bay the Manominis are the first nation you meet with they are in two fixed and considerable Villages, one at the River Manomini, the other at La Bay, and there are some straggling huts along the River Renard, the whole number of men fit to bear Arms, may be near one hundred and fifty and at present they are at war with the Chipeways, they are esteemed excellent Huntsmen and are not less known for their Intrepidity in War.—

Winipigoes or Picants 600 men.

This nation is the next to the Manominis, their first Village being only twelve leagues from La Bay, they are at present at War with the Chipeways, are Warlike and tolerable Hunters and from being on the road to the Mississippi are frequently troublesome to the Traders passing and repassing.

Osakies or Sacs 1,300 men.

A Nation which inhabited a few years ago the banks of the River Wisconsing but owing to their apprehensions of the Chipiwas and being rather of a peaceable turn they left their Villages and went a considerable way down the Mississippi, where they continue to reside and mostly on the Spanish side, this Nation is at present at war with the Scioux of the plains and the Spaniards are using endeavours to attach them to their Interest, and even to bring them nearer to them, but the superiority of the Canadian Traders hath hitherto prevented it.—

Outagamies or Foxes 1,400 men.

This nation is nearly allied to the Sacs, speak almost the same language, inhabit the same country, are esteemed rather more troublesome hunt and trade as the Sacs and at present are at war with the Chipeways, who inhabit the Sources of the Wisconsing, and the other Rivers which fall into the east side of the Mississippi.

Scioux 3,000 men.

This Nation is so numerous and extended over so great a tract of Country, that the Traders can neither give a just account of the one or description of

the other, but they esteem, that at various times, they have seen not less than 3000 of different tribes. They occupy the plains on the west side of the Mississippi from the River Manaquanon to the Sources of almost the first of those Rivers and are esteemed War like and fierce but are not very good hunters owing to their Country being stocked with Buffaloe and the little intercourse they have with the Traders (of late however they are become more industrious, and the best Deerskins with a deal of Beaver and Otters are now obtained from them) in particular from those who inhabit the Country along the River St Pierre and the Upper Parts of the Mississippi about the Falls of St Anthony, that being a Country which rivals the eastern parts occupied by the Chipeways for the goodness and value of the furrs which it produces, the country too is very extensive that when peace can be brought about, between these two fierce and rival nations, the Manominis, the Picants, the Sakies, and the Foxes go up into that country and make most prodigious Hunts; but whilst they continue at war no Indians nor Trader can shew themselves in that Country with safety. Having taken notice of the number of men in those nations who are at war and the situation of those Indians; we proceed to state such presents as in our opinion may be requisite to bring peace amongst them, and the consequent benefits that will be derived from it.

With respect to the presents we must request Sir John Johnson's reference to the annexed state; and as to the benefit's which may arise from a peace being established, there can be no doubt that the Traders present risque will be much lessened by it, and an ample field for commerce assured; two objects which merit consideration, besides the prevention of a cruel war between these fierce Tribes.

To carry this Scheme into execution is thought that several persons must be employed to carry the parcels and distribute the presents—for the Chipeways Messrs Cadot & Rheum are proper persons—For the Ottawas, the Fallisavoines, the Picants, the Sakies and Foxes, Mr. Ainse—but as a Scioux Interpreter will be requisite Messrs Rocque & Rainville will be very serviceable, and as many of the Sacks & Foxes may winter in the lower parts of the Mississippi, it may be necessary to employ Mr. Gautier to reside with them. It may be proper to send as early as possible strings of Wampum to the different nations, desiring them to remain quiet and informing them at the same time, that their father Sir John Johnson, being desirous to put an end to their disputes, is to send them early in the fall Belts and presents for that purpose, mentioning also such places of Rendezvous as may be thought most proper—for instance—for the Chipewas, La pointe, Fond du Lac and Lac du Sable, some Ottawas, the Follisavoines and picants to accompany Mr. Ainse to prairie du Chien, there to meet the Sakies and Foxes and if possible some

Sioux to be present, from thence to proceed to the River St Pierre and there hold a grand Council, deliver the paroles, the Belts and the presents. In order to save expence to the person in carrying the presents from Michilimakinac into the interior Country—each of the Traders Canoes ought to carry three or four pieces, but it will necessary that one Canoe at least carry nothing but presents into the Mississippi and another into Lake Superior—The presents should be delivered in the presence of the Traders to the Indians and particular mention should be made, that all Traders being children of the same Father they have all equally right and priviledge to traffick with their Brothers the Indians, it might be proper to retain part of the presents until Spring, particularly Rum, silver—work, some Coats, hats, shirts, Flags and Medals.

MONTREAL 13th April 1786

Richd Dobie
Sutherland & Grant
Fran. Winter
Benj. & Jos. Frobisher
Simon McTavish
James McGill
William Grant
Chas. Chaboillez
David McCrae
Alexander Henry
G. Cotte

[Q 48 part II p 363]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR ANCRUM COMMANDING AT DETROIT—DATED 8TH MAY 1786.

"The Indians from every thing that I can learn, are all very much attached to our Interest, and very much incensed against the Americans, particularly against Clark, and the other Commissioners joined with him to treat with the Indians—and they have been for that purpose at the mouth of the Great Miamis ever since the 1st of October last, till very lately,

Clark himself is gone I understand, towards Post St Vincent to treat with the Wabache Indians, and the other Commissioners are returned home.

I have lately heard that several Parties of Indians of different Nations have gone out to War against the Frontiers of the American States—

I do not think that the Indians will ever suffer the Americans to draw their boundary lines, or Survey or settle any part of their Country."

Indorsed:—No 7 Extract of a Letter from Major Ancrum, dated from Detroit May 8th 1786—Henry Hope In Lieut Govr Hope's No 24 of 26 June 1786.

[Q 26 p 11, p 382]

SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO JOHN DEASE.

MONTREAL 1st October 1786.

SIR, From the great resort of Indians even from the most distant nations to the post of Michilimackinac from the extensive trade carried on from thence, and from its consequent importance; but particularly from the great expense that has hitherto attended the conducting the business of the Indian Department at that Post I have thought it necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service that you should repair to that station—and I do hereby require that you do without loss of time and in the most expeditious manner return to Niagara with the Indian Goods destined for the several posts, and from thence you are to proceed in the first vessel next Spring, the Season being now too far advanced, to Michilimackinac to take upon you the management of Indian affairs in that District, for your guidance in which Captain Byrne the present Commissary of Indian affairs, whose appointment must cease on the 24th June 1787, will deliver over to you all such orders as he received and were found necessary for that purpose—

In consequence of an unfortunate War raging among some of the Western Nations, & at the request of the Merchants trading to that Country I have taken some steps to endeavor to reconcile them to each other by sending out a Messenger among them to desire that they would desist from all acts of hostility and assemble some of the Chiefs of each Nation next June at Michilimackinac, where I shall endeavour to meet them and to establish a lasting peace, to facilitate which I intend to take with me or order round by Detroit some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations—But should I from unforseen accident or business be prevented from putting my intentions into execution, you will take such steps as you will find necessary to accomplish this desirable business, in the interim you will continue to act in conjunction with Lt. Col. Butler for the good of His Majesty's Indian interest.

All officers commanding at the different posts are hereby requested to af-

ford you every assistance necessary and in their power to expediate your Journey and the business you are sent upon.

I have to honor to be
with great Regard and perfect esteem—Sir
Your obedt huble Servant
(Signed) JOHN JOHNSON.

John Dease Esqr. D. A. T. A.

[Q 487 part II p 372]

NO. 9. EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. LANGAN THE ACTING SECRETARY TO THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT DATED 5TH MARCH 1787.

"And as no contingent account will be received from the post you are going to in the Spring, it being thought here that a small part of the presents received by the person residing there, and which by a general Order is directed to be applied to His Majesty's Service are sufficient to defray those expenses which until lately were introduced as Charges in the Indian Account."—

[Q 48 p II p 399]

INDIAN COUNCIL.

No. 7.

MICHILIMACKINAC 11th July 1787.

At 12 o'Clock the deputies of the different nations who accompanied Mr. Ainse to the other Indians at this post, met in general Council at a place near the Council-House fixed upon for that purpose; three Cannon were fired on taking our seats to which we walked through the Indians who sat on either side, the way was covered with Blanket of Skins and Scarlet Cloth, on the latter was displayed large belts of Wampum, war Axes &c.

Present.

Capt.. Scott
53rd. Regt. Commandant.
J. Dease, Esq.
D. Superintendt.
Lieut. Houghton and Robertson
Ensign Ottley,
The Traders of the Post &c.

Six of the Village & War Chiefs of the following nations, vizt: Scioux, Picans, Renards, Sisitous, pitows, Chippeways, Ottawas &c., &c.

Mr. Dease addressed the Nations present as follows:

Children, It is with much pleasure I see so many of you assembled here in council to-day in consequence of your Father Sir John Johnsons Speech & Belt delivered to you by Mr. Ainse—In our former meetings I have fully explained to you the motives that engag'd your Father Sir John Johnson to send me here.

I mentioned to you also his determination to attend the Council in person, in order to restore to his children that peace and harmony to which they have been too long strangers, and the want of which has been the cause of so much misery to them, by letters I lately received from him, I have some reasons to think that the critical situation of your elder Brothers the Six Nations, and other business of consequence respecting them, may engage him so long, as to prevent his coming here, as the season is advancing fast, and you have represented to me the great distance to your homes and your wishes to return as soon as the very interesting business on which you are come shall be finished. As his representative here I called you together in order to comply with his instructions, by establishing peace and friendship among the nations who have been long at war, and by that means securing to them tranquility and happiness.

Children, You have in a very feeling manner described to me the miserable situation you were in when Sir John Johnson's Belt & Speech were delivered to you, your country a continual scene of desolation, Your lodges destroyed, your old men, women and children the bleeding victims of a horrid war, these Fields which by cultivation should have yielded them support, barren and stained with the blood of your own people, your hunting and fishing neglected, and the miserable remains of your women and children perishing of famine through your madness and folly, this was your wretched condition when your father's belt was shewn to you, his speech awakened yon to a sense of madness, opened your eyes to see your folly, and your ears to hear what was for your good, 'twas then that you were able to discover the pleasantness of the road he traced out for you, 'twas then that a clear Sky and comfortable Sunshine succeeded to the black clouds and dreadful thunder that roared over your heads, 'twas then you began to taste the pleasure of attending with security to your Hunting and Fishing (those sources of plenty for yourselves and families) your sleep was no longer interrupted by the apprehension of lurking enemies, these were a part of the blessings you enjoyed by attending to your Father's Council—

Children, Fully sensible of your past misconduct, and the severe punishment the Great Spirit had in his anger inflicted on you, you in compliance with your Fathers desire are come to bury deep the war ax, that source of all your

miseries and also the very rememberance of your past animosities and misfortunes, as a father who has the welfare of his children at heart. I have already had the satisfaction to see you exchange your Calumets, and according to the custom of your Forefathers make peace among yourselves, I have been present when in the most solemn manner you have called on the Great Spirit, the woods, the Lakes and Rivers and the very ground you stood on to witness the sincerity of your professions & friendship towards each other, in your former Councils you have conjured me to dictate the terms of peace to you with sincere promises to observe them inviolable, convinced that your future happiness & that of your wives and children depends on your strict performance of your Engagements, I have taken pains to write down on this paper according to my ideas of Justice such Articles as you must in future religiously observe, the only means of ensuring your future welfare & procuring you the protection of the Great King your father, they principally regard your conduct towards the King's white children, who visit or reside among you for the purpose of Trade, by which your own wants and those of your families are supplied, Mr. Ainse will minutely explain to you what the writing contains, to which you will signify your approbation in the manner I shall hereafter propose to you.

Here the Articles were read aloud and explained to them.

Children, Peace being established among yourselves according to your own Customs, you have now heard the Articles which regard your conduct towards the King and his white Children read and explained to you, as you have already assured me of your unanimous approbation of them, it only now remains that you should acknowledge in the most public and solemn manner that these Articles are in future to be binding in yourselves and the Nations you represent, and their posterity whilst the sun and moon shall remain, this you will do by the Village and War Chiefs, deputies from the different nations lately at War, advancing and laying their hands on the Seals opposite their names, declare and ratify their agreement & approbation of the articles already explained to them and contained in that paper.

Which being complied with in a very solemn manner Capt. Scott and myself having ratified them in the same manner.

Children, I heartly congratulate you on the conclusion of a work which I hope will be a solid foundation of your future prosperity, these belts and this writing shall be placed together at the Great Council fire of this post as Memorials of the Interesting Transactions of this day, a day from which I hope yourselves and prosperity may derive uninterrupted peace and prosperity which I sincerely wish you, and will as much as is in my power carefully promote.

Children, Pleased with the proceedings of this day, your Father will indulge

you this evening with some of his milk and some provisions and takes this opportunity to repeat his thanks for your good conduct since your arrival at this post, he earnestly recommends a continuance of the same behaviour, which he will take the first opportunity to communicate to their father Sir John Johnson, with which he makes no doubt he will be well satisfied, as you have at different times expressed your wishes to return as soon as your business should be accomplished I shall direct presents to be prepared for the different nations which I hope they will thankfully receive as instances of the Great King's goodness & bounty to them which they should have always in remembrance and make known to their nations—

The War and Village Chiefs, Deputies from the different nations lately at war each address'd Mr. Dease in turn and all to the following purpose.

Father, We acknowledge our inability, we want sense, we want words to express to you our thanks for the great trouble you have taken for us, you have made a new day for us, the black clouds are dispersed, a warm sun and blue sky enliven and chear our hearts, you have restored friendship and peace, security and happiness to us, we shall esteem this day as the happiest of our lives since our misfortunes vanish peace and friendship succeed as Spring does to the dreary Winter, we shall in future study to deserve our father's care and protection, his goodness has rescued us from misery, we shall return to our homes with joyful hearts and proclaim to our people the happy proceedings of this day, and use our best endeavours to make our Nations pay due obedience to the will of our father whose kindness we shall never forget, we thankfully will receive our father's indulgence to us, and take great care that our Soldiers shall prevent any abuse of it.

Mr. Dease having in compliance with the request of the Chiefs and Warriors of the Ottawas living at Arbueroche paid them a visit at their Village in order to light a Council fire and depos'd there the large belt formerly given to them by Sir John Johnson Bart, the following are the minutes of a Council held on that occasion at Arbre Croche 3d of August 1787

Present:

John Dease, Esq.,
D. Superint'd.
T. L. Ainse,
Interpreter.
Mr. Murphy,
Interpreter.

} Principal Chiefs & Sachems La Fourche Kegeweskam Le Grand Souril &c. &c. &c.

Kegeweskam spoke

Father, We the Chief Sachems and Warriors of the Ottawas living at Arbrecroche bid you heartily welcome to our Sandy Shores, we want sense and words to thank you sufficiently for your condescension in visiting our

wretched habitations, now alas no more than a Village of dead people, you now see before you your miserable children, the small remains of a numerous people who had formerly seen better days, but now more to be pitied than the other nations, our Lands are exhausted, are hunts are ruined, no more Animals remain to call us out to the Woods, the only resource left to us for subsistance is the cultivation of these sandy plains, and what we can procure from the water.

Father, The charitable work that engaged you to visit us this day, revives our hopes and gladdens our hearts, this Council fire and these Belts shall always remain sacred among us, they shall on every occasion animate us to do the will of our Father, they shall remind us of our Attachment to the Great King whose bounty we amply experience to-day.

Father, We sincerely thank you for the large supply of Clothing & other presents you have brought us. Our old men, women and children will be now comfortably cloath'd, we particularly thank you for this large bundle of netts on which we can place our principal dependance for our subsistance we gratefully acknowledge this distinguished mark of your Bounty, such a one we have not heretofore experienced.

Father, A few days past we spoke to you about our Nephew Ainse, that he might remain with us, we have since been informed that our distsnt brethren has requested that he might come amongst them once more, to confirm what he had almost accomplished, this is a business we have much at heart, and to prove how much we desire to accommodate ourselves to the wishes of our Father, we would be glad he would point out such persons of our Nation, as he would *chuse* to accompany him and they shall be ready to attend him—

Father, You desire our confidence and that we should conceal nothing from you, your children must obey you, we tell you that our Village was not lately the most peacably inclined among the nations, we had Sons for which we wanted a Medicine, here is a War Belt sent to us three months ago by Chamblie to invite us to revenge the deaths of four of his people who were killed by the Orages at the Illinois, determined to follow the advice of our Father deliver'd to us by Mr. Ainse, we sent back for answer that as soon as our father should signify his intentions to us, we should know what to say, that until then, we were not masters of our own inclinations—

Delivered up the Belt to Mr. Dease—

Father, We must trespass a little longer on your patience to whom but to a father should his children disclose their griefs, the following circumstance makes us very unhappy, & often prevents our visiting your posts as often as we would wish, Father, since we have been under the protection of the Great King of England. We were till lately accustomed to a free trade, we were

well received at every house, we sold our things and got Credits where we pleas'd, each of us had our particular friends who were glad to see us and cheerfully permitted us to smoke our pipes or warm ourselves by their fire side, but now it is quite the reverse, there is but one trading House at Michilimakinac and that seldom open for our reception, we often go to that house and return in the same manner we came, this change can't please us, it makes us very unhappy, therefore we apply to our father to find a remedy for it and relieve us—

Father, We have not sufficient understanding to hold a longer conversation with you, we now take you cordially by the hand intreating you will please to continue your care of us, and we sincerely promise you on our part, that should any bad Birds pass on any part of this Lake or on our Land that we will give you the earliest information of it or of any thing else that would be interesting to you—

Father, We will now make a just distribution of your Bounty and in the Evening when regaling with the provisions you have brought us, drink large draughts of the milk you gave to our Father Sir John Johnson's health and yours—

Mr. Dease spoke to them as follows—

Children, I have attentively heard what you have said, and thank you for the kind manner in which you bid me welcome, after the conclusion of my business at Makinac & took the first opportunity of fulfilling my promise to you, and the pleasure I have to-day in seeing so many of my children assembled, fully repays any trouble I might have in coming here—The ravages of time are not confined to your nation alone, the greatest Empires decrease and of many scarce even the remembrance remains, the barrenness of your plains & the scarcity of game in your woods can be only remedied by the increased industry of your young men, your Lakes are a neverfailing source of plenty, whilst instead of war you steadily pursue these objects, you will be happy in yourselves and render your wives and children so by supplying their wants—

Children, Your Fathers intention in lighting the fire and placing those Belts here is (as I have already informed you) to renew the remembrance of your former engagements or the promises you made Sir Wm. Johnson they are placed here at the Door of the Western Nations as Memorials to remind not yourselves alone but also the nations that pass here and even your posterity of the past transactions, on the observance of which your welfare and happiness depend, this Council fire must never be disgraced by the presence of any persons who might whisper bad things to you, that might mislead you from your attachment to the Great King your father—

Children, The gracious bounty and goodness of our Great King has induced him (through your Father Sir John Johnson) to find you those supplies, I hope your attachment to himself, your attention to your Father's Councils and your good conduct towards his white children will incline him to continue his protection, I have no doubt that your young men will make a proper and successful use of their Arms, Ammunition and fishing implements—

Children, You were present when your distant Brethren in the most earnest manner intreated Mr. Ainse should return among them. I hope in the course of the ensuing winter he will be able to confirm such a peace among them as has been heretofore often attempted without success, such a peace cannot fail of proving highly advantageous to the Indian Nations in general, I am well acquainted with the particulars of the accident that happened Chamblies people, I must candidly tell you they were much to blame and drew on themselves the fate they met with, they have not two fathers, they had no business with the Spanish Commanding Officer from visiting whom they were returning when the Orages killed four of them, to attempt to avenge their deaths would be to make *bad worse,* I nevertheless thank you for delivering up this War Belt, experience will certainly convince you that my advice to you are entirely calculated to promote your own welfare—

Children, My Ears are always open to hear you, I am stationed at Michilimakinac to see Justice done in what respects you, that general store that at present ingrosses the Trade of Michilimakinac and which for some time past has prevented it being divided thro' different houses will soon be disolved, and then I make no doubt Commerce will be carried on as heretofore and I shall take care you shall have no just cause of complaint, the King has been graciously pleased to send us a Commander in Chief whose Justice penetrates even to the remotest Nations and whose inclination will leave no grievance unredressed—

Children, I now with much pleasure take you by the hand assuring you that the proceedings of this day have given me much satisfaction, I trust in your promises that you will watch carefully and prevent any bad birds from hovering over this lake or its shores, and depend if such should happen that you will give me early and particular information of it, I shall by the first vessel acquaint your father Sir J. Johnson with the particulars of this meeting with which I hope he will be pleased—

Recommending you to a prudent use of your provisions and particularly your father's milk and returning you thanks for your intended Compliment to Sir John Johnson and myself I take my leave—

[Q 48 p II page 382]

NO I. BEING THE REPRESENTATION OF SUNDRY MERCHANTS AND TRADERS AT MICHILIMAKINAC TO CAPT. THOS. SCOTT OF THE 53d REGIMENT, COMMANDANT OF THAT POST DATED THE 10th OF AUGUST 1787, AS FOLLOWS.

Being unanimously convinced of your favorable attention to Commerce, in conformity with the good will of His Excellency Lord Dorchester, we take the liberty of addressing to you our just subjects of complaint on a very important subject, contrary to commerce in general and incompatible with the favorable intentions of Government.

In the year 1785, several merchants of Montreal, convinced of the damage that would be caused to us by the misunderstanding existing between several Indian Nations, had applied to Sir John Johnson, General Inspector of the Indian Department, a request which asks him to make a peace among these militant nations and to send the goods necessary to conclude a solid and durable peace amongst them.

The Government sensible of our Interests and desiring te encourage our commerce has granted all, and yet we find unfortunately that the intention of Government has been absolutely frustrated, that the distribution and pernicious use of its goods have been as contrary to its views as opposed to our interests.

We know that the goods destined as presents to the Indians have been privately traded against our interests, and that the store established for the protection of Commerce has become itself a trading post entirely opposed to our interest.

We believe that the peace has been concluded among the Indians, it is useless to send them goods, that in sending them to the Indians under this specious pretext, they would be traded to our great prejudice, many clerks and Interpreters engaged for this purpose and payed in Government goods, shows us a trade visibly established; the considerable losses which we have experienced last winter, by fewer goods being sent off than the present, losses caused by the report and letters of King's Interpreters and otherwise, necessarily give us just apprehension for this year.

An unlucky experience has convinced us that the intentions of Government not being followed in the distribution of these Goods, gives the Indians a just subject for discontent. The Interpreters have received their presents, having engaged them to come to this post by flattering promises, and, after a long and tedious journey, they saw their hopes frustrated and were treated so that they returned very discontented.

We take the liberty of testifying to you our surprize that persons employed for the Indian Department and the protection of commerce are opposed to

all the advantages which we could obtain from it; in the first place in depriving us of the liberty of speaking to the Indians, publickly and in general, on that which concerns our interests. Rights that we have been accorded by His Excellency Lord Dorchester, according to our permits, and by all the Commandants in this post till now—Secondly, in taking goods to be traded in this post, with the Indians, at a very low price, and to which we could not conform without a considerable loss.

It is not without having made representations that we have suffered this last loss, but they have thought it sufficient to answer us that the King's Goods would be lent when and to whom it seemed good.

We flatter ourselves, Sir, that you will present our representations to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, considering that the continual abuse of the favors of Government for our trade, will force us, if it is not repressed, to cease absolutely.

As experience proves to us that these abuses are nearly inevitable in the Upper Country, that the goodness and protection of Government being frustrated, they become contrary to their favorable intentions. We believe that it is more advantageous for us that no goods be sent to the Indians by Government.

We have the Honor to be Sir,

Your very humble & very obedient Servants.

(signed)

Frs. Le May,	A. Tabeau,	Etne. Campion,
Allen Paterson,	David Rankin,	Charles Paterson,
James Graham,	Marchessau,	J. Blakeley,
Alex. Shau,	Benjamin Hyon,	Bri. Tabeau,
Hyp Derriviers,	A. Campion,	A. Holt,
Blondau,	U. Arundel,	Bme. Blondeau.

MICHILIMACKINAC, the 10th August 1787.

NO. 2. AN ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS & TRADERS ABOVE MENTIONED TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD DORCHESTER DATED THE 14TH AUGUST 1787 IN THE WORDS FOLLOWING.

To His Excellency the most Honorable Guy Lord Dorchester, General & Governor in Chief of the Colonies of Quebec, Nova Scotia, & New Brunswick & their dependances, Vice-Admiral of the same, General & Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Troops in the said Colonies, & in the Island of Newfoundland, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord, The undersigned Merchant Traders, of the post of Michilimackinac, excited by the considerable loss which their trade is now suffering, in general, take the liberty of pointing it out to Your Excellency.

Having addressed our inclosed request, to Capt. Scott Commandant in this post, praying him to transmit it to Your Excellency. Mr. Dease, being interested himself, in asking Capt. Scott, that, before sending it to Your Excellency, he should name qualified persons to examine our just subjects of complaint. Although we do not doubt the intelligence & integrity of the persons chosen, we have not been able to consent to submit to their opinions, seeing that they have not a sufficient knowledge of the nature of our Trade with the Indians.

Encouraged by the particular protection of Your Excellency, we have preferred to address you directly, we flatter ourselves that it would be well to continue it, in consideration of our respectful representation & we will not cease to pray for the preservation of Your Excellency.

[Q 48 I page 127]

NO. 2. EXTRACTS FROM MR. DEASES JOURNAL FOR THE YEAR 1787.

June 28. I communicated to Mr. Paterson and the directors of the Gen'l Store my intention of holding a General Council with the Indians who came in with Mr. Ainse when I propose concluding a peace with the different Nations lately at war with each other, in doing which after impressing them with sentiments of Attachment & Gratitude to the Kings Service on account of his protection and the annual marks they receive of his gracious goodness to them. I would in the next place consult the Interest of the Traders to that part of the Country and use every endeavour to establish it on a liberal and permanent footing, by inducing the Indians to agree to insert such articles as would seem most conducive to the good of the commerce of this post for which purpose I requested Mr. Paterson to acquaint the Traders here that I would be glad they would consider a subject so highly interesting to them, & as people well acquainted with the matter give me their sentiments in writing thereon previous to the Great Council where I intended to proceed in such a manner as I hoped would prove satisfactory. They met in the Evening at Kirby's when both in French and English I explained to them my intentions for which having expressed their thanks they departed much satisfied and promised to consider the subject recommended to them.

July 3rd. The Indians all expressed the strongest desire that Mr. Ainse might be sent amongst them once more to compleat what he had already

begun and several of them declared that unless they obtained their request they feared that all that been already done would be to no purpose, that they wanted such a man to remind them of their father's words and give them good council.

4th. About 11 O'Clock met the Chiefs of the different Nations in Council their Speeches much to the same purpose all insisting or rather intreating to send Mr. Ainse among them again.

July 5th. Met the Chippaways & Ottawas in Council their Speeches much the same as the former, they also requested to have Mr. Ainse sent among them.

9th. Captain Scott presented me a Speech of Mr. Paterson's to be delivered to the Indians to which I objected as contrary to my duty, he seemed much displeased.

23rd. Promised the Scioux to send Mr. Ainse to winter among them in presence of Capt. Scott and the Gentlemen of the Garrison who attended the Council which lasted 2 hours.

August 11. Capt. Scott sent for me to shew me a Representation or rather misrepresentation given to him this morning by the Clerks or Merchants of the General Stores respecting the Indian Department setting forth how injurious Mr. Ainse going into the Indian Country last winter had been to their trade and their apprehensions from his returning there this next winter —also that Goods had been lent to Individuals from the King's Store who traded them at a low price. That the Indians went away very dissatisfied from this post, that Clerks and Interpreters were paid out of the King's Store to the ruin of their Trade, that they were refused permission to speak to the Indians concerning their Trade altho' permitted by Lord Dorchester's passes giving as their opinion that it would be unnecessary to send up in future any presents for the Indians and a good deal of such stuff signed by a number of that General Society.

Mr. Dease having read the paper given him by Capt Scott, observed that their charges amounted to no more than mere assertions unsupported by any evidence that as he entertained no doubt that the Genl^{m} would substantiate them before a Court of Enquiry, Mr. Dease intreated Capt. Scott to order one for that purpose, to which he agreed and imagined it would be proper to have some Civilians present of whom I might appoint one and the General store another and they in conjunction with the officers of the Garrison should make the Enquiry, I then requested a copy which Capt. Scott promised after the trial—Capt. Scott acquainted Mess^{rs} Paterson and Campion with his instructions, to which they objected and withdrew the papers in order to send them

down without any enquiry, tho' it could not be instituted in a more proper time the parties concerned being then present.

Capt. Scott immediately told me their determination of not submitting to a court of Enquiry, on which I remarked that it would probably end in that, and that perhaps when it would be much more expensive to Goverm^{t} and when it would be impossible to collect the parties concerned.

I then requested as before in the morning a Copy of this Representation in order to enable me regularly to confute the charges therein contained, this I could not obtain, the Representation being withdrawn by Mess^{rs} Campion and Patterson on my return home I wrote to the Directors of the general Store requesting the favor of a copy of the representation given to Capt. Scott, relying on their candor and liberality, this they also refused—I then applied to Capt. Scott for a Court of Enquiry respecting the charges contained in the Representation that those accused might have an opportunity of proving the falsehood of their assertions and vindicate their own Characters—this Capt. Scott denied saying he would have nothing more to do in the business. I fancy an impartial person would look on us to be hardly used and it is impossible that in future we shall have so good an opportunity of exposing both the malice and falsehood of their information—the people able to prove both I offered to bring before Capt. Scott, whom I entreated to have them sworn and examined—this he would not comply with alledging that he could not administer an Oath as he was not a Justice of peace, I told him I imagined him one in virtue of his command here.

14th. 500 more packs sent down this year than last besides those that are to go.

[Q 48 part II page 353]

Indorsed:—Michilimackinac 16th August 1787 from Joseph Ainse. Mr. Ainse delivered this to Com'ce 1st May 1790, H. F.

FROM MR. AINSSÈ. UNADDRESSED.

Sir, According to the orders which I received last year from Captain Byrne I left this Post with a Canoe loaded with thirteen bales of goods to go and make peace among the Indian Nations.

After a fortnight's passage I arrived at La Baye in the Village of the Folles Avoines, I began to speak to the nation & inform them of the object of my visit. I made them a small present of Rum & Goods & continued my

route by the Fox River. Having come to Wisconsin Portage I assembled all the Puants to give them your speech, this was the first time that I had showed the large Belt of which you had made me the bearer & after making them a present of Goods, rum & tobacco, I continued my route on the River Wisconsin & after a passage of five days I came, in the Mississippi to a village of the Foxes where I had much trouble in stopping a party of warriors. who were preparing to go to war against the Sauteux. I made them all assemble & managed to stop this party, myself delivering the belt & war tomahawk which they were to use. They promised that for the future they would listen to your words, & also in acknowledgement I made them a present, the same as I had done to the others. Two days afterwards I prepared to leave, ascended the Mississippi & after fourteen days march I arrived at the entrance of the River St. Peter, where I found a large number of Sioux of all the different Villages who also prepared to go to war against the Sauteux. It was there that the few goods given me by Captain Byrne received a bad attack for I could not dispense with making a present to each of the five different Villages, that is where I made use of your name and I venture to flatter myself that I employed it in the best manner for I succeeded in everything. At that time a party of Sioux arrived coming from the Sauteux with sixteen fresh scalps & three prisoners. The arrival of this party caused a little interruption to the peace which I proposed, seeing that the larger part of the women tore the still bloody & ragged scalps from hands of the warriors, with an unequalled ferocity & wanted also to throw themselves upon the warrior prisoners, crying: "Ah dog; Is it thou who has killed my father," & another made the same exclamation saying "Is it thou who hast killed my brother." In short the three poor prisoners witnessed this sad spectacle which was the cause of so much bad feeling. But fortunately for those living in this neighborhood the plan of having good soldiers, who I can assure you are more respected than among the civilized nations, is in force. However they got possession of the prisoners, with trouble as they had to drag them from the hands of the women & preserved them from their rage. Although so sad a spectacle made a little confusion among us still I succeeded in quieting them by representing to them to what misery they would expose their Nation if they were obstinate & would not hear your speech. It was then one of the principal chiefs came & took me by the hand & wrapped a Beaver robe round me, saying "My Father rest until to-morrow & then we will tell you our way of thinking." The next day being all reassembled they sent to look for me by six of their soldiers, placed me on a beaver robe in the midst of their assembly, saying in very strong terms & informing me of their gratitude to their father Chevallier Johnson for wishing to bring about a peace amongst them & to unite their lands with those of their enemies.

They then made me a present of 50 stalks of wild oats & delivered to me the Sauteux prisoners which they had taken, saying, "As a proof that we listen to your words, here are the prisoners which we took into our hands take them to our father Sir John Johnson." I arranged all those affairs as well as I could desire & brought them to make peace with the Sauteux.

I then began to take courage & almost pursuaded of accomplishing your orders in full. So I continued my route, penetrating even as high as the River St. Peter through all the Sioux Villages, with your large belt without any interruption & when I came to the last village I met a party of three hundred Sioux who were coming to war with the Sauteux. I stopped this party there with a present, some chiefs coats, a medal & a flag, which I gave them from you. After great difficulty however I succeeded in stopping them & getting them to make peace. I proposed to them that they should go among the Sauteux with a pipe of peace, which I gave them from you, to smoke in and to conclude the peace. As the season was then well advanced & as the ice prevented me from advancing farther, I left my canoe with four of my men & set off to traverse the Country on foot with two Escabias & an Interpreter, judging rightly that it was necessary to do the same among the Sauteux as I had just done among the Sioux. I left three days afterwards and, after having marched for seventeen days across the prairies, I arrived at the head of the St. Antoine Falls in the upper part of the Mississippi in the Sauteux Country. I went into the Village of the Manonimi—Rechi, I told them all that I had done among the Sioux, with regard to them. It was then nearly forty days since a party of Sioux had killed sixteen person in this village & made three prisoners as I have already mentioned. I remained all the rest of the winter going from Village to Village talking with the Sauteux & deciding them to make the peace which their father Sir John Johnson wished them to terminate. And after having spoken to all the Sioux, Sauteux, Follesavoines & Renards I appointed them to meet nearly ten leagues in the River St. Peter on the fourteenth of March, each of these nations kept their word & I Left myself for the place where I had said I would receive them. We passed eight days & eight nights continually in conference with one another & finally we arrived at the day of the great feast of peace, after which each went to his own village promising me that six men of the principal village chiefs & also war chiefs would come to Michilimakinac. I agreed with them that I would leave for the River St. Peter on the first of May & we gave our words to each other that whichever first came to the said place on the River St. Peter would wait for the others. All this was accomplished & the day agreed upon I left to go to the Prairie du Chien, where I arrived without any accident, but on our arrival there we

were not so well received by the Foxes as I could have wished. On the eve of my arrival I sent a canoe to announce me in the Fox village & to prevent all accidents I warned, by a letter which I wrote to Mr. C. Paterson, Director of the society as well as the other traders, to stop the rum during my stay at the Prairie du Chien. Immediately on my arrival I lost no time in assembling all the Foxes, Sacks, Follesavoines, Sioux & Sauteux & did all in my power to unite their hearts which were then very much at variance. Having got the word of the Foxes, willing in spite of themselves, through the frequent councils which I held with them during the four days I remained there, I concluded to leave the fifth day well foreseeing that if I stayed longer I would not have the power to prevent the danger which threatened me. The English Traders, who had never deigned to answer my letter nor to disturb themselves much about the trouble I endured among the different nations, enemies to one another, still sent the rum as usual, & all my labours were on the verge of being destroyed by the ambition of trade in so critical a time. The day I proposed to leave was the day that Mr. Paterson assembled the Sioux & held a Council with them, without my knowledge & I was greatly surprised on their return from Mr. Paterson's that the greater part wished to leave me & return home. I tried to find out what was said at this Council but I could discover nothing except through a clerk named La Batte. I asked him what Mr. Paterson could have said to the Indians that made the greater part want to return home. He then plainly said to me "Mr. Ainse as I was present at the Council I can assure you that Mr. Paterson said nothing but good to the Indians, having said that he was master of Trade & that he was going to send to have two forts built among them, also saying to them it is true that your father Sir John Johnson is a great man but it is not in his power to send me among you if I did not wish it. Believe me, it is I, who am a Trader, that can take care of you & send you all you need." I did not hold a long discourse with him well seeing that it would not be good for me to stay here long. I had all the Canoes put into the water & left in pretty bad order to go & camp about three leagues farther down. The same evening I sent some messengers with twenty branches of porcelaine to bring back L'Aile Rouge (Red Wing) first war chief of the Sioux & many others who wished to accompany him home. I succeeded in bringing them back & continued my route as far as Michilimakinac without any interruption—

I was not surprised at the Declaration of Monsr. La Batte, about Mr. Charles Paterson's conduct, since he had already, in the upper part of the River St. Peter, taken upon him to make a Chief & given him a coat & flag; that was why the great Chiefs of the Tinctons Villages as well as the great

Chiefs of the Cicitton had not come to Michilimakinac, as they had promised after having received Sir John Johnson's speech.

Altogether I had six men of each different village, I had then with me one hundred and ninety six persons and as many more I had sent over by Lake Superior, having appointed them a rendevous for the second of July on my arrival at Michilimakinac. Therefore I hope Sir that anyone might know by my conduct and by all the precautions which I took that my only ambition was to work for the public good and to save the expenses of the Indian Department as much as lay in my power, although it is not possible on so long a voyage and conducting so large a number of Indians to avoid incurring some expense, God grant Sir that my conduct be as you wish and that you are satisfied with my work, as far as was in my power to make valuable among the nations the few talents I possessed the employment of which you had been good enough to charge me with. I have sacrificed every moment since my departure from you. I then came to Michilimakinac in the hope of seeing you there. I found in your place Captain Dease. I had nothing more pressing than to attend to his orders and give him an account of my voyage. He appeared very well satisfied with my conduct and willing to give effect to all the words that I had given on your part to all the nations. I may say that Captain Dease was the proper person to achieve this work, and I flatter myself that all has been arranged to his wishes; he has made peace with all the nations which I brought here and I assure you that all the Indians have returned home as contented as anyone could wish. But unhappily for me this was on condition that I would return again among them for a year. They have even fixed my winter quarters in the upper part of the Mississippi among the Sioux and Sauteux. Although so long a voyage would be repugnant to me I feared, Sir, to displease you if I refused Captain Deases orders, in consequence I prepared two canoes to return and take the management of all your Indian children in the South. But in the hope Sir, that you would permit me to return next year to Canada, where I would be able to render account myself of my conduct. I will give you no detail of the bad treatment which I received in this place from the Traders. I will leave this to Mr. Dease who will give you an exact account. I can only assure you Sir that the high opinion which they had of me when they addressed themselves to Your Honor and asked you to send me to make peace among the nations was a plan on their part. They doubtless depended that I would do as the others had done before me who for small trips have led the department into extraordinary expenses.

Is it then possible to believe that, with thirteen small bales of goods that I had brought with me and which I had received from Captain Byrne, I could

speak to all the different villages and that I should be mistaken in having made the treaty with the Indians. I hope Sir that your opinion will alone be my judge and that justice will plead my cause on this occasion. It is true that I bought a little tobacco and wheat to send to the Indians at Michilimakinac but this was indispensibly necessary. Now that I have given you an exact detail of my conduct it only rests with me to give you the numbers in the different villages I passed.

1st village of Arbre Croche	260	men
The villages of the Puants altogether	340	"
The village of the Foxes	300	"
The villages of the Saques	700	"
1st village of the Sioux	204	"
2nd " " "	230	"
3rd " " "	260	"
The Sioux of the Feuille Fire	200	"
The large village of the Sioux called the Tinctons	800	"
	3,294	

It is not possible to give you the number of tho Sauteux seeing that they are never settled in their place, and that one can never see them all together but I can say for certain that they are more numerous than the Sioux.

(signed)

JOSEPH AINSE—

MICHILIMAKINAC 16th August 1787.

[Q 48 part II page 425]

MR. LE MAISTRE TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON.

QUEBEC 29th October 1787

SIR, Your letter of the 1st instant, with papers concerning some late transactions in the Upper Country, Lord Dorchester has received; since which a Memorial from several Merchants trading to those parts has been presented to his Lordship, accompanied with a Copy of their letter to Captain Scott, which, with copies and extracts of other papers, they also produced, are herewith enclosed for your information, the like having been by his Lordship's commands transmitted to the Commanding officer at Michilimackinac, that the accusations alledged against Messrs Dease & Ainsse may

be made in their presence, to enable them to refute the charges affirmed by the complainants—

I am &c

(signed) FRANS. LE MAISTRE
M. S.

Sir John Johnson

(True Copy) (signed) FRANS. LE MAISTRE M. S.

Indorsed "Michilimakinac 16th August 1787 from Joseph Ainse
Mr. Ainse delivered this to the Com't 1st, May 1790. H. F.

State of the Troops in the Upper Posts 1st November 1787.

			Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Q. Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
53rd.	Captain Scott	Michilimackinac	-----	-----	1	2	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	1	52
	Major Mathews	Detroit	-----	1	2	3	4	-----	1	1	1	1	11	5	234
	Lieut Latham	Fort Erie	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	23
	Serving as	marines on the Lake	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	27
		Total	-----	1	3	7	5	-----	1	1	1	1	14	6	336
2nd Batta 60th	Captain Porter	Carleton Island	-----	-----	1	3	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	1	63
	Lieut Wakely	Cataraqui	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	20
	A. Serjeant	Oswegatchie	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	3
			-----	-----	1	4	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	3	2	86
65th	Captain Watson	Niagara	-----	-----	2	5	3	-----	1	1	1	-----	10	7	244
	Captain Malcom	Fort Ontario	-----	-----	1	2	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	1	50
	Lieut Breynton	Fort Schlosser	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	24
	A. Serjeant	Landing	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	10
			-----	-----	3	8	4	-----	1	1	1	-----	14	8	328
		Upper Posts Total	-----	1	7	19	10	-----	2	2	2	2	31	16	750
Infantry Upper Lower and Upper Posts General Total			-----	5	24	45	31	-----	4	6	6	5	90	52	2050

			Commission.						Staff.		Serjeants.			Rank and Files.		
			Lt. Cols.	Majors.	Capts.	Cap Lieuts.	1st Lieuts.	2nd Lieuts.	Adjts	Surgeons.	Doing Duty.	In charge of stores.	Drummers.	Doing Duty.	In charge stores.	Total.
	Lieut Col. Davis	Quebec	1	------	------	3	6	1	1	1	1	------	10	111	------	111
	Capt Lieut Smith	William Henry	------	------	------	1	------	1	------	------	1	------	------	17	1	18
	------	Chambly	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	2	1	3
	2nd Lieut R. C. H. Rogers	St. Johns	------	------	------	------	------	1	------	------	------	------	------	7	1	8
	------	Isle aur Noix	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	2	1	3
	------	Point au Fer	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1
	------	Montreal	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1
Royal Artillery		Total Lower Posts	1	------	------	4	6	3	1	1	2	------	10	139	6	145
	------	Michilimackinac	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	2	1	3
	1st Lieut Willm Spicer	Detroit	------	------	------	------	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	12	1	13
	1st Lieut Robt Clark	Niagara	------	------	------	------	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	17	1	18
	------	Fort Ontario	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	------	7	------	7
	------	Carleton Island	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	------	3	------	3
	------	Cataraqui	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1	2
	------	Oswe gatchie	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1
		Total Upper Posts	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	2	------	42	5	47
Artillery Lower	& Upper Posts	General Total	1	------	------	4	8	3	1	1	2	2	10	187	11	192

[Q 28 p 184] Dorchester.

ACCOUNTS.

No. 3

Mr Ainse Dr To the General Partnership

1786.	Delivered you on your departure for the Indian country:				
August	2 Cotton Shirts 18-8	£	1	7	4
	1 Callico do 20		1		
	135 lbs Gum at different times 2		13	10	
	Sundry Taylors work		3	9	4
	The following articles furnished him in Ind. Country:				
Sepr. 7th	By Marchesseau, at the Dog Plains, 2 Kegs Gunpowder weighing 133 lbs @ 10-8		70	18	8
Novr. 10th	By Charles Paterson at the River St. Peters 1 fine scarlet Chief's Coat		6	13	4
	6 fathom twist Tobacco 8		2	8	
Decr. 15th	By Joseph Rocque Ditto				
	6 lbs Vermilllion 20		6		
	1 pr Blankets 3 pts 64		3	4	
	2 pr Do 2 Do 32		3	4	
	1 pr Do 1½ Do 26-8		1	6	8
1787.					
Jany. 29th	By Jacques Frenier Ditto				
	3 Blankets of Strouds 53-4		5	6	8
	1 pr do ½ pts 48		2	8	
	1 pr Leggins 13-4			13	4
	1 Breech clout 10-8			10	8
	5 lbs twist Tobacco 26-8		6	13	4
	4 Slaves £33 6-8		133	6	8
Feby. 10th	By Hyppolite La River Ditto				
	25 lbs Gunpowder 16		20		
	3 lbs Ball 8		2		
	1½ pr Blankets 2½ points 48		3	12	
	By Charles Paterson				
	5 lbs Carrot Tobacco 10-8		2	13	4
	By Marchesseau of the Dog Plains				
May 7th 11th	41 / 46 87 lbs of Tobacco 10-8		46	8	
June 7th	By Pierre Guignon at La Baye				
	21 Bushels Indian Corn 26-8		28		
	7 Bushels Wild Oats 33-4		11	13	4
	60 lbs Flour 2		6		
	New York Currency	£	328	16	8

Michilimackinac 20th August 1787

I certify to have received the above mentioned articles amounting to the sum of 328 Pounds 16 Shillings & Eight pence New York Currency, the whole for the Indian Department, as far as to the River St. Peter from the Port of Michilimackinac.

(signed) Ainsse

Received from Mr Ainsse his Draft payable in October next on Sir John Johnson Bart for the above sum, which when paid will be in full.

Michilimakinac

20th August 1787 for the General Partnership

(signed) A. Holt

N. B. The four Slaves charged in the foregoing account, were purchased

by order of the Superintendant General & Inspector General of Indian Affairs in order to fulfill a promise made by Governor St Clair to the Indians, & confirmed by Capt Robertson, to replace some of their People killed in action during the late war.

By order of the Superintendant &
Inspector General

(signed) P. LANGAN
Actg. Secry. to Indian Affairs

Indian Department Office
Montreal 27th November 1787

I do hereby certify that the above account amounting to Three hundred and eighty two pounds sixteen shillings and 8^{d} New York Currency is Just and indispensibly necessary for His Majesty's Indian Interest at Michilimakinac.

(signed) DANIEL ROBERTSON
Commandant

MONTREAL 24th Dec^{r} 1787

Received of Sir John Johnson Bart. Superintend^{t} General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, Three hundred and Eighty two Pounds sixteen shillings and Eight pence New York Currency for Incidental Expences in the Indian Dep^{t} as stated above, and for which we have signed two receipts of this Tenor & date.

(signed) TODD & MC GILL

A True Copy from the Original
(signed) P. Langan
late Secry. to Ind^{a} Affairs.

No 3 MICHILIMAKINAC

Government

To L. Joseph Ainsse D^{r}

For sundry expenses incurred in a voyage to the different Nations of Indians, undertaken by order of Sir John Johnson Bart.

1786 Augt. 16th	2 Large Canoes @	400	Livrs is	800
at this post before	2 sails for Do	40	"	80
my departure	20 lbs Gum	1	"	20
	50 lbs Grease	3	"	150
	50 lbs Sugar	1-10	"	75
	8 bushels Corn	20	"	160
				1285

6 Sep^{r} at La Baye	1 Canoe from Mr Roy		300
	15 lbs Gum		15
	1 Roll bark		30
			345
1787 March 14th to the entry of the River St Pierre—	50 bags wild rice & Corn	20	1000
26th March to the entry of the River St Croix	31 Bags Do & Do		640
			1640
11th May Prairie du Chien	32 Bags corn from Onnore		640
	256 lbs Grease from M. Cardinal	@ 3	768
			1408

Paid Mr. Giason the following vizt.

1 Canoe for the Renards		200
10 lbs Gum		10
1 Sail		30
1 Kettle		24
		264
	Carried over Livres	4942

Amount Bro^{t} forward	Liv.		4942
26th May—Portage	44 Bags wild Rice	a 20	880
Wisconsin	40 Bags Do & Do		800
June 4th at La Baye	100 lbs Flour		150
	50 lbs Grease	@ 3	150
	20 lbs Gum	1	30
			1130
Paid Louis Cardin his Wages			600
Baptiste Chevalier	Do.		600
Gigaire	Do.		600
Plamondon	Do.		500
Berthiammi	Do.		500
			2800
		Livres	9752
Equal to New York Currency			£ 650,2.8.

Sundries furnished the different Nations of Indians by order of Captain Dease ..... vizt

July 15th	4500 Wampum	@ 30 Liv	.....	135
Sauteaux	3 Canoes	200	.....	600
	200 lbs Grease	3	.....	600
	3 sails	24	.....	72
	60 lbs Gum	1	.....	60
				1467
Scioux	4 Canoes	115	.....	460
	4 sails	24	.....	96
	400 lbs Grease	3	.....	1200
	120 lbs Gum	1	.....	120
	4 Rolls Bark	30	.....	120
				1996
Paid M^{r} Cadot his Expenses in the Chippeway Country				772
			Liv.	4235
Equal to New York Currency				£ 282,6.8.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing sum of Four Thousand Two hundred Thirty five livres, or Two hundred and Eighty two pounds Six shillings & eight New York Currency was furnished and paid by M. Louis Joseph Ainsse, agreeable to my orders, and that the sum of nine thousand seven hundred and fifty Pounds two shilling & 8^{d} New York Curry. expenses incurred by him in the Indian Country appears to me to be necessary & Proper.

(signed) JOHN DEASE. D. S.

I do certify that the several charges in the foregoing account incurred between the 16th August 1786 & July 1787, amounting to nine thousand seven hundred and fifty two livres are Just, and were indispensibly necessary for His Majesty's Indian Interest at Michilimakinac—

(signed) WILLIAM BYRNE
Com'y & Clerk I. D.

Montreal 24th Decem^{r} 1787 Received of Sir John Johnson Bart. Superintendant General & Inspector General of Indian affairs, Thirteen Thousand nine hundred and Eighty seven Livres, equal to nine hundred and thirty two pounds, nine shillings and four pence, New York Currency being the amount of Incidental Expenses in the Indian Department as stated on pages

65

one & *two* of this sheet and for which we have signed two Receipts of same tenor and date

(signed) TODD & McGILL

A true Copy from the Original

(signed) P. LANGAN

Late Actg. Secry. to Indn Affairs

[Q 48 II page 599]

COURT OF INQUIRY.

In consequence of an order from His Excellency the Right Honorable Guy Lord Dorchester Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Colonies of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and their Dependencies, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in the said Colonies and the Island of Newfoundland &c. &c. &c. dated the first day of November one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, addressed to Thos. Scott Esqre Captain in His Majesty's 53rd Regiment of foot, Commandant at the post of Michilimakinac and its Dependencies, which ordered him to form a board of Inquiry in said post, in order to prove the complaints made to him by a number of the Traders of the said post, against abuses committed by persons employed in the Indian Department and particularly the line of conduct Mr. Dease and Mr. Ainse the Interpreter have followed since the former came to the post.

The Commandant has therefore instituted and opened, this twenty fourth day of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight the said Board of Inquiry, before which the appointed Witnesses were summond to attend.

Thomas Scott Esqr Captain Commandant and president.

Lieut. Daniel Robertson
Ensign Willm Ottley
Willm Grant, Alexr Henry } Merchants.
} Members

Louis Carignant Clerk & A Holt employed by the Court for English Evidence.

MICHILIMAKINAC 24th June 1788.

The Court opened at 8 in the morning

Present.

Thomas Scott Esquire President

Lieut. Danl^{s}. Robertson
Ensign Willm. Ottly
Wm. Grant } Merchants
Alex^{r} Henry }
} Members

Louis Carignant Clerk

A Holt employed by the Court for the English Evidence

Appeared before the Court.

M^{r} Bp^{te} Chevalier who, after having taken oath made the following responses to the questions which were put to hin by M^{r} Charles Paterson.

1st Question.—If he had been employed by M^{r} Ainse in the River St Pierre in 1786 & 1787?

Answer Yes.

2nd Q. In what capacity had he been employed?

A. In the capacity of a voyageur.

3rd Q. What wages he had?

A. 600 livres & permission to trade.

4th Q. How these wages had been payed & by whom?

A. By Mr. Ainse here, in paper money.

5th Q. If in the wintering ground he had traded for Mr. Ainse?

A. No, that he had traded for himself.

6th Q. If he had any Merchandise with him in the wintering ground?

A. Yes, that he had many small articles, silverware, blankets & vermillion & many other trifles.

7th Q. Who was with him in the wintering ground?

A. That he had still Mess^{rs} Cardin & Gignere and he the deponant when they were absent acted in their place.

8th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had any King's Merchandise in the store of which he had charge?

A. Yes.

9th Q. In what quantity was the merchandise?

A. About four to five bundles & the assortment & that he had among them many things which did not belong to the King.

10th Q. If he knew that the merchandise had been traded and by whom?

A. Yes by Messrs. Cardin and Gignere and not by him.

11th Q. How many paquets did he think Messrs. Cardin & Gignere have made with his merchandise?

A. Four paquets & one which was not purchased.

12th Q. If that was all the returns of that store?

A. That that was all to his knowledge.

13th Q. If he had brought the skins here himself?

A. Yes, that he had brought them to Mr. Ainse in this post.

14th Q. If he knew what had become of the skins?

A. Said that he had counted them in Mr. Ainse's granary but that he did not know what had become of them.

15th Q. If he had sold the Goods which he had in the eneral store with Mr. Cardin in 1786?

A. Yes, he had sold them to Mr. Cardinal.

16th Q. If they have kept any of these goods?

A. Yes, some trifles as silverware and a little scarlet dye.

17th Q. If he knew if Mr. Cardinal had received any Goods at the same time from Mr. Ainse of the King's Merchandise?

A. Yes, but that he did not know if they belonged to the King.

18th Q. By whom had he been payed for Cardinal?

A. By Mr. Todd to whom he had sold the skins.

19th Q. If he knew that Mr. Paterson in the wintering ground had asked him if Mr. Ainse had not said to him to sell his King's Merchandise; but not to send them to the Indians?

A. That Mr. Ainse had said to him to sell them to the Indians when he should not have goods with him.

20th Q. If he knew how many packets or parcels Mr. Ainse had sent to the River St. Pierre?

A. No.

21st Q. If he knew that Messrs. Cardin and Gignere had come, in the Autumn of 1786, to Mr. Paterson's house in the River St. Pierre to invite the Indians to go and trade with them?

A. Yes, but he does not know if it was designedly or casually.

22nd Q. If he knew if any engagé or clerk of Mr. Ainse had been payed their wages in King's Merchandise this same year?

A. That he did not know.

Question by the Court.

If he knew the quantity of Merchandise which did not belong to the King and which was with the King's merchandise in the wintering Store of Mr. Ainse?

A. That he had two or three bags of heavy shot, a barrel of white wine, broken into, some files and some old iron which Mr. Ainse had had made here.

23rd Q. By Mr. Paterson—If he knew that in the wintering ground

many of the articles above mentioned had been given as a present to the Indians?

A. No.

Q. By. Mr. Ainse. By what means and how he knew that he had some goods belonging to himself and others belonging to the King?

A. That he had not said that they were his but that they were goods which he had not issued from the King's Store.

Q. If he remembered when he had brought them, he Gignere & Cardin into the wintering grounds before his departure they said to all three, if they came from the Indians here to trade and if you had not any Merchandise of your own and if they were naked and worthy of pity you would trade them some King's Merchandise.

A. That he had already said yes.

Q. By Mr. Paterson. If the goods which he believed belonged to Mr. Ainse among those of the King were marked with the King's mark?

A. No, those were marked with an A. S.

Q. If the King's goods were marked with Captain Byrne's mark of a goose's foot.

A. Yes.

Q. By Mr. Ainse, you have said that in the wintering ground you had 4 or 5 Bundles, how many were there when they left.

A. Two and about a small one.

Q. If they have furnished likewise the King's Goods for the wants of the six Indians, hunters, that Mr. Ainse had.

A. Yes, he has given them their wants.

Q. By Mr. Paterson. Who are the six Indians to whom they have given some goods, if he had received some peltry from the Indians.

A. That the had in peltry some food for themselves.

Q. What has become of the rest of the goods which they have sent to Mr. Ainse.

A. That he had seen Mr. Ainse giving the larger part to the Indians.

After reading to him made him take oath and sign the present declaration.

(signed) J. Bte. Chevalier.

Then appeared Antoine Gignere who made oath & answered to the questions following put to him by Mr. Paterson.

1st Q. By whom he was employed in 1786, and in what capacity?

A. By Mr. Ainse in the capacity of an engagé & an interpreter when necessary.

2nd Q. How much he had as wages?

A. That he had 600 livres.

3rd Q. In what way he had been payed?

A. Part in goods and the rest in money.

4th Q. If he was in the Canoe which brought the goods to the wintering ground at the River St. Peter?

A. Yes.

5th Q. What goods he thought they were?

A. That he thought they were King's goods.

6th Q. For what reason he thought that they belonged to the King?

A. Because Mr. Ainse was employed for the King & he had heard it said that it was the King's mark.

7th Q. If he knew that these gentlemen had been trading to the Indians in the wintering grounds & by whom?

A. Yes, that it is by Mr. Cardin and himself.

8th Q. If he remembers being with Mr. Paterson in the Autumn of 1786 with Cardin, looking for the Indians to bring them to trade with them?

A. Yes.

9th Q. If the Indians had been to them?

A. That they had all of that Band been there about three days.

10th Q. How many packets they had made in their wintering ground?

A. That he could not just say the number, but that it was nearly five or six packets of which two were otter and another commenced.

11th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had received these goods from Captain Byrne?

A. No.

12th Q. To whom these goods had been sent when going out of wintering?

A. To Mr. Ainse.

13th Q. If he knew of some packets that the Indian called Le Pin had brought with him and how many?

A. One package.

Question by the Court. If he knew to whom the parcel had been sent?

A. That he thought that the Indian had kept it to give to Mr. Ainse.

14 Q. By Mr. Paterson—If Mr. Ainse had quarreled with this Indian for having traded and left some peltry with Mr. Paterson?

A. That the Indian had told him so but that he knew nothing himself.

Question by the Court—By what order he had been telling the Indians with Mr. Paterson to come & trade with them?

A. By order of Mr. Cardin who was his supérior.

15th Q. By Mr. Paterson—If he had served as an interpreter to Mr. Ainse in a Council held at Chouchouard in returning?

A. That he had served as an interpreter. That he did not recollect much of what he had said.

1st Q. By Mr. Ainse—If among the 5 or 6 packets of peltry which he had declared to have been made, the presents given to Mr. Ainse by the Indians were comprised?

A. That there were very few of them.

2nd Q. If he remembered that in the wintering ground before they quitted it, he had forbidden them to go and look for any Indian but the one who had let the house for trading.

3rd A. Yes that Mr. Ainse had forbidden them and after reading had been made to him he signed the present deposition—

(signed)

ANTE. GIGNIERE.

Then appeared the Sieur Pierre La Pointe who took oath and answered to the following—

1st Q. By Mr. Paterson—Where he had wintered in 1786—

A. In the River St. Croix—

2nd Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse had been with him that same winter—

A. Yes—

3rd Q. On what business,

A. That Mr. Ainse had come into his wintering ground with Mr. Cardinal, who was one of those sent, that Mr. Cardinal had complained to Mr. Ainse that he was badly served by the Indians. Mr. Ainse had answered Mr. Cardinal that he would hold a council to talk to the Indians, that he was present when this council was held, that it was the Sieur

Roc, who was interpreter, and that by him Mr. Ainse had said to the Indians, that it would render Mr. Cardinal & his brother worthy of pity, that it was for him that he would hold the goods, that the general Society had not been willing to give them to them, that an Indian had some peltries hidden to trade with the said Sieur La Pointe; Mr. Ainse obliged him in the council to give them to Mr. Cardinal, that at the end of the said council Mr. Ainse said to the Indian, that at the time when he had a chief among them it was the Indian La Feuille who would have broken into the huts of those who would not pay and that in consequence of this word the huts of those who would not trade with him had been broken into the same day by the Indians—

4th Q. If when this lodge had been broken into he had not spoken to Mr. Rocque?

A. Said that he had asked Mr. Rocque to talk to the Indians for him with regard to his commerce—

Q. How Mr. Ainse had answered him—

A. That he could not talk to them, that he was Interpreter for Mr. Ainse and not for any other—

Question by the Court—The Court asked what was the reason that the lodge had been broken down and by whom?

A. That it had been broken down by command of Mr. Ainse, in consequence of having a quarrel with the Indians and by the Warrior Indians

If Mr. La Pointe thought that that because of this the Indians would trade their peltries with him, if that was why the lodge had been broken down?

A. Yes—

Q. By Mr. Ainse—For what reason he said that Mr. Cardinal was sent from Mr. Ainse—

A. That he knew from Mr. Cardinal himself—

If he knew what were the skins for which the lodge had been broken into—

A. Said that the Indian had six otters, nine deer skins and had declared & not being able to write † the said declaration†, made his ordinary mark after it had been read to him.

Mr. Ainse again asked him if he did not remember that it was he who had told him to come to council and if he had not himself brought him to the Council House—

A. That it was not Mr. Ainse, but Mr. Rocque who had brought him—

PIERRE (X) LAPOINTE.
his mark.

Then appeared Mr. Joseph Rocque who took oath and answered as follows to the questions which had been put to him by Mr. Charles Paterson.

1st Q. If he remembered to have been with Mr. Ainse in the winter of 1786 with Mr. Cardinal in the River St. Croix?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. If it was in the capacity of interpreter?

A. That he was a clerk for the General Society, that Mr. Aird one of the Society had given him permission to interpret for Mr. Ainse and he had also permission to go with him.

3rd Q. When they were sold to the Sieur Cardinal what passed?

A. That on arriving they had not found the Indians there, that they had sent them to look in the country, and that they came to the number of five, with which they left to go to the Sauteux, where they rested fifteen days, after which they returned to Mr. Cardinal where they found the Indians had arrived, that the next morning after their arrival Mr. Ainse having sent to speak to the Indians he, the deponant had asked Sieur La Pointe if he had withdrawn his credit, he answered that he had withdrawn it. Then Mr. Ainse said to the deponant, "Come with me we will go to talk to the Sioux who have said through him that they were deceivers who ask them to trade and who will never pay them, that he had sent them the proofs last Autumn when he had sent his brother to trade and who was rendered pitiable, that Mr. Cardinal, present, was one of those who had goods from his brother, and who would not pay, that he knew well that they were dogs, that they knew well that they had no longer a chief because in his time they cut off the lodges of those who would not pay but that at present no person governed them."

Q. If he knew what threat Mr. Ainse had made to an Indian because he would not trade his peltry to Mr. La Pointe.

A. Said that Mr. Ainse had quarreled with him because he would not pay his account to Mr. Cardinal, that the Indian had sent to look for the deponant and Mr. Ainse said that he would give the peltry to Mr. Cardinal.

Q. If the lodge had been broken into the same day and if it was not in consequence of the threats of Mr. Ainse that the lodge had been broken into by the Indians?

A. Yes, that it had been broken into by the Warrior Indians, that he had told them but that he had not seen it done.

Q. If he had been paid by Mr. Ainse for this voyage?

A. Said that he had been paid here, in merchandize.

Q. What sort of merchandize?

A. That it was in merchandize from the King's store.

Question by the Court.—When he had been payed?

A. In July last year after the arrival of Mr. Ainse.

Q. By whom?

A. By Mr. Ainse.

Q. If it was before the arrival of Capt. Scott?

A. Said that it was after.

Q. If the Indian whom he had sent to look for Mr. Ainse had delivered the peltries to Mr. Cardinal?

A. That he had not seen them delivered.

Q. How he knew that the goods that Mr. Ainse had given him in payment belonged to the King?

A. That he thought that they belonged to the King by the wrapper which was a piece of cloth covered with gilt paper.

Q. If he knew if the goods which Mr. Cardinal had in the wintering ground belonged to the King or to Mr. Ainse?

A.

JOSEPH
sa (X) marque
ROCQUE.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow.

And the 25th June 1788 at eight o'clock in the morning the Court continued the present Inquest all the members being witnesses.

Then Appeared before the Court Mr. Andrew Todd, who after being duly sworn answered as follows to the Questions made to him by Charles Paterson:

Q. Whether he or Mr. Isaac Todd his uncle purchased any furrs last year from Mr. Ainse and what kind were they?

A. They did and they were mostly otters.

Q. If Mr. Todd had any account of those Furrs?

A. He believed he had.

Q. To what amount did he or his uncle purchase from Mr. Ainse last Year?

A. About five hundred pounds Halifax Currency.

Q. If the whole of that money was paid to Mr. Ainse by Todd & McGill?

A. The whole was paid by them, by Drafts drawn by Mr. Ainse on Isaac Todd & Todd & McGill.

Q. To whom were these Drafts payable?

A. He recollects he had one himself, one to Mr. Catin, one to the General partnership, one to Mr. McKenzie & he believes Mr. Henry had one.

Q. At what time did he purchase the furrs from Mr. Ainse?

A. In the month of July 1787 he thinks.

Q. If he had any knowledge of any other furrs sold by Mr. Ainse last summer?

A. None.

(signed)

ANDREW TODD.

Mr. Charles Paterson upon oath made the following declaration:

Being informed by some Gentlemen belonging to the General Store, that they had seen a certain quantity of Strouds and other goods, going from Mr. Dease's House or Store, to a shop established in this post by a Capt. LaMothe, he took the first opportunity to acquaint Mr. Dease of the same mentioning the injury that such proceedings would be to the fair Trader, and particularly to the General Store in which he was deeply interested. Mr. Dease answered that he was not accountable to him [or words to that effect] or to any person for his conduct, adding that Mr. LaMothe was an old faithful servant to the Crown & who had suffered a good deal during the late Revolution and he thought it was his duty to render him any service in his power, that he would lend the King's Goods when and where he pleased.

C. Paterson questioned by Mr. Dease—If Mr. Paterson does not recollect of two Barrels of Rum landed from Detroit & delivered at his Store-House.

A. He recollects that there were two Barrels of Rum landed at his Store marked for Doctor Mitchell. That he received a letter soon after desiring him to deliver the said two barrels of Rum to Mr. Dease which were delivered accordingly, but totally ignorant for what purpose.

Q. Whether Mr. Paterson recollects that in a discourse with him, on his mentioning the injury his trade might suffer, by lending goods to Mr. La Mothe, if he did not at that time mention to him that he would procure the goods from

Captain La Motte and deliver them to the General Store on condition that they would allow Capt La Motte a proportion of the profits they produced.

A. Mr. Paterson does not recollect anything of it.

(signed)

CHARLES PATERSON

Appeared before the Court Mr. John Reed, who was duly sworn.

Questioned by Charles Paterson—

Q. Was he employed last year, or is he now employed as Clerk for the Indian Department at this post.

A. He was employed and is now.

Q. What Salary had he from Mr. Dease last year.

A. Four Shillings York Currency a Day—

Q. What Salary he has this year—

A. It is not yet fixed with Mr. Dease—

Q. Was he paid by Mr. Dease his last year's Salary.

A. He received part of it

Q. In what nature was he paid that part—

A. In Goods—

Q. To what amount in Goods did he receive—

A. Mr. Dixon and himself received between sixty and seventy pounds York Currency

Q. What Goods did he suppose they were that he received for part of his Salary.

A. That he does not know—

Q. Had the Goods he received from Mr. Dease any particular mark—

A. He does not recollect

Q. Were there any Strouds among them—

A. There were—

Q. Has he any knowledge of certain Equipments made in a Store adjoining Mr. Ainse's House last Year—

A. He has none—

Q. Has he any knowledge of any Goods lent or sold out of that Store—

A. None.

Q. Does he know if Mr. Dease or Mr. Ainse disposed of any Goods since he has been in that employ from any store, either exchanged or lent—

A. He knows of none being sold but that he knows of some being exchanged with Mr. Meldrum—

Q. Did he take an account of what Goods were exchanged with Mr. Meldrum—

A. He did—

Q. Does he recollect to what amount they were—

A. About seventy or eighty pounds Halifax Currency—

Q. Does he recollect how many pieces of Strouds there were in the Goods exchanged with Mr. Meldrum—

A. He does not recollect.

Q. In what nature were they paid by Mr. Meldrum—

A. In hulld corn—

Q. Did he keep Mr. Dease's books last summer—

A. He did not but he wrote for him—

Q. Does he recollect his writing down any Goods taken out of Mr. Ainse's store or any other store—

A. That he did not.

Q. Did he make out Mr. Dease's Government Accounts—

A. He did—

Q. Does he recollect any charge made in those accounts respecting any Transactions of Mr. Ainse's last year—

A. There was no charge of that kind.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any Goods sold, lent or exchanged by Mr. Dease or any person under him besides Mr. Meldrum—

A. There was Dr. Mitchell exchanged some Wampum for Goods.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any others—

A. There was an exchange made with Mr. Winter or Mr. McBeath, he believes it was for tinsel lace—

Q. To what amount—

A. He does not know—

Q. Has he any knowledge of Mr. Dease having paid any Accounts in Goods—

A. None except what he and Mr Dixon received—

Mr. Reid Questioned by the Court.

Q. The goods that he and Mr. Dixon received for their Salary, at what time did he receive them.

A. About the beginning of August last.

Q. Does he know what store they came from.

A. He does not.

Q. Where did he receive them.

A. From Mr. Dixon who brought them to his House.

Q. Does he recollect when the goods were exchanged with Mr. Meldrum.

A. Some time in August last.

Q. Does he recollect what time the goods were exchanged with Mr. Winter and Doctor Mitchell.

A. He believes about the beginning of July last.

(signed) JOHN REED.

Appeared before the Court Mr. Robert Dixon who being duly sworn was questioned by Mr. Charles Paterson.

Q. Was he employed by Mr. Dease in the Indian Department this year and last year.

A. He was both years.

Q. What was his salary.

A. One Dollar a Day for last year.

Q. What is his Salary this year.

A. He expects the same he had last year but does not know.

Q. In what nature he was paid his Salary last year from Mr. Dease.

A. He was paid in Goods which he received from the King's Store.

Q. Were they King's Goods and to what amount.

A. They were King's Goods and the amount he believes about sixty or seventy pounds York Currency.

Q. Was he fully paid his Salary of last year.

A. He was.

Q. Did he keep any Books or papers belonging to that department.

A. He did not keep any books but wrote occasionally for that Department.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any Equipments of King's Goods being made from a Store adjoining Mr. Ainses House or from any other Store.

A. He has knowledge of Mr. Ainse having delivered certain quantities of goods to certain persons but cannot positively say for what purpose.

Q. To whom were these goods delivered.

A. He knows of Goods being sent out in Mr. Rainville and Mr. La River's Canoes on freight about eight or ten bales.

Q. Did he know them to be the King's Goods.

A. He understood them as such.

Q. Had he knowledge of an Equipment of King's Goods delivered from that Store to Mr. Roque.

A. He has knowledge of Goods being delivered by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Rocque.

Q. Does he know if Mr. Dease had any knowledge of those goods.

A. He does not know.

Q. Does he know if Mr. Honoré had any King's Goods either from Mr. Dease or Mr. Ainse from that Store or any other Store.

A. He does not know.

Q. Did he see any King's Goods in possession of Mr. Honoré either here or on his was or in his wintering ground.

A. He did in the River Renard where Mr. Honoré was drying his goods, which he understood to be the King's Goods.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any goods lent, sold or exchanged by Mr. Ainse or Mr. Dease, either from that store or any other.

A. Mr. Meldrum had a barter account with Mr. Dease.

Q. What goods had Mr. Meldrum from Mr. Dease.

A. Strouds, Blankets, Kettles and Hats.

Q. To what amount of goods had Mr. Meldrum from Mr. Dease.

A. Seven pieces of Strouds, twenty or thirty pair of two and a half point Blankets, and small ones in proportion, a nest of Copper Kettles, some ferriting Hats and some Awls which was in barter for some Indian corn received from Mr. Meldrum.

Q. What quantity of corn did Mr. Dease receive from Mr. Meldrum for said goods.

A. About one hundred or one hundred and fifty bushels, a quantity of tinsel Lace, and some other articles he does not recollect.

Q. Did he make out the account of the goods exchanged with Mr. Meldrum, and to what amount were they—

A. He does but does not recollect the amount.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any other goods being sold, lent, or exchanged from that or any other store—

A. Yes, With Mr. Andrew Todd a piece or two of Strouds and some Blankets

Q. What did Mr. Todd return for these goods.

A. Some pistols and something else—

Q. Does he knew of any other goods sold, bartered, or lent.

A. No other King's goods to his knowledge--

Q. Has he any knowledge of a certain note of hand wrote by Mr. Honoré payable to him, for a certain quantity of goods sold by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Honoré—

A. He has heard so.

Q. Has he heard to what amount that note of hand was—

A. He thinks he was told it was about seven or eight hundred Livres—

Q. Did any person assign any reason to him, for making that note payable to him—

A. No reason assigned.

Q. Did Mr. Honoré owe any money to him at that time—

A. He did not at that time.

Q. Did he know if Mr. Dease had any knowledge of that transaction.

A. He does not know.

Q. Has he any knowledge of Mr. Ainse having appropriated to his own or any other person's use, King's Goods given as presents for the Indians—

A. As he delivered goods repeatedly to Mr. Ainse he cannot tell whether they were delivered to the Indians or not—

Q. Does he know that Mr. Ainse sold any goods to Mr. Howard—

A. He does but they were not King's Goods.

Q. How does he know they were not King's Goods—

A. They were Goods that came from Detroit

Q. What kind of Goods were they—

A. Two point Blankets.

Q. Does he know of an equipment of King's Goods being made by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Cardinal—

A. He does know of it.

Q. To what amount was it—

A. He does not recollect to what amount, but thinks it was five or six Bales.

Q. Did not Mr. Ainse ask him in the Indian country to fit out one La Marche in the Mississippi, in company together—

A. He did.

Q. Did they fit out Mr. La Marche—

A. He himself refused it.

Q. Did not he receive some Furrs for Mr. Ainse in the River St. Peter—

A. He did from Larivery one hundred weight of Beaver, twelve otters, eight Raccoons and some small peltry.

Q. Did he deliver these Furrs to Mr. Ainse?

A. No. he has them still in his possession.

Q. Did Mr. Larivery acquaint Mr. Dixon for what purpose he put them in his hands for Mr. Ainse?

A. To pay three hundred livres cash Mr. Ainse advanced for him at Michilimakinac, also in part of Goods he took out of the Bales, sent in his Canoe on freight to St. Peter's River.

Q. Has he any knowledge of any accounts being paid in King's Goods for the Indian Department.

A. He thinks there was but does not recollect.

Q. Does he know of certain Goods given to Mr. La Motte last summer.

A. He had no knowledge of the Goods delivered to Mr. La Motte, but he knows of some Goods being returned, and heard they were nearly to the amount of what he had borrowed.

Questioned by the Board.

Q. Mr. Dixon said in his evidence that he had frequently given goods out of the King's Stores to Mr. Ainse, by whose orders did he deliver them.

A. By Mr. Dease's.

Q. In what capacity he, Mr. Dixon served as Clerk or Store Keeper.

A. As both occasionally.

Q. The Goods that Mr. Howard had from Mr. Ainse which came from Detroit, to whom were they consigned at this post.

A. Mr. Dease had them, but does not know if they were consigned to him.

Q. By whom were they consigned to Mr. Dease.

A. He does not know from whom they were consigned, from Detroit, but knows that such Goods arrived from Street & Butler at Niagara.

Q. What time was the Equipment made to Mr. Cardinal.

A. He does not recollect exactly.

Questioned by Charles Paterson.

Q. Does he know of any Goods sold this spring by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Antaya or any other person at the Dog-Plains.

A. He does not, he left that place before Mr. Ainse Arrived there.

sig^{e} ROBT. DICKSON

Appeared before the Court Mr. George Meldrum who having been duly sworn answered to Mr. Charles Paterson as follows.

Q. Did you borrow or exchange any Goods with Mr. Dease last Summer or this Summer—

A. He did last Summer—

Q. What Goods he supposed they were that he received from Mr. Dease—

A. He supposed they were King's Goods, he understood the Corn was for the King's use and that Capt. Scott had knowledge of it.

Q. To what amount were the Goods he received from Mr. Dease–

A. About one hundred pounds Halifax Currency.

Q. In what nature did he pay these Goods to Mr. Dease and what quantity of Corn—

A. He does not recollect what quantity, there was a hundred yards of broad yellow tinsel Lace and a Keg of grease.

sig^{e} GEORGE MELDRUM.

Appeared before the Court M^{r}. Ezekiel^{e} Solomons & being duly sworn answered to the following Questions made to him by Charles Paterson.

Q. Had he any Commercial business with M^{r}. Dease either this Summer or last Summer.

A. He says he had no Goods from M^{r}. Dease or under M^{r}. Dease–

sig^{e}. EZECHIEL SOLOMON.

Then appeared Mr. Joseph O'Neille who after having taken oath answered as follows to the questions that were put to him by Mr. Charles Patterson.

1st Q. If he was in the service of Mr. Ainse last summer and in what capacity?

A. Yes, in the capacity of a clerk.

2nd Q. If he was employed in the store-house of Mr. Ainse last summer?

A. Yes.

3rd Q. If he knew of an equipment which had been made by Mr. Ainse for Mr. Roche and of what it consisted?

A. That he knew of it and that it consisted of a dozen Bundles with the assortment.

4th Q. If the goods belonged to the King?

A. Yes, that among them there were some of Mr. Ainse's.

5th Q. If he knew of an Equipment made by Mr. Ainse of King's goods to Mr. Honoré?

A. Yes, that there were a part of them belonging to Mr. Ainse.

6th Q. How many bundles were there?

A. In all there were nine bundles of goods with the assortment.

7th Q. To what sum they amounted?

A. Said that it amounted to nearly nine thousand francs.

8th Q. If he knew of another Equipment made by Mr. Ainse of the same King's goods to Mr. Cardinal?

A. Yes, but less goods belonging to Mr. Ainse.

9th Q. How much did it amount to?

A. Nearly eight bundles but that he did not know the amount.

10th Q. If he had made the invoice of these goods?

A. Yes.

11th Q. In what name the invoice had been stamped?

A. Under no name.

12th Q. What salary he had from Mr. Ainse?

A. A thousand francs.

13th Q. In what he had been paid?

A. In money.

14th Q. By what mark he knew that they were King's goods?

A. By the cloth coverings.

15th Q. If he had seen these goods in Mr. Ainse's store before he was entered there?

A. That he had seen some before his entry and the rest had been taken to the store with his knowledge.

16th Q. If he knew of any other Equipment of the same King's goods made by Mr. Ainse in the post?

A. That he had no knowledge of any other.

17th Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse in his route to the wintering ground had delivered, exchanged, or traded any King's goods?

A. That he knew that Rainville had kept a bundle of these goods at the River St. Pierre which he had obtained from Mr. Ainse and for which Mr. Ainse had charged him.

18th Q. If he knew of any other King's goods sold, exchanged or lent by Mr. Ainse?

A. That Larrivé had also taken some goods of those which Mr. Ainse had given him and for which the said Sieur Ainse had charged the account of Larrivé.

19th Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse had received payment for these goods?

A. Yes, that he had received a part of the payment in furs.

20th Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse had taken on his own account any of the King's goods?

A. Not to his knowledge.

21st Q. If he knew of any King's goods sold by Mr. Ainse at the Prairie du Chien or elsewhere, coming back that year from his wintering?

A. Yes, that he had sold to one called Antaya.

22nd Q. How many bundles?

A. Said that the goods were not baled.

23rd Q. To what sum would these goods amount?

A. To two thousand francs which has been charged to his account.

24th Q. If he knew of the agreement that Mr. Ainse had with Antaya for these goods?

A. That he had made his bill payable this year to Mr. Ainse or order for two thousand francs.

25th Q. What is the agreement between Mr. Rocque & Ainse for the goods which Mr. Rocque had from him?

A. That he had not any particular agreement for the payment except that he would pay Mr. Ainse after the sale of these goods.

26th Q. At what price were these goods sold?

A. At a set price.

27th Q. If Mr. Rocque had given his bill for them?

A. No.

28th Q. If he knew the agreement that Mr. Honoré had made with Mr. Ainse for the goods which he had sold him?

A. That he had given a bill for them.

29th Q. How the goods were sold to him?

A. At a set price.

30th Q. To whom Mr. Honorés bill was payable?

A. That he had made it payable to Mr. Dickson, that he thought that it was for nearly seven thousand francs, & that it was for the goods delivered here to Mr. Honoré.

31st Q. What agreement had Mr. Ainse with Mr. Honoré for the goods which the said Mr. Ainse had delivered at the Prairie du Chien last Autumn?

A. By a bill payable to Mr. Ainse or order.

32d Q. If it was he the deponant who had drawn up these bills?

A. Yes.

33d Q. By whose order he had made the first order payable to Mr. Dickson?

A. That it was Mr. Ainse who told him to make it without giving any reason.

34th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had given a statement of the goods given for these Equipments to Mr. Dease before his departure?

A. Not to his knowledge.

35th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had given a statement to Mr. Dease of the goods which he had brought with him?

A. Yes that it was himself who had given it to Mr. Dease or to Mr. Reid.

36th Q. If he knew if the goods given by Mr. Ainse to Rainville & Larrivé were included in the statement sent to Mr. Dease?

A. That he did not remember.

37th Q. If there had been any goods given to this Honoré by Mr. Ainse of which the deponant had not taken account?

A. That he did not know, that he had taken account of all those which were sent in.

38th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had had in route or in wintering some provisions for the Indians and if he had payed these goods to the same?

A. Yes.

39th Q. If he knew if these provisions had been charged in any account?

A. That he did not know.

40th Q. How many men Mr. Ainse had with him?

A. Five engagés.

41st Q. How much wages had they?

A. Four had six hundred and forty livres and one had seven hundred francs.

42nd Q. If the men's wages were paid?

A. No.

43d Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had payed any account since he had been in his service with the same King's goods?

A. Not to his knowledge.

44th Q. If he knew of the agreement which Mr. Cardinal had with Mr. Ainse?

A. That it was payable to Mr. Ainse by a bill to order.

(signed)

JOSEPH O'NEILLE.

The court has sent the under mentioned witnesses to be heard to-morrow, & the Court is adjourned till to-morrow the 26th of June 1788 at eight o'clock in the morning.

And at eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th of June 1788 the Court opened and continued the inquest, all the members present. Mr. O'Neille has appeared before the Court and has taken oath to continue to answer the questions put to him before the Court by Mr. Charles Paterson—

1st Q. If he knew of any fusils belonging to the King taken into the store house of Mr. Ainse and then sold to anyone?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. How many fusils were given or sold?

A. Ten fusils which had been sold to Larrivé for seven otters for each.

3rd Q. If Mr. Ainse had taken a bill for them?

A. That they had been put in a bill with the other goods, belonging to himself, which Mr. Ainse had furnished him with—

4th Q. If Mr. Ainse, to his knowledge had been payed for these goods?

A. That he had not been payed—

5th Q. If he knew of any furs received by Mr. Ainse from Rainville in the River St. Pierre?

A. Yes.

6th Q. How many furs were given him?

A. Twelve otters, twenty eight martens minks and three deer skins—

7th Q. If he knew why the furs had been given to Mr. Ainse?

A. That he thought that it was to pay for a barrel of Shrub that he had drunk on the road.

8th Q. If he knew how many bales of merchandise Mr. Ainse had carried with him into the wintering ground?

A. Twelve bales—

9th Q. How many bales he had on arriving at the wintering ground?

A. Fifteen bales, these included the bales which he had given to Rainville and Larrivé—

10th Q. How many bales had he brought back from La Prairie du Chien?

A. Four bales—

11th Q. If Mr. Ainse had brought back any merchandise here?

A. Nothing but the flag.

12th Q. If he knew how many fusils belonging to himself Mr. Ainse had in his storehouse at this Post?

A. Seventy.

13th Q. If he knew how many fusils Rocque, Honoré and Cardinal had, and to whom they belonged?

A. Forty fusils among the three, belonging to Mr. Ainse—

14th Q. How many had Mr. Ainse brought with him?

A. Twenty fusils—

15th Q. How many fusils had Mr. Ainse given to Mr. Dickson?

A. Fifteen

16th Q. How many packets Mr. Ainse had brought back here?

A. Eight packets consisting of skins of buffalo, otter, beaver and deer &c

Question by the Court.

Q. How many bales, belonging to the King, Larrivé had on leaving here?

A. Four bales.

Q. How many he had sent to Mr. Ainse—

A. Three.

Q. How many bales, belonging to the King, Rainville had?

A. Six bales assorted.

Q. How many bales he had sent to Mr. Ainse—

A. Five.

Q. If Mr. Ainse had made any present to the Indians in his route from here to La Riviere St. Pierre?

A. Yes, that he had.

Q. If he knew of any other merchandise, belonging to the King, given to any other person—

A. No.

(signed)

JOSEPH O'NEILLE.

Then appeared Mr. Joseph Rocque who took oath and of whom Mr. Charles Paterson had asked the following questions—

Q. If he was employed by Mr. Ainse or by any other person in the Indian Department last Autumn?

A. That he had been employed by Mr. Ainse in the capacity of Interpreter—

2nd Q. How much Mr. Ainse had paid him for that?

A. One dollar per day.

3rd Q. If he had been employed there in the capacity of an Interterpreter?

A. That he had served there from time to time this winter when he had been asked.

4th Q. If Mr. Ainse had sold him any goods last year?

A. Yes.

5th Q. How many Sales with the assortment?

A. Eleven bales with the assortment.

6th Q. What goods he thought that it was that Mr. Ainse had sold to him?

A. That Mr. Ainse had told him that he had bought these goods from Mr. Todd.

7th Q. If it was the King's or Mr. Todd's goods that he had bought from Mr. Ainse?

A. That he thought they were the King's goods by the gilded paper on the cloth wrapper—

8th Q. What agreement he had with Mr. Ainse for these goods and at what price they were conveyed?

A. That he would pay when he had sold his furs, which he could sell as he wished, said that he was not sure of the price of the goods not having had the bill—

9th Q. If he had taken and traded these goods in the wintering ground?

A. Yes.

10th Q. How many pakets he had made with them?

A. Thirty packets, and the blankets and three barrels of grease—

11th Q. If he had sold these goo ls to any others but the Indians?

A. That he had equipped Mr. La Marche, and that the furs which he had received are included in the thirty packets & that he had brought back a bale of goods here & given eight fusils to Mr. Ainse at Prairie du Chien.

12th Q. If he knew if Mr. Campion had any difficulty with the Indians last Autumn at the Falls of St. Antoine?

A. That when Mr. Campion came to the Portage of St. Antoine

last Autumn, their portage was made and they were on the other side; they set out from the portage and left Mr. Campion there, & slept nearly ten acres higher up, on the other side of the River, that after they were camped, in the evening Mr. Ainse had sent the deponant & one called La Marche & had told him to say to the Sioux, there is Mr. Campion who has just asked credit from him, & if he will not give it to you make him descend, but do him no harm, that then Mr. Ainse had given a barrel of rum to the Indians, they got drunk, that the next morning they were still drunk & went to find Mr. Campion at the portage, & that he had heard that the Indians insulted him & that they had even fired some musket shots between Mr. Campion's legs, on which Mr. Campion's Indian servant said that he would defend his master & took his rifle to fire at the Indians, but that Mr. Campion had forbidden him saying that it might be attended with bad consequences for the men employed by the General Society of this post in this part.

13th Q. If he was present when Mr. Campion had been joined by Mr. Ainse?

A. Yes.

14th Q. If he knew of any conversation on this subject between Mr. Ainse and Mr Campion.

A. That he had heard Mr. Campion say to Mr. Ainse say that he would give even his last shirt for the chase.

15th Q. If he knew if the Indians were dissatisfied with Mr. Ainse?

A. That the Indians of St. Croix were not satisfied because Mr. Ainse had passed them without holding any Counsils.

16th Q. If he was at the Prairie du Chien this Spring when Mr. Ainse arrived there?

A. Yes.

17th Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse had sent a Frenchman to look for the Indians to trade with him?

A. No.

18th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse, this year or last, had sold any goods to any one either in his wintering or on the road there?

A. That he knew of none.

19th Q. If Mr. Ainse had payed him his salary last year?

A. That he had been payed here in goods on the arrival of Mr. Ainse.

20th Q. If he knew how much he had received in goods?

A. Nearly five hundred francs.

21st Q. If he had been payed his salary this year?

A. Not yet, but that he would receive a dollar a day.

Question by the Court. If Mr. Roque remembered that last year he had said to him, come Roque come with me you shall have a dollar per day & besides I will advance you some goods cheaper than you can have any other goods because I would do you a favor, that he would also have permission to sell the furs to whoever would give him the most & that after the sale he could send him the money?

A. That at the first Mr. Ainse had told him that he would give him a dollar per day but that afterwards he had told him that he could not do it but that he would equip him, on his account, cheaper than any merchant here could.

Q. If he remembered what persons had told him what the Indians had said to Mr. Campion at the Falls of St. Antoine?

A. Mr. Campion's men.

Q. If he knew of any presents that Mr. Ainse had received at the River St. Peter or elsewhere in the year 1786 or the Spring of 1787?

A. That he knew of three packets of which one was otter, one beaver, and one of the skins of the beaver otter & buffalo which were deposited with him.

Q. If he knew of any other presents received from the Indians?

A. That he knew of a packet of 50 beaver skins which he had received from the Sauteux.

Q. If he knew what had become of these presents?

A. That he heard that they were sold to Mr. Todd, the said Mr. Roque signed & made his ordinary mark after it had been read to him—

His
JOSEPH × ROQUE.
mark.

Then appeared Mr. Joseph Rainville, who, after taking oath answered as follows to the questions asked him by Mr. Charles Paterson.

1st Q. If he was employed by Mr. Ainse at the River St. Peter in the Indian Department in 1786?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. What agreement he had with Mr. Ainse?

A. That Mr. James Aird was his master for the General Society & had ordered him to interpret for Mr. Ainse because Mr. Ainse was working in the interest of the Society; that he had nearly three hundred francs, in goods, from Mr. Ainse for payment.

Q. If he knew if the Indians had payed him when they left his wintering ground to go to the River St. Peter?

A. That some had paid and others had not.

Q. How much these same Indians owed to him & Larrive who was also for the general Society?

A. Nearly a thousand more in beavers.

Q. If these Indians were well clothed when they left?

A. As well as usual.

Q. If he knew if these same Indians had traded their plunder to M^essrs^. Cardin, Chevalier & Gignere on going home?

A. That he had heard so.

Q. If he knew of a band of Indians who had taken credit largely from him & had not returned in the winter?

A. These Indians came in the Autumn & brought him some few skins, after they had returned & that he had not seen them again but that he had heard that they had been trading them to Cardin.

Q. If he knew of any presents that Mr. Ainse had received from the Indians during the time he was with him?

A. That he knew that Mr. Ainse had received some beaver skins, twelve to thirteen otters & some beavers.

Q. What had Mr. Ainse done with these furs?

A. Mr. Ainse had given the above mentioned beavers and otters to the deponant and Mr. Larrivé, telling them that he had no powder they must give it themselves to the Indians and that they must take the present seeing that he had left his goods in the lower part of the River and had nothing wherewith to satisfy these Indians.

Q. If Mr. Cardin was with them with his canoe at the time that these presents were made and paid for?

A. Yes.

Q. If he knew if Mr. Cardin had any goods belonging to the King in his canoe?

A. That he did not know but that Cardin himself had said that he was equipped by the General Society.

Q. If he was employed in the Indian Department this Spring and by whom?

A. That Mr. Ainse had employed him there this Spring at this post.

Q. How much Mr. Ainse would pay him for that?

A. That Mr. Ainse had told him two or three days ago that he would pay him as an Interpreter at the rate of a dollar per day.

Q. If he had received any goods from Mr. Ainse since last Autumn?

A. Yes, one bundle.

Q. To how much would that bundle amount?

A. That he did not know.

Q. How many skins he had given him?

A. Twelve otters, twenty eight martins, nine minks, and three deer skins.

Q. If he knew if any other person had received goods from Mr. Ainse?

A. That he had heard that Larrive had had some.

Q. If during the time that he had been in the service of Mr. Ainse he knew of any Indians being dissatisfied with him?

A. That he had not heard.

Q. If he knew of any other goods sold by Mr. Ainse at Prairie du Chien or elsewhere?

A. No.

Q. If he knew if when Mr. Ainse came here last Summer with the Scioux he had received any presents from them?

A. That he was not with Mr. Ainse at that time.

Question by the Court. How much powder Mr. Larrive and the deponant had given as a present to the Indians?

A. Nearly a barrel of powder and nothing else.

Q. If he knew if it was Mr. Cardin or Mr. Ainse who had prevented the Indians from returning to him in the winter to pay their debts?

A. No.

Q. By Mr. Ainse. If he remembered that before his arrival last year at the village of the Cicitous that fifteen to twenty lodges of Indians had come before him with a present of

twenty five otters, fourteen beaver skins, thirteen carcasses of meat and thirteen fawns from the Folles Avoine that he had said to Mr. Larrivé himself and Frenier that, if he would furnish a barrel of powder and a bag shot, as he had to take a present for them, that he would furnish the rest seeing that he wanted the powder and ball to furnish all the Villages as he passed?

A. That is true.

Q. If he remembered that Mr. Ainse had been in the prairies with him, with a barrel of brandy and some goods to stop a party of Warriors who were going to war on Mr. Reamis road?

A. Yes.

Q. If he knew that after having stopped this party of Sioux Indians, the said Indians had made him a present of fourteen large beavers saying "that they were to make a bed for him, and there are two slaves for our father but they are not here they are at the lodge of the first chief," that then he had given them a belt of 6000 grains of porcelaine, a coat for their Chief, a white blanket, a shirt and a pound of vermillion, saying to them by this belt I attach these two slaves to your father, but as I am marching keep them for me till the Spring and then bring them to me and I will pay you well for these slaves for your father when you have promised me to come with me this Spring to Michilimakinac.

A. That is all true.

Question by the Court.

Q. If he was present when they had stopped the party of Warriors and when Mr. Ainse had said all that to the Indians?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was Mr. Ainse's Interpreter there?

A. Himself, the deponant.

Question by the Court.

Q. If, to his knowledge, these two slaves had been brought to this Post?

A. Said that he did not know.

Q. By Mr. Paterson. If he thought that if neither Cardin nor any other had been where he was, the Indians to whom he had given credit would have come to pay?

A. Yes that he thought so.

Not knowing how to write after the foregoing being read to him he made his ordinary mark.

JOSEPH
His (X) Mark.
RAINVILLE.

Then appeared Mr. J. B^ste^ Barthe who took oath and answered to the questions put to him by Mr. Charles Paterson.

Q. If he had bought or exchanged any goods with Mr. Ainse or any other person under him in the Indian Department either directly or indirectly?

A. No.

Q. If he knew of any other person who had had goods from Mr. Dease or any person under him?

A. That he knew nothing himself but by some reports.

(signed) JEAN BTE. BARTHE.

The Court adjourned till next Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning and the 29th of June at eleven o'clock in the morning the Court continued the inquest, all the members present.

Timothy Plumodon appeared who, after having taken oath answered to the questions put to him by Mr. Charles Paterson.

1st Q. If he was employed by Mr. Ainse in the year 1786 at the River St. Peter?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. How much wages he had?

A. Six hundred francs.

3rd Q. If he had been payed and how?

A. One part in goods and the rest in money.

4th Q. If he was in the Canoe belonging to Mr. Cardin, Gignere and Chevalier?

A. Yes, that he had helped to bring the Canoe into wintering.

5th Q. If he knew whose goods were in the Canoe?

A. That he thought they belonged to Mr. Ainse, Cardin and Chevalier.

6th Q. How much powder and shot he had delivered in the wintering ground?

A. Nearly two barrels of powder and two bags of shot.

7th Q. How many packets they had sent to the wintering ground?

A. About six or seven packets for trading and presents.

8th Q. How much powder they had sent to the wintering ground?

A. A little powder and a little ball.

9th Q. If he knew that Mr. Ainse had given an order to Cardin and Chevalier to trade these goods?

A. That he knew that Mr. Ainse had said to them all to separate and go and live with the Indians and buy the provisions which they needed.

10th Q. If he knew if the goods which were in the canoe had been taken here and if these goods belonging to the King were coming to Captain Byrne?

A. That some were for Mr. Byrne and the rest for Cardin.

Not being able to write the above was read to him and he made his ordinary mark.

Sa.

TIMOTHE (X) PLUMODON.

Then appeared Mr. Charles Jacques Freniero who took oath & answered to the questions of Mr. Charles Paterson—

1st Q. If he remembered having seen Mr. Ainse at the River St Peter in the Autumn of 1786?

A. Yes.

2nd Q. If Mr. Ainse had asked him to let his canoe & come with him by land to interpret in the upper part of the River St Peter?

A. Yes, & that he had promised to go—

3rd Q. Had I not said on coming to you that you had not received an order from Mr. Ainse & that you must bring your canoe?

A. Yes & that he had followed that order.

4th Q. Had I not said to Rainville who was present, to go himself with Mr. Ainse to serve as interpreter?

A. Yes.

5th Q. When I had sent you to Mr. Ainse to make your excuses, what did he say to you?

A. Mr. Ainse said to him that he was pained that he should break his word after he had promised.

6th Q. If he had not told Mr. Ainse that his canoes were too bad for letting?

A. Yes.

7th Q. Thereupon if Mr. Ainse had not told him that he was master to do as he liked he the deponant being on his own account?

A. Yes.

8th Q. If Mr. Ainse had not made some threat if he found him at Michilimakinac?

A. That he had said that he would not always stay with the Sioux and that he would find him at Michilimakinac.

9th Q. If Mr. Ainse had not forbidden him & others of the General Society to give credit to the Ottawas who were in wintering at the River St. Peter?

A. That as he left Mr. Ainse he gave him notice not to give credit nor drink to the Ottawa Indians.

10th Q. If he knew of a council which had been held the same Autumn at the River Medicine Jaune with the Linctons & if he was present?

A. That he was present.

11th Q. If in the Council he had heard of a war party which Mr. Ainse had stopped?

A. No.

12th Q. If he had heard a war party proposed in this Council?

A. No—

13th Q. Who was the first chief in the Council?

A. One named Sanpeur—

14th Q. If he knew that before the Council the Chief Sanspeur had promised two slaves to Mr. Ainse?

A. Yes.

15th Q. If he knew if Mr. Ainse had payed anything either drink or goods to Sanpeur for the two slaves?

A. No.

16th Q. If Sanpeur was lodged with them in the same encampment?

A. Yes.

17th Q. If he was present when Mr. Ainse had made the present in the Council?

A. Yes.

18th Q. Of what did this present consist?

A. Of flags & he thought of belts, two barrels of rum, some tobacco but neither powder nor ball, he also gave some coats to the Chief—

19th Q. What Mr. Ainse had received as a present from these Indians?

A. About twenty or thirty beaver skins—

20th Q. After the departure of Mr. Ainse to return if the Indians were contented with Mr. Ainse treatment?

A. No they were not.

21st Q. Of what did they complain to his knowledge?

A. They complained to him that Mr. Ainse had passed through three villages, to which he had given powder & ball & that he had not given them any which made them want, that they were however as much the children of their father as the others.

22nd Q. What was the consequence of that?

A. That when Mr. Ainse had left, about thirty Indians went to Mr. Paterson asking to have a little powder from Mr. Ainse, the same as he had given to the others, but that Mr. Ainse had not listened to them & had descended.

23rd Q. If the Chief Sanpeur had not complained to Mr. Paterson on this subject?

A. Yes.

24th Q. What had he promised to satisfy him?

A. That this Spring he had given him a barrel of powder some shot & ball.

25th Q. If he knew that after the departure of Mr. Ainse the same dissatisfied Indians had taken off their bone collars & thrown them in the face of one named Amable, an Ottawa who was with them?

A. That he had seen the brother of the Chief of the Warrior Sioux take off his collar & a shirt which he had from Mr. Ainse & throw them at Amable, saying that as Mr. Ainse had left them miserable they did not require goods from their father.

26th Q. When had he seen Sanpeur since the Council?

A. About a month after—

27th Q. What had he given you?

A. He had given him two slaves & 1 pack of Beaver & Otters.

28th Q. Why had he given it.

A. In payment of a commission which he had from him on account of a bale & a half of goods which he had had & a barrel of rum which he had given to trade for him the previous Spring.

29th Q. If the following Spring Mr. Ainse had been himself to the house of deponant to demand these two slaves?

A. That he came himself

30th Q. What answer had he made him?

A. That he told him that the Indians had carried off from him six instead of the two which he owed him—

31st Q. How many slaves he had sold this Autumn to Mr. Ainse?

A. Four.

32nd Q. If he had not sold more?

A. That he had given one to Mr. Ainse' for a musket.

33d Q. If Mr. Ainse had not sent a present of goods the same Autumn to the wife of the deponant?

A. Yes.

34th Q. Why?

A. For a slave which his wife had, but that when Mr. Ainse came to ask for this slave in the Spring, she would not give him because the present was not worth it, but that he the deponant had given him twenty fine otter skins to pay for his present—

35th Q. If Mr. Ainse had not tormented him by words or otherwise to have furs from him instead of Sanpeur's two slaves which he claimed?

A. No.

36th Q. A Small otter rope which he, the deponant had given to Mr. Paterson in going up the River St Peter, from whom had he received it & had he payed for it?

A. From Tonnere Rouge and that he had payed for it.

37th Q. If Mr. Ainse had not said to him that Mr. Paterson had forbidden him to move in these affairs with Mr. Ainse?

A. Yes.

38th Q. If he knew of a war party made in the River St. Peter by the Sioux after the departure of Mr. Paterson last summer?

A. That he had not heard of it.

Question by the Court.—What did Mr, Ainse say to you when you refused him the two slaves that you had from Chief Sanpeur?

A. Mr. Ainse said to him that he was very reprehensible and that he would have to deliver them up when he would be at Michilimakinac.

Q. If the goods which he, the deponant, had in the River St. Peter were the same that he had received from the General Society?

A. Yes, they were the same.

Q. How much Mr. Ainse owed him to pay for the four slave which he had sold to him?

A. Four hundred francs a piece which ought to give him the best otter robe that he knew of.

Q. If he had given the robe?

A. That he had given the value to Mr. Ainse in twelve otter skins.

Question by Mr. Paterson—

If Mr. Ainse had not asked him to take some pieces in his canoe, which was in a bad state?

A. That he did not remember his having asked.

Not being able to write, after the foregoing being read to him he made his ordinary mark.

JACQUE
His (X) Mark.
FRENIERE.

The Court adjourned until next Monday the 30th June at eight o'clock in the morning, and on Monday the 30th June 1788 at eight o'clock in the morning the Court continued the Inquest all the members present.

1st. Appeared Mr. J^n B^ste Cadot who after having taken oath answered to the questions asked him by Mr. Paterson.

1st Q. If he was employed for the Indian last year?

A. That he had been employed by Mr. Ainse and that he had charge of some branches of porcelaine to carry to the Indians in words.

2nd Q. If he had an order to bring here the Sauteux Indians and if he had taken these branches of porcelaine?

A. Yes.

3rd Q. Mr. Ainse, had he required you to make any promise to the Indians?

A. Nothing.

4th Q. Do you know of any discontent among the Indians of the post?

A. That the Indians were too politic to tell him, seeing he was employed, but that he had heard from the traders that they were very dissatisfied with the treatment which they had received from the Department here.

5th Q. If you know of any bad consequence following this dissatisfaction?

A. That he had known of nothing in this post but that on the road he had heard reproaches on this subject.

6th Q. Of what nature were these reproaches?

A. They said that they thought a name so great as that of Mr. Johnson would have procured them more presents, that they had not so many as usual and that he, the deponant, for the future was never to talk to them of peace and war because they had not been satisfied or contented here.

7th Q. Have they testified to you more precisely their dissatisfaction?

A. That they had always spoken of the bad treatment which they received here.

8th Q. If he had heard their trader say that they had not been so well treated as the Sioux?

9th Q. Do you know that the same Sauteaux had held a Council with your father on their return?

A. That at the time he was here in the post Mr. Nolin and his father had told him that the Sauteaux had said in this Council that never since they owed any thing to their had they made such strong threats and that since they had come to see this same father they had never been sent home so dissatisfied.

10th Q. In what respect has your father said to you that the Indians had said to him that they were threatened?

A. That the first nation that committed a fault would be punished.

Question by the Court—

The court asks if you know the quantity and quality of the presents that these Indians had brought here last year?

A. That he could not justly say the quantity, that he had about fourteen or fifteen beaver robes, and about twenty large beaver skins, and that is all to his knowledge.

Q. Do you know what has become of these presents?

A. No.

Q. Have you any knowledge that last year the Sioux made war againt the Sauteaux?

A. Yes, that being himself at Fond du Lac the Sauteaux had brought back one Chevelure a Sioux whom they had killed in the attack that the Sioux had made, and that they had said to him, that they had not been struck by the Sioux because they themselves had come to strike them during the time that they were on their summer hunt and that they had killed two women and broken the shoulder of a man

while their brothers were in council at Michilimakinac.

Q. You have said that you were present last year when these presents were made to the Sauteux, do you know of what they consisted?

A. That he could not justly say, but that all that he could say was that they were of no great consequence.

Q. By Mr. Paterson—
If it was he that had distributed these presents to these Indians?

A. Yes, that each Indian, with the exception of some who had come more that six to demand for each village, had received a shirt, a blanket, leggings, mitts and the others a blanket, or some other thing, also two barrels of powder among them all.

Q. By the Court—
Who are the traders who told him the Indians were dissatisfied?

A. That they were Messrs. Guernon, La Violet and Reaume.

Q. By Mr. Dease—
Were you then employed as well as the three above mentioned persons by the General Society?

A. That he was a partner in it, that La Violet and Guernon were clerks of the Society and Mr. Reaume was out for the Society and on his own account.

Q. Do you know how the commerce of the road has suffered by the dissatisfaction of the Indians?

A. That the trade had suffered this last Winter because the Sioux came to strike the Sauteaux last Summer while their brother Sauteaux were at Michilimackinac in council and that the Winter before it suffered a little by the delay in assembling them in the lands to translate the words of their father.

(Signed)

Jn Bste Cadotte.

Then appeared Hipolite Cazelet who made oath and answered Mr. Paterson as follows.

1st Q. Were you here with the Sauteaux when they came to this post last year with the speeches?

A. Yes, he was with them.

Q. Do you know of any presents that the Indians had brought here to their father?

A. That he knew of only a few of them, as of four beaver robes, given to Mr. Dease at his house by the said Indians the morning after their arrival, and some days afterwards some other presents, but he did not know how many.

Q. If he knew of any dissatisfaction among the Indians, in wintering or elsewhere, against the Department after their departure from here?

A. That they were dissatisfied with the presents which they had received from their father at this post saying that they were too few.

Q. Have they told you that they more badly treated than the Sioux?

A. That he had heard them say so.

Q. Were you present when the Sauteaux held Council with Mr. Cadot sen'r on their return?

A. No, that he was then at Michilimackinac.

Q. Do you think that your trade had suffered, last Winter by the dissatisfaction of the Indians, the Winter before by the speeches which had been brought to them to make them come here?

A. Not to his knowledge.

Q. Have the Indians with whom you have been wintering these last two years been speaking with Mr. Ainse?

A. None but those with him.

Q. Do you think that if your Indians had been talking with Mr. Ainse your trade would have suffered?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of a war party of Sioux who came last Summer to strike the Sauteux?

A. That they had the news from the Fond du Lac, that they had killed a woman, a little girl & wounded a Sauteaux Indian.

Q. What have the Sauteux said on this subject?

A. That he had heard them say that it was very sad, after having made peace, to be killed thus—

Q. By Mr. Dease. If he, the deponant, was employed, by the General Society, in this post and in what capacity?

A. Yes, in the capacity of a clerk.

(Signed)

HIPOLETTE CASELEST.

Then appeared Michel Cadot who took oath and declared.

1st Q. By Mr. Paterson. Were you with the Sauteux when they came here to speak last Summer?

A. Yes, he was with them.

Q. Do you know of any presents which they brought to their father—

A. No.

Q. Did you know that the Sauteux were dissatisfied with the presents which they had received here?

A. That he had heard these same Sauteux say that they were dissatisfied with the department because the Sioux had been better treated than they were, that he had heard the same Sauteux Indians say, here in the camp, that the Sioux had had larger presents than they had.

Q. Were you present when the Sauteux held their council with your father?

A. No, that he was then in this post.

Q. If he had heard, after his departure from here, that the Indians were very dissatisfied?

A. No.

Q. Do you think that your trade has been affected by the speeches taken to the Indians these two years in wintering?

A. Not to his knowledge—

Q. Do you know of a party of Sioux who went to strike the Sauteux last Summer?

A. That he was there & that he knew of it but that it had not done any harm to his trade.

Q. By Mr. Dease.—If he was employed by the General Society & in what capacity?

A. That he had been employed by them as a clerk.

Q. If he had wintered near his brother last winter or at what distance?

A. Very far from him & that he had not had any news of him this Winter.

(Signed)

MICHEL CADOT.

Then appeared Gabriel Atina called La Violette who after taking oath answered.

1st Q. Were you with the Sauteux when they came here to speak last Summer?

A. No, that he had come before.

Q. Do you know of any presents which they brought to their father?

A. No.

Q. Did you know of any dissatisfaction among the Sauteux at time of their departure from here or on their road back again?

A. That the Sauteux Indians were very dissatisfied with the department saying that they were stupid to have left their families to go so far only to return ashamed that they had received so very few things from the department, that they had suffered & almost died of hunger on returning, that when they had been asked to come & see their father that they expected to have received more than they had, & that they had hoped to make a good peace with the Sioux at Michilimackinac, but that during their absence, the Sioux had struck a blow at them.

Q. If this stroke had produced any bad consequence to his trade?

A. Yes, that it had prevented the Indians from going to hunt.

Q. Do you think that the speech which Mr. Ainse brought into the lands two years ago to the Indians had damaged your trade?

A. On the contrary it had done it good, seeing that the Indians had hunted peaceably.

Q. By Mr. Dease.

If the Indians, when they had suffered and almost died of hunger, had been degraded?

A. Yes, that it was the remains which were the cause of it.

Question by the Court.

If they had had as good weather as usual if they would have had enough of provisions to take them home?

A. That he did not know & that he did not know the quantity they had had on leaving.

Then appeared Mr. James Aird, who after taking oath answered—

Q. Was he in the River St. Peters winter 1786 & 1787.

A. Yes, he was—

Q. Has he any knowledge of a certain Scioux Indian named Couillon rouge, having given Mr. Ainse a pack of Beaver.

A. Yes.

Q. If said Indian did not owe Mr. Rocque & La Manche.

A. Yes, about thirty or forty beaver skins.

Q. Did he mention that circumstance to Mr. Ainse of the Indian's owing—

A. Yes, the day or two days after, Mr. Ainse came into his House and he took that opportunity of mentioning to him that that Indian from whom he received the pack of Beaver, owed the General Company, & that it would have been more proper to have told the Indian to have paid his debts with it; That Mr. Ainse said he would take the Skins the Indians might bring to him, and that it was not his business nor did not care whether they paid or not, that he did not know the Indians owed the company, that the Indian would have time enough to pay his debts between that and the Spring that to the deponant's knowledge the Indian did not pay a skin to Mr. Rocque nor La Marche—

Q. Was he present when Mr. Ainse found fault with, and abused the Ottawas for having taken credits from him—

A. That he was not present when he abused them, that the Ottawas came to him and told him that their Father Mr. Ainse was very angry with them for having taken credits from him and desired that he would speak to Mr. Ainse not to be angry at them, which he did and asked Mr. Ainse his reason why he was not angry at the Ottawas—Mr. Ainse's answer was, the Rascals why did they buy or take credits from any body whilst they knew he was coming; if they were in a hurry to go out a hunting they might have taken a light canoe & come down to meet him—

Q. In what manner did he construe Mr. Ainse's answer.

A. He understood that Mr. Ainse wished to keep them Indians to himself, as Mr. Ainse told him that it was he that brought them there, and that they had no right to take goods from any body else.

Q. What number were those Indians.

A. He suppose they were about twelve or fifteen men, but does not exactly remember.

Q. Does he know if Mr. Ainse's couduct was approved of that Winter on St. Peter's River—

A. He does not know if it was approved of by others but it was not by him nor Ambroise Du Beau—

Q. Give his reasons why he did not approve of Mr. Ainse's conduct that Winter—

A. He was told by the French Traders in that River, that Mr. Ainse told them, that they were fools to listen either to him or Mr. Charles Paterson, who were at the head of the Company's business, and by that means Mr. Ainse got a considerable number of Otters from these people which were the property of the Company—In the Spring of the year when the Chipeway Indians came to St. Peter's River to hold Council with the Scioux, Mr. Ainse called the Council with the Chipeways and the Scioux without acquainting him, he the deponant sent for Mr. Rocque out of the Council, as he was his Interpreter and forbad him, on pain of losing his wages, to interpret for any one unless he was present, Mr. Rocque went and told Mr. Ainse the above, upon which Mr. Ainse sent for him to the Council —After the Council was over, Mr. Ainse came to him and asked him his reasons for preventing Mr. Rocque's interpreting, unless he was present, that he would show him, that he would take his Interpreters and make them Interpret for him when he chose whether he was present or not He the deponant said, that if he did, he would make him pay their wages, but that Mr. Ainse never did make them interpret without asking him.

Questions by Mr. Ainse.

Q. Whether or not the Ottawa Indians did not try to go up the River St. Peter's before he arrived, and whether they were not stopped by the Scioux at the Village of the Scicitons—

A. They were stopped by the Scicitons, for a few days, before the trading Canoes arrived, telling them that as soon as the Traders arrived they might go up the River to where they pleased.

Q. After they were stopped if they did not go to Mr. Aird's & take credits from him for to go and speak again to the Sicitons for to get a passage—

A. They did and the Sicitons answer was, as before that they only wanted to stop them till the Traders arrived, and that then they might go up the River—

Questioned again by Charles Paterson—

Q. Whether he does not think the Trade in the River St. Peter in 1786, 1787 would not have been better, had Mr. Ainse not been in that Country—

A. He thinks it would have been a great deal better, if Mr. Ainse had not been in the River, both last year and this year—

Q. If he does not think there would have been more Furrs got from that Country and the Indians as well satisfied as they are at present.

A. Yes.

What are his reasons for thinking so.

A. The Indians lost a great part of their Fall hunt uniting with Mr. Ainse, because the Fall is the time of the year the Scioux hunt, for after the Snow falls they hunt but little, only to live, Mr. Ainse had his particular friends among the Scioux, which he gave the greatest part of his goods to, particularly the Couillon Rouge, who had more than ten, any others in general, which caused a jealosy among them and made them much dissatisfied, and that they complained very much for losing their fall hunt, waiting for their father's parole, but they could not pay their credits, nor clothe themselves, that was the reasons the Indians gave him when he went to drawn in the company's credits.

Q. How much did he and the Company's Clerks get paid by the Scioux in the St. Peter's River or the Mississippi.

A. Not quite one half of their credits.

Q. Did the Scioux pay so badly before, as since Mr. Ainse was in that Country.

A. He was only one Year in the Scioux Country before, when they paid much better.

Questioned by Mr. Ainse.

Q. If he knows if the Couillon Rouge was along with him in the Chipeway Country making peace.

A. Yes, him and some more.

Q. Was the Couillon rouge at the great Council held at the River St Peters.

A. He cannot recollect.

(signed)

JAMES AIRD.

Appeared before the Board Doctor David Mitchell who having been duly sworn, answered as follows to the Questions made him by Charles Paterson.

Q. Did he receive any goods from Mr. Dease since last June, either purchased, exchanged or bartered.

A. He received goods in barter.

Q. What were the goods he received in barter.

A. One piece of blue Strouds, one piece of black Strouds, five pair of three point Blankets, one piece of Linen, one piece of Calico, one nest of Copper Kettles & two pieces of Ribbon.

Q. What were these Goods, were they the King's Goods.

A. He supposes they were from the marks upon the Strouds and other articles marked Mr. Davison.

Q. What did he pay for these Goods.

A. Two thousand Wampum, two & a half bushels of huld corn, seven hundred and four pounds of Indian Sugar, six black feathers, & fifty pounds of Gum.

Q. Were these articles given in payment for the Goods, he received, & if he thought they would fully pay the Goods.

A. Yes.

Q. Has he had any other goods from the Indian Department.

A. None.

Q. Has he knowledge of any person having had Goods from that Department.

A. None to his knowledge.

Questions by the Board.

Q. Has he heard of any Goods sold, barter'd or lent by the Indian Department to any person or persons.

A. He has heard so.

Q. Who were those persons.

A. He understood that Mr. La Motte had borrowed Goods.

(sig^{d})

DAVID MITCHELL

Questions from the Board to Mr. Ainse.

Q. Does he choose to produce to this Board the Invoices of Goods sold to Rocque, Honore and Cardinal La Riviz & Rainville or others of Government Goods.

A. He will give Copies of them.

The following is Copy of a Letter received this day and opened at the Board.

MICHILIMACKINAC 30th June 1788.

Sir,

I must be under the painful necessity of exhibiting charges against Mr. Dease, the Deputy Agent here, for abuses in his Department, highly unbecoming the Character of a Gentle-

man and the office he holds under Government,—I shall be ready to attend whenever the Court thinks proper to call upon me.

I am Sir
Your most obed^{t} & very
hum^{l} Servant

(signed)

W. HOUGHTON
Lieut 53^{d} Reg^{t}.

Capt Scott 53^{d} Reg^{t}
President of the Court of Inquiry.

Appeared before the Board Lieut Will^{m} Houghton of the 53^{d} Regiment who after being sworn made the following declaration—

Early in July 1787 and a day or two before the Indian Tribes met the Commanding Officer in Council, he was at the Water side and observed several Indians, about sixteen or eighteen go into Mr. Dease's House the back way, some of them had Blankets of Furr Beaver or other Blankets, to the best of his belief in number seven or eight, some were partly hidden, others not so—Having learned that Mr. Dease the Deputy Agent had received orders that all presents from Indians, should for the future be appropriated for the Service of Government, he was surprised at what he had seen, and to be certain of it, he went round to the front Door of the House, but found it locked, he returned again to the back of the House by the water-side and in about three quarter of an hour saw the same Indians come out without the Blankets and go away.

Appeared before the Board Joseph Rocque, who being sworn, made the following answers to the questions made to him by Lieut Houghton.

Q. Has he known any time in July 1787 any Furr Blankets taken into the Deputy Agents House the back way by the Indians.

A. He knows of none.

Q. If he knows of any taken in the front way.

A. He knows of one Beaver Blanket taken there by his Wife's Sister.

Q. Does he know any thing of Mr. Dease's having received four Blankets of any kind that were intended to be presented in Council for the Indians.

A. He knows of two Beaver & one Otter Blanket, when Mr. Dease went to point St Ignace given him there by the Indians.

Questioned by Mr. Dease.

Q. Whether he knows, if he took the Blankets from point St. Ignace along with him.

A. He left them with Mr. Ainse.

Q. If he knows whether the Blanket from his wife's sister was intended for him, or whether if it had not been brought to his house, it would have been given in Council.

A. He does not know, his wife's sister carried it to Mr. Dease's House.

After reading the foregoing to the Deponant Joseph Rocque, who not knowing how to write made his ordinary mark.

JOSEPH
Sa (X) marque
ROQUE.

Appeared before the Board Mr. La Framboise who being sworn answered for Lieut Houghton as follows—

Q. Did he or any body for him ever receive Indian Goods from Mr. Dease, either for his own use or any other persons.

A. No, that on New Years Day Mrs. Dease had given some trifles to his squaw & that he had given a beaver cap in exchange to Mr. Dease

Q. Did he ever receive Rum from Mr. Dease.

A. That he received a quart of rum the day before yesterday by Mr. Dickson, for which he owed the General Society.

Q. Did he not supply Mr. Dease with wild meat brought in by the Indians during the winter.

A. That he had sent presents of it when he liked.

Q. What was he paid for the wild meat he gave Mr. Dease during the winter.

A. That he had not received anything for it.

Q. Has he ever had any traffic or dealing with Mr. Dease for Government Goods.

A. None.

Q. Did he not receive some Blankets or other Indian Goods from Mr. Dease about the end of January last—

A. No.

Question by the Court

Q. For whom had he received this quart of Rum from Mr. Dease.

A. That he had received it for the General Society on account of a quantity of Rum due to the said Society by Captain Byrne

of the Indian Dept. & for which Mr. Dease had given his note.

(Signed)

LA FRAMBOISE.

Appeared before the Board Joseph La Marche who being sworn answered as follows to the Questions made to him by Lieut. Houghton.

Q. Of what trade is he—

A. Tailor.

Q. Has he not worked at different times for Mr. Dease and his family.

A. He said yes.

Q. How has he paid him for his work.

A. In good money but that he has not had his account for last year wholly paid.

Q. Has he never received any Goods from Mr. Dease for his own use, or any other persons use.

A That in January last, he had asked Mr. Dease to give him some yards of cloth, that he had asked how much he needed & had given him at once eleven yards.

Q. What other Goods did he receive from Mr. Dease besides the eleven yards of Cloth.

A. That he had received for Lavoine Barthe four or five yards of cloth, from Mr. Dease's house, to dress him.

Q. Did he not receive Goods from Mr. Dease in part payment of work done for him.

A. No.

Q. Was the eleven yards of Cloth he received in part payment for the work he had done for Mr. Dease.

A. That he had not yet settled his account with Mr. Dease & that he did not know if he would have to pay him.

Q. Does he not believe that the said eleven yards of Cloth were in part payment of work done.

A. That he did not know.

Q. Who has he made up Clothes for by Mr. Dease's order.

A. For himself & his servants & a pair of breeches & a waist coat for Mr. Curot by his order.

Questioned by Mr. Dease.

Q. What was the amount which had been given him in part payment of his account.

A. Two hundred francs.

Q. Had I not said to you at the time that when I could arrange your account I would pay you.

A. Yes.

(Signed)

JOSEPH LA MARCHE.

1st Appeared Mr. Joseph O'Neille, to whom the Court put the following questions.

Q. If the six invoices shown to him were in his own handwriting?

A. Yes and signed at the time.

Q. If the goods contained in these six invoises all belonged to Government?

A. That these were all Government Goods.

Q. If it was he himself who had delivered these said Goods?

A. That it was himself.

Q. By whose order?

A. By Mr. Ainse's order except two bales which Mr. Rainville & Larrive had themselves at the entrance of the River St. Peter & for which he had charged them.

Q. By whose order have you charged these two bales to the account of Rainville & Larrivé?

A. By Mr. Ainse's order.

Q. If these Goods specified in these six invoices had been delivered in this post?

A. That Mr. Cardinal has had all his here Mr. Rocque also all his, Mr. Honoré has had a part here and the rest at Prairie du Chien, Mr. Antaya has had all his at Prairie du Chien & Rainville & Larrive on the Goods which they had from Mr. Ainse; amounting in all to six bills, current livres, by Mr. Ainse, signed & affirmed on oath by Mr. O'Neille.

No. I. One bill from J^he^ Roque amounting to 14,249 livres, sixteen sous old currency of Quebec.

2 A bill from Mr. Cardinal amonting to 6,664 livres 14 sous of the same currency.

3 One bill from Mr. Honoré amounting to 7,977 livres fourteen sous.

4 One bill from Mr. Antaya amounting to 1,911 livres 10 sous same currency.

5 One bill from Rainville amounting to 780 livres 15 sous, ditto.

6 One bill from Larivé amounting to 623 livres 15 sous and 70 otters skins.

Amounting in all to the sum of 32,208 livres 6 sous old Quebec Currency.

Q. If he knew how many bales Mr. Ainse had himself in his canoe outside the amount of these six bills.

A. Twelve bales of King's Merchandize—

Q. By Mr. Ainse.—If he remembered that he Ainse had quarelled with Larrivé at Prairie du Chien to make him pay the seventy otter skins for the 10 muskets & that Larrivé had said to him, that it was too dear & that he would not pay the price, that then Mr. Ainse had let him off for fifty otter skins for which he made his bill & tore up the first.

A. That is true.

(Signed)

JOSEPH O'NEILLE.

Question by the Court to Mr. Ainse.

If Mr. Dease had any knowledge of this Equipment?

A. That he thought not.

Q. By whose order have you received these goods in the King's Store?

A. That he had taken them into the Store with Mr. Dease's knowledge.

Q. By whose order had he made his Equipments?

A. That Mr. Dease had told him to arrange the affairs in a way to find means to pay the charges of the Indian Department fully with the goods of the said Department & that it was in consequence of these orders that he had made these Equipments.

Q. Have you given notice to Mr. Dease of these Equipments that you have made?

A. Yes, that he had said to Mr. O'Neille his clerk, to take the statement of each equipment, and that he having given them to him, the deponant, he gave them into Mr. Dease's own hand before his departure & told him that what he was giving him was all that had left the King's Store to his knowledge and that on his return he would give him an account of the produce.

Q. If he had given Mr. Dease an account of the goods which he had in his own canoe?

A. Yes.

Q, By the Court to Mr. Dease.—Why Mr. Dease had not given notice to the officer commanding this post of the different Equipments from the King's Store?

A. That he had not any instructions in this regard.

Q. Did you receive from the commandant of this post, a short time after your arrival, a copy of Lord Dorchesters orders, to be observed in the future in the different posts of the Upper County, dated the 4th of April 1787?

A. That he cannot remember.

The court then demanded the declaration of Capt. Scott, Commandant of this post—who after having taken oath, declared that he had arrived here the 15th June 1787 and that about a week after his arrival that he had put into Mr. Deases hands Lord Dorchesters orders, dated the 4th of April 1787, concerning the Indian Department in the different posts of the Upper Country.

(signed) THOMAS SCOTT.

Captain Scott having produced an account of the presents sent by Mr. Ainse to the Indians dated the 22nd August 1787, and given to him last Autumn by Mr. Dease, they asked Mr. Dease if it was his signature at the foot.

A. Yes, that it is his signature.

Q. How he knew that there were many articles that Mr. Ainse had brought with him and in the equipments before mentioned which are not included in the account, signed by Mr. Dease and delivered to Capt. Scott in which account Capt Scott has comprised all the articles sent by Mr. Ainse to be included there, what is the reason that they have not been included?

A. By Mr. Dease, that he did not remember just now the reason why he had been so long, and that it was at the time when he was very much occupied with the Indians and otherwise.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow Thursday at eight o'clock in the morning. And to-day the 3d of July 1788 the Court continued the Inquest all the members present.

1st. Appeared Mr. Etne. Campion who made oath and made the following declaration. On the 25th of October last between four and five in the evening being at the River St. Pierre, standing at his door with Gl. Aird, he saw a large canoe with a sail coming from the Upper part of the River, he did not know what it could be, when it came near Mr.

Ainse appeared inside with the Indians, when he came near enough to hear he cried "do you stop" and he said no I pass straight on, ah well said he good evening. The next day he sent Gignere his Interpreter to go among the men de la feuille, to a village where he had put a clerk to learn the result of a Council which Mr. Ainse had held there; having passed a village where the deponant with four or five lodges of Sioux were over night and without whom he could know nothing about it, Gignere his Interpreter returned in the evening saying that, he had found out nothing seeing that all the Indians were drunk. That in the course of the winter he had spoken to one Jerry Stibbins one of Mr. Ainse's engagés and that he said that he found Mr. Ainse's conduct extraordinary in having passed immediately before his house without giving notice that he went to hold a council with the men of the feuille neither giving notice to his clerk for that winter to be there. That Jerry answered that Mr. Ainse had his reasons for not telling his clerk to be at the Council, merely having said to the Indians, there is my son speaking of Mr. Chevalier, he is your trader who has been given you by your father, I, who also know your father recommend him, as well as the Fête Jaune, speaking of Sieur Dickeson, these are the only traders which your father has given you and to whom you should pay attention, if you have a skin, I recommend you to throw it down at the door of his house, as for the bad hand, speaking of Mr. Campion's clerk named Ambroise, do not pay any attention to him, leave it there.

That the said Stebbins had said to him, in the Council that Mr. Ainse had held at the River St Pierre, that he had made still another arrangement. That O'Neille Mr. Ainse's clerk had said to him that Mr. Ainse that he went to the River St. Peter to arrange for the General Society there. Declared also that on the 29th of the same month about three or four o'clock in the afternoon the deponant arrived at the portage St. Antoine and that he found that Mr. Ainse had made the portage and was at the other end with Mr. Rocque and La Marche and Mr. Ainse at once loaded his canoes to go and encamp half a league further off. That the next morning at seven o'clock a Sioux called the

Little Soldier, dressed like a chief, with a lance in his hand came to him and said here are all our soldiers who are arriving, our father sent us to make you descend the current as well as to say that if you do not descend he told us to take a barrel of brandy and that you must give us credit now. After that four others came, armed with Knives and muskets and singing the death song as his Interpreter told him and they said to him you bad trader, our father Ainse has told us that you came here to render us pitiable, and to rob us, return then and redescend the current or else that you must give us credit for any thing which we need, it is our father who has told us to take the brandy and to send you back. He answered them, you can say to your father, if it is he that has sent you here, that he must come himself and when he shall come I will give you two instead of one. I am come here to do a good business, if you wish to do evil you have to make haste because I also can do evil, then they left, and there were two in his baggage and they each put a hand on a barrel to carry it away that it was among his baggage along with his men and that he repulsed and ill treated these Indians. The Indians then began to fire with loaded muskets into his fire and between his legs and into his tent saying that presently the soldiers would come and you are dead, we will take you and all your goods, that he said to them, that is well, when you have taken these I will go and look for others. I do not want them, neither your other soldiers nor your father Ainse are capable of preventing me from going to winter where I wish. One of his two native servants said to the deponent, if you wish I will kill one of the least, then they will leave you quiet and we will go to the Prairie du Chien, he told them to keep quiet that it was not a question of killing because that would cause trouble. His Interpreter then said to him that he would go and give them two or three bottles of brandy, to which he consented and the Indians went away and he was left quiet. That two days after he overtook Mr. Ainse he reproached him with his conduct towards him and all that the Indians had said to him. Mr. Ainse denied it all and said that he ought to know him and that far from this he had recommended the Indians to let him alone and not to

go to find him at the portage; this is what Mr. Ainse affirmed in the presence of Mr. La Marche. That in the course of the winter he had the affair made known to the Indians exactly as it happened that they had said to him. "My comrade do not be vexed with us, it is our father Ainse who made us do it, if you would know better ask Rocque, it is he who has spoken to us this long time for him." Mr. Campion then presented and handed to the Court two Certificates touching this affair, one from Hipolitte Larrivé dated the 10th of June 1788, and one from Mr. J. Bte. Lamarche of the same date, which have been paraphed and added to the papers of the present Inquest.

Q. To Mr. Campion by Mr. Charles Paterson—During your absence from this post, do you know if the Nations were satisfied with Mr. Ainse's conduct?

A. That all he could say was that the Renards and the Sioux had said to him that they were very dissatisfied with Mr. Ainse that he had not come for their good but only to have their prettiest women.

Q. If he thought that the general trade and peace, in the Mississippi, had profited by Mr. Ainse's presence?

A. That the conduct of Mr. Ainse this year in his wintering had done great harm to trade and that the Indians were less contented, and more jealous of one another, that Mr. Ainse has done harm to trade by his delay in amusing himself so long on the road, and waiting for him they have lost the greater part of the time for their chase.

(signed) ETINE CAMPION.

Then appeared Mr. J^he^ O'Neille who took oath and answered the questions put to him by Mr. Campion.

1st Q. Have you not said that at the entrance of the River St. Peter Mr. Ainse had said to you that it was now that he would go to arrange the Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you not said that Mr. Ainse had said to Mr. Dickeson, hold I have taken last year four to five hundred otter skins, ah well this year I will take more advantage of them?

A. That this had been said but that he had not heard Mr. Ainse say it.

Q. On the next morning after the Council that Mr. Ainse had held to send the Indians to Portage St. Antoine had he not said to the Perviers Rouge, who were asking him for brandy, do you not remember what I told you last evening?

A. That the Pervies Rouge (evidently referring to the chief of them) came to them as they were leaving with a boiler, that he was obliged to run after them, they having left, and that he said, "My father" speaking to Mr. Ainse "I have still need of rum there are my young men who leave to go with Campion give me charity." Mr. Ainse then asked the deponant if he had still any rum in the cellar and that he had given him two or three bottles of it. That he would have asked Mr. Ainse some question about the business which he held with Mr. Ainse, but that he said to him do not make mischief but go and return if he will not give you credit. That this was all the rum which he had given them. By Mr. Paterson—

Q. When you were with Mr. Ainse did you see that the Indians were discontented with Mr. Ainse's conduct?

A. That he had heard that there was some one discontented.

Q. Do you think that the trade had profited by Mr. Ainse's presence in the Country?

A. That he did not think so.

Q. What are the reasons why it has suffered?

A. That many merchants had said to him, that Mr. Ainse had done them harm, and again by the illness of Mr. Ainse—

(signed)

JOSEPH ONEILLE

Q. By Mr. Ainse to Mr. Campion

1st Q. If there were on his oath a band of Sioux in all the River St. Peter with whom he had much commerce, & if he had been better paid by the part who were with the said Mr. Ainse, & which had been the quietest?

A. That these men there did very little hunting because they had entered too late into the lands & left early but that they had paid well & were very quiet.

Q. If since Mr. Campion had overtaken Mr. Ainse, he, Ainse, had not offered him all his services and proposed to lend him all that he could need from what he had?

A. Mr. Ainse has exchanged with me two muskets for two cov-

ered kettles, some ball for some lead and has made me the offer, that if I need anything else he will exchange it—

(signed)

ETIENNE CAMPION

Q. by Mr. Campion to Mr. Ainse.

1st Q. If during his illness he had not given him all the help in his power & if he had not lent his room for more than a month during the great cold?

A. Yes.

Then appeared Joseph Rainville, who took oath and answered Mr. Campion's questions.

1st Q. If Mr. Ainse had not said to you, last summer in this post, that if you arrange with the General Society, he would make you descend to Montreal within twenty-four hours?

A. Yes.

Not being able to write he made his mark after the foregoing had been read to him—

JOSEPH
His (x) mark
RAINVILLE

Then appeared Mr. Josiah Bleackley who took oath and answered to the questions put to him by Mr. Charles Paterson—

1st Q. Did Mr. Dease refuse last year to speak to the Sioux in regard to commerce?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did Mr. Dease refuse you & what did he say?

A. That Mr. Dease had already said all that was necessary with regard to commerce and that he never permitted us to hold council, and that he had answered that it was not a council that he wanted, but only to show them the Traders which we wished to send among them & to wish them a good journey.

Q. Do you know if Mr. Ainse had asked any one of the Society to be present when he held a council with the Indians, or if any one of the Society was present at the Council?

A. No.

Q. By Mr Dease—If Mr. Blackley knows or heard that Mr. Dease had hindered or put any obstacle in the way of ths Merchants carrying on their trade at this Post?

A. No, except that he had forbidden us to speak to the Sioux on their departure.

Q. If without the permission of Mr. Dease he could not have favoured the Indians and shown them their trader?

A. That we could have done it in secret, but that he would not have done it without Captn. Dease's approbation.

Q. If Mr. Blackley knew of any one being forbidden from going to any of the public Councils that Mr. Dease held in this post?

A. Said that he did not remember.

Q. By Mr. Paterson—Do you know if any of the General Society had been called to the Counsils when he had spoken of their commerce in the Mississippi?

A. No.

Q. If it had not been the habit of Captn. Robertson & of Governor St Clair to invite the Merchants to the Counsils when there was any thing to say to the Indians touching the trade?

A. That it had always been the way.

(signed))

JOSIAH BLACKLEY

Appeared before the Board John Kerby who having sworn, answered to the questions made him by Lieut Houghton as follows:

Q. Has he ever received Rum from Mr. Dease either by himself or any other person.

A. He received an eight gallon Keg of Spirits, which Mr. Dease was pleased to lend him.

Q. Is that all he received from Mr. Dease.

A. Also an eight gallon Keg of Shrub & no more.

Q. Has he repaid Mr. Dease.

A. No he promised to pay him during the course of the summer.

Q. Did he ever receive Goods of any kind from Mr. Dease by himself or by any body else.

A. No.

Questioned by Mr. Dease.

Q. Did he think that the Keg of Rum he lent him was the property of Government, or belonging to himself.

A. Mr. Dease told him it belonged to himself.

Questioned by the Board.

Q. What time did he receive that Rum.

A. In the Course of the Summer.

Questioned again by Lieut. Houghton.

Q. If on the 22nd of January last, he did not go into Mr Dease's House the back way and speak to him about some Rum.

A. No.

Q. The same as the foregoing Question on the 23rd of February last.

A. No.

Q. If he did not accompany a servant man on the 23rd of February, last the back way to Mr Deases House.

A. No.

(Sigd)

JOHN KERBY.

Appeared before the Board Mrs Lilly who having sworn answered to the Questions made to her by Lieut Houghton as follows—

Q. Do you work for Mr Dease's family.

A. She does.

Q. Was she not payed part of her Wages in Indian Goods.

A. She was not, she was payed in Money.

Q. Has she received any Goods from Mr Dease's family.

A. She did not, she received things that Mrs Dease had worn.

Q. Did she not receive a parcell of black Feathers since she arrived at this Post.

A. No.

Q. Did she not offer for sale a parcell of black feathers at this post.

A. No, she had a parcel of black feathers but she did not offer them for sale.

Q. Did you not send them down the Country for sale.

A. No, she sent them to her husband.

Q. What number.

A. She does not recollect.

Q. She was asked if there were forty.

A. No.

Q. Was there thirty.

A. No.

Q. Was there twenty.

A. No.

Q. If there were five.

A. Yes five or six.

Q. If there were ten.
A. Yes, but she does not know how many there was.
Q. Did not she receive Rum from Mr Dease to dispose of.
A. No.

Not knowing how to write, after the foregoing being read to her she made her mark.

JULIE
Sa (X) Marque
LILLY.

Lieut Houghtons Deposition—

On the thirty first day of May last he held a board of Survey in Company with the officers of the Garrison by order of Captain Scott on all the Indian Stores that should be shown us by the Deputy Agent in a store in the Village called Mr Ainse's Store, I found a quantity of Corn, the Deputy Agent told me that all the Corn belonging to Government was hull'd, that all the loose unhull'd corn belonged to him, as well as that corn in bags marked S. B, those were canvas bags and held about two bushels or two bushels and a half each, the bags he pointed out as belonging to himself were fourteen in number or there about and were tied up. I took the liberty however of opening one of the bags he claimed as his own, and found in it hull'd corn, and observed to him that from his own acknowledgement it must belong to Government, he said he supposed it was put into that bag by mistake by Mr Reed his clerk. I took the liberty however of opening all the bags S. B. and found them all contained hull'd corn. of course I took them into my report as belonging to Government. During the Winter I was informed by the Commanding officer that the Deputy Agent had applied to him for Corn for the Indians out of the King's Store, out of that Corn that was given as a present by the Ottawas last fall, as the Deputy Agent declared he had none left.

On producing the Report of my board to the Commanding officer, he observed the inconsistency of the Deputy Agent having applied to him for Corn during the Winter, and now finding a quantity in my report on the seventh day of June in Public Council the Deputy Agent presented a list of articles then given to a band of Indians, in which list was twenty four gallons of Rum, he was asked by the Commanding officer if the Rum was actually pure Rum, or mixed with water, when he declined answering directly to the question and refused to produce a sample. I then broached a Keg & found it mixed with water which upon trial to the best of my knowledge, I do believe to have been three gallons of water to five gallons of Rum, we did not sign

his list of Articles. M^r^ Dease took the list with him & we have never signed for that present.

W. HOUGHTON,
Lieut 63^d^ Regt.

The Court notified Mr. Dease and Mr. Ainse of their requisition that they would hear all that they had to say & alledge on the present Inquest on next Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning.

LS. CARIGNANT

To-day, 7th July 1788, the Court has continued the present Inquest at eight o'clock in the morning all the members present.

Question by the Court to Mr. Ainse—

For what sum he had given the furs to Mr. Todd last Autumn?

A. That he had sold them for about five hundred and eleven pounds, Halifax, and that this was all that he had procured in his voyage to the Upper Country.

Q. How had he had these furs?

A. That a part of these furs were the produce of the chase of seven Indians whom he had brought with him with Capt'n Byrne's permission; an other part were the presents which he had received from the Indians in different Villages, and the other part for the trade which he had made by Messrs. Cardin & Chevalier who were with him. That he had appropriated these furs to replace 17 barrels of Rum, two hundred & twenty thousand weight of porcelaine, a bundle of traps, that he had bought from the General Society, and different Goods which he had from Mr. Henry, amounting to forty hundred pounds, Halifax, & two bales of Merchandize, which he had brought from Montreal on his own account, that not having any of these articles in the King's Store & not sufficient rum, the deponant addent that these Goods were indispensably necessary for his voyage, & that he had been obliged to draw on Mr. Todd & McGill for about two hundred pounds, Halifax, exceeding the amount of furs, to pay the expenses of his voyage. That after his arrival here last year, he had shown Captain Byrne all the skins which he had procured in his voyage, saying that they were not sufficient to pay for the Goods, which he, Byrne, well knew that he had brought with him. That Captain

Byrne had answered him that he had no business with the Department, that it was to Capt. Dease, who had come to succeed him, that he should address himself. That he brought Capt. Byrne to Capt. Dease's house & that in his presence he said to Captain Byrne "Have you given me, last year, to take with me, any thing else but thirteen small bales, nine barrels of rum, four barrels of powder, eight sacks of shot & ball with four or bundles of tobacco and some small trifles," this was said before Mr. Dease who answered *"very true."*

Question by the Court to Mr. Dease.—If he remembered these conversations in his presence between Mr. Ainse & Capt. Byrne?

A. That he well remembered that their conversation was to this effect.

Question by the Court to Mr. Ainse—If Mr. Ainse had said to Mr. Dease that he had his furs?

A. No.

Q. The Court asked Mr. Ainse if he had made any trade for himself in 1786 & 1787?

A. Mr. Ainse answered again, no—

Q. By whose order had he made these Equipments of King's Goods to M^essrs^ Rocque, Cardinal, Honore & Antaya in 1787?

A. By the authority that Mr. Dease had given him by word of mouth, saying, Mr. Ainse you know the ways of the Indians, you have been a long time in the Service, and because of all the good reports I have heard of you, I find proper to give you the charge of the goods which you need for your voyage, but manage so as to make the expenses as small as possible, as there is much Merchandize arriving, it is necessary to take the same Goods to the Department to find means to pay the expenses which you will incur in your voyage & to have enough to give the presents to the Indians. That he answered Mr. Dease that this would not be difficult but that he must promise to engage a clerk for him. Mr. Dease said that if this was necessary he could engage one, that in consequence he engaged Mr. O'Neille, believing that he could not find a better means, to pay the expenses which he would incur on his voyage with these same King's goods & to avoid being obliged to draw on Government, than by making these before-mentioned Equipments.

Declared that when he was come this Spring to the Prairie du Chien, he had seen Mr. Cardinal, who had some furs, the product of some King's goods, that he said to him, "If you like Mr. Ainse we will go and settle" and that he said, no, take your furs to Michilimackinac and we will settle there. That since his departure he had heard that Mr. Cardinal had sold his furs to Mr. Campion and that Mr. Honoré had done likewise, that he had the returns of Rocque, and that Antaya could pay this Summer, that as regards what is due by Larrivé & Rainville for the Goods which they have taken themselves, for those which he had given them he had received by Mr. Dickson, one hundred pounds of Beaver Skins & twelve otters and some mink for Larrivé and that Rainville had given him twelve otter skins, twenty-eight martins, nine mink & three deer skins that these furs were here in the King's Store with those of Roque.

Question by the Court to Mr. Ainse.

If before his departure from this post last year he had given notice to Mr. Dease of the Equipments which he had made of the King's Goods?

A. Yes, and that he had sent an exact statement of them as well as of all those which he had taken with him & all the Equipments which he had made to the others.

Q. If Mr. Dease had approved of those which he had made when he produced the list to him?

A. That Mr. Dease had taken the list in his hands, that he was then busy & that he said that he would examine it.

Q. How many days he remained in this post after having sent this list to Mr. Dease?

A. Two days.

Mr. Ainse in answer to the deposition made against him by Mr. Campion, Roque and others to whom he had said to the Indians at Portage St Antoine, to go to find Campion to get credit from him or to make him redescend the current, Said that on quitting the lower part of the Portage St. Antoine in the Mississippi that in the evening five or six of the principal Sioux that were with him came to his tent. That then he was lying down, that they sat down beside his fire & began to speak among themselves—On mentioning the name of Mr. Campion one of these Sioux

said "He will not pass here without our taking a barrel of rum from him." Another said "that is good, if he had come with us he should have made him fast as we made Aird last summer." That he did not understand well what they said but he called Mr. La Marche and asked him what the Indians said of Campion, that he said that they were the same words that they had said before. As soon as he got up he sent to look for Mr. Roque and said to him "There are the Indians who annoyed Campion, what have they to say." Roque spoke to them, and they said that they were not satisfied because Mr. Campion had neglected giving them a present and had taken goods to the more distant Villages who had not listened as well as them to the words of their father. Then he said to Rocque, "Say to them that they must listen to me, I am not come here to see barrels of rum pillaged nor to make any one want, but that they must go and speak to him as one would speak to a friend & ask him if he will give them credit and if he will not give it to you, tell him to turn back but do not insult him, and if he will not come tell me. I will speak to him myself." That they did not answer him whether they would or not.

Question by the Court to Mr. Ainse—

Why had he told the Indians to go to Mr. Campion and ask him for credit or if he refused to tell him on their return?

A. Said that it was reported, that he had heard the Indians say that they would unite to go and take a barrel of rum from him, that he advised them to go & arrange with him

Question by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Dickson who had taken his oath—

If he was with him among the Sioux last Autumn at the Mississippi or if he remembered when the Indians came to see him*(en attaché en noir) if they complained of Sieur Campion?

A. That they complained that Mr. Campion had passed through their Village without stopping, that the other Traders in passing among them sold fusils to them that the Indians cried in relating this to Mr. Ainse.

Question by the Court to Mr. Dickson.

Who was Mr. Ainse's Interpreter?

A. Mr. Rocque.

Q. If it was the Interpreter who had told him what you have said?

A. The Interpreter had repeated it loudly in the Counsil & that he heard it there.

(signed) Rd. Dickson

Q. By Mr. Ainse to Benjamin Lagotteri who took oath.
If after he had been left at the Prairie du Chien he knew of a dispute between Mr. La Marche and Campion on this subject?

A. That he knew of a conversation overheard between them, that Mr. Campion had said to La Marche that he had sufficient proofs to prove that Mr. Ainse had said to the Indians, "Make him give you credit or send him back," that La Marche had answered him "I cannot take oath that Mr. Ainse had said to them do not do any harm nor take credit by force but try to get credit from him or else send him back.

(Signed)

Benjn Lagotterie.

Q. By Mr. Ainse to Mr. Louis Chaboillie after oath—
If he knew that last year at Prairie du Chien he had proposed to Mr. Campion to go and winter with him?

A. That he had heard them say that they would go and winter together.

Q. If he knew of a Council which he had held among the Puans?

A. Yes, that he was there.

Q. If he remembered if he had spoken in the Council in Mr. Allen Paterson's interest

A. Yes, that after Mr. Ainse had made a present to the Indians, he spoke to the Indians in the King's Interest, that afterwards he recommended them to have a great regard for Mr. Paterson.

(Signed)

Louis Chaboilley.

Mr. Ainse said that with regard to the depositions made against him about an Indian hut which had been broken into by the Sioux soldiers, that it was he who had said to a Chief called l' Aile Rouge that he did not deserve the name of Chief. That he had been forced last year to give them a Trader and that he went to force these men to pay their

credit and because he had refused to destroy the huts of those who would not pay to make them lie outside like dogs, the Chief said that is true I will do your will and that in consequence he had caused the lodges of those who would not pay to be destroyed, and that he said afterwards to this Chief if you continue to do this things will go well always.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.

The 8th of July at 8 o'clock in the morning the Court continued the inquest in which Mr. Dease had produced his defense in the present inquest as follows:

[Q 48 part I page 174]

Mr. Dease's Answer.

Mr. Dease's answer to the charges that respect himself contained in the Memorials signed by some Merchants & Traders of Michilimakinac presented to His Excellency the Commander in Chief, and Captain Scott commanding at Michilimakinac &c. in the year 1787. It is with a grateful sense of His Excellency's Justice in ordinary a court of Inquiry on the subject of the above mentioned Memorials, presented to him and containing complaints of an improper interference of that branch of the Indian Department under my direction at this post, that I take this opportunity of answering such charges as have been produced against me, an Opportunity I sincerely wished for & had last summer warmly solicited for, tho' the reasons then given by the Merchants for not submitting to a Court of Inquiry, still exist as last year, that the Memorial given in to Capt. Scott last year was partial will appear from the circumstance that several Merchants belonging to the General Society were solicited to sign it, and refused, that these were not the least respectable part of that Society I believe will be pretty evident, their names being known.

The following are the principal charges respecting me, those that regard Mr. Ainse he has already answered—

First Charge, that peace being concluded among the Indians, it was no longer necessary that Mr. Ainse should return with presents among them, as he would trade them in prejudice to their commerce.

2nd Charge—That Clerks and Engagés employed by the Indian Department were paid out of the presents sent up here for the Indians—

3rd Charge—That they feared their commerce would suffer considerably this year, 1787, as there was a greater present to be sent out than the preceeding one—

4th Charge—That the Indians being induced by flattering promises to come to this post, had returned discontented on account of the distribution of presents not being made according to the intentions of Government—

5th Charge—That the Indian Department opposes all advantages that might derive from their Commerce by preventing them to speak to the Indians in public—

6th Charge—By lending the King's Goods to be traded under value, a circumstance they could not conform to, and tha their representation on that head was not attended to—

Mr. Dease in answer to the first charge requests the instructions he received in 1786 from Sir John Johnson Superintendent General of Indian Affairs may be read, of which the following is an extract—

MONTREAL, 1st October 1786.

SIR, From the great resort of Indians, even from the most distant nations at the post of Michilimakinac from the extensive Trade carried on from thence and from its consequent importance, but particularly from the great expense that has hitherto attended the conducting of the business of the Indian Department at that post, I have thought necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service that you should repair to that Station and I do hereby require that you do without loss of time, and in the most expeditious manner return to Niagara with the Indian Goods destined for the several posts, and from thence you are to proceed in the first vessel next Spring, the Season being now too far advanced, to Michilimakinac to take upon you the management of the Indian Affairs in that District, for your guidance in which Captain Byrne present Commissary of Indian Affairs, whose appointment must cease on the 24th June, 1787, will deliver over to you all such orders as he received and found necessary for that purpose. In consequence of

an unfortunate war raging among some of the Western Nations, and at the request of the Merchants trading to that Country I have taken some steps to endeavor to reconcile them to each other, by sending out a Messenger among them to desire that they would desist from all Acts of hostilities and assemble some of the Chiefs of each Nation next June at Michilimakinac when I shall endeavor to meet them and to establish a lasting peace, to facilitate which I intend to take with me, or to order round by Detroit some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations, but should I from some unforseen accident or business be prevented from putting my intentions into execution you will take such steps as you will find necessary to accomplish this desirable business.

Question from the Board to Mr. Dease—

Did he receive any Instructions or public papers relative to the Indian Department from Captain Byrne.

A. No, he had often applied to him, except a list of a few presents then remaining in the Indian Store.

Continuation of Mr. Dease's defense—

Mr. Dease was directed to pursue such measures as to him should seem necessary to accomplish the business Mr. Ainse was sent upon, in consequence of the Merchants Memorial to Sir John Johnson and their favorable representation of Mr. Ainse, that in all their Councils and conferences both public and private, after the conclusion of the peace here, the Indians earnestly solicited Mr. Ainse to return amongst them once more, even saying that what had hitherto been done would prove ineffectual, unless he returned among them to confirm them in their present good dispositions, this is a circumstance well known by the commanding officer and all those who attended the different Councils. Mr. Dease agreed to their request with the more reluctance as Mr. Ainse had applied for leave to go to Canada the ensuing fall to see his family, from Mr. Ainse's character and the report of his good circumstances I had no reason to suspect any improper use would be made of the presents he should take with him, I beg to refer to the Instructions given to him on setting out of which the following is a copy.

MICHILIMACKINAC 19th Augt. 1787

SIR, Having received Instructions from Sir John Johnson

Bart. Superintendant General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs to pursue such measures as would appear to me the most conducive to the accomplishment of the business on which he sent you into the Indian Country last year, and the different Indian Nations lately at war having earnestly and repeatedly solicited your return among them once more to confirm them in their present amicable dispositions towards each other, I think it necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service, and that you immediately prepare to return among these Indians and use your best endeavors to establish a lasting peace among them. You will on every occasion inspire them with sentiments of attachment and respect for the British Government, and in your distribution of the presents you take along you will represent to them the great power and goodness of the Great King their Father and the expense he incurs on their account, by appointing his Servants to watch over their welfare and promote their happiness by uniting them to each other. You will warmly recommend to them the interests of Trade and the protection of those who on that account, and to supply their wants at the hazard of their lives and risque of their property go and winter among—

You will show that a fair and open trade will always be the firmest source of happiness that in proportion as they promote Trade and observe the advice of their Father, they will be the objects of their Father's attention. In giving presents you will particularly distinguish such Nations or Bands whose Commerce is most valuable to the Traders explaining to them distinctly that the presents they receive are not by way of Trade but merely from the King's bounty. You will keep a regular Journal of your proceedings in which you will record whatever relates to the King's Service. You will report to me any abuses in Trade that may come to your knowledge, or any obstruction you may meet with in the discharge of your duty, and from whom, you will in all your proceedings observe the strictest economy consistent with the business you are sent, and on every occasion make the good of His Majesty's Service principal object of your attention wishing you every possible success in your undertaking. I am Sir &c &c &c.

Continuation of Mr. Dease's Defense.

2ndly. By an official Letter from the Acting Secretary Mr. Langan dated the 5th March 1787 of which the following is an extract:

"And as no contingent account will be received from the post you are going to in the Spring, it being thought here that a small part of the presents received by the person residing there and which by a general order is directed to be applied to His Majesty's Service are sufficient to defray those expences which untill lately were introduced as charges in the Indian Account." This to me was a positive order to which I thought it my duty to comply and was calculated to save expences to Government at the post where there is no Currency, and everything exhorbitantly dear, a pair of Leggings or a yard of Callico will readily pay, what would cost Government three times their value, by being paid by a Bon or Money.

3rdly Is merely founded on apprehension, I judged it necessary to send out a larger present than was sent out the last, as Mr. Ainse proposed penetrating much further in the Indian Country, than he had hitherto done, in order to extend our Commerce, he consequently should have to pass through many more Nations and thereby be under the necessity of giving more presents than the year before, yet with all the increase of presents the quantity taken in the two years into the Indian Country does not amount as I am informed to much more than a third of what the Merchants best acquainted with the Country Trade recommended to Sir John Johnson to send by Mr. Ainse the first Winter.

Last year some disturbances that happened in the Scioux Country joined to a severe indisposition, which prevented his carrying into execution, what he proposed at setting out from this post, induced Mr. Ainse, in compliance with his instructions to have some presents traded for the Interests of Government, rather than unnecessarily give them away without any prospect of promoting the King's Service—

Mr. Dease questioned by the Board.

Q. Were not the Equipments of the King's Goods of Mr. Rocque, Honoré & Cardin made at this post prior to Mr. Ainse's going out—

A. So it appears by Ainse's Evidence.

Copy of a Letter wrote by Captain Scott to Mr. Dease dated 17th September 1787 and produced to the Board.

Sir, Having reason to believe the last vessel for this post will arrive in the course of a few days I therefore beg you will send as soon as possible the Lists of the presents given in public Council to the different Indians in order that they may be signed & certified. You will likewise be so good as to send me an exact List of what Goods you have sent out by Ainse.

I am &c &c.

Mr. Dease questioned by the Board.

Q. Did he receive that Letter.

A. He supposes so.

Q. What was his reason for not complying with the above request and having sent only a List of part of the Goods sent along with Mr. Ainse without making mention of the Equipments that appear to have been made.

A. At this distance of time, it is probable that my reasons for so doing may not occur to me, but believe the following are the principal ones.

First— He found nothing in his instructions that induced him to think himself accountable to Capt. Scott for his management of the Indian Department, in which it was Lord Dorchester's orders that he should not interfere.

Secondly— Capt. Scott and himself differed in opinion concerning Mr. Ainse's returning to the Indian Country, therefore it was a matter he took upon himself, and thought himself very justifiable from his instructions.

Q. Whether Capt. Scott did not disapprove of Mr. Ainse's going out, or any Goods sent into the Indian Country.

A. That to the best of his recollection he did.

Continuation of Mr. Deases Defence—

4th. That the Indians went away well satisfied and very thankful for the presents they received is proved by all the minutes of the Councils they held, by their conduct since, by their repeated intreaties to have Mr. Ainse sent back amongst them once more, and he believes by the recollection of several Gentlemen here present who assisted at the Councils of last year, There could not be a more decisive proof

of their attachment then the Chipeways and Ottawas gave lately in fitting out immediately two parties to bring in the Murderers of the two Negroes a task as they declared more painful to them than to go to War against the Osages or the Mexicans but they were determined to obey the will of their Father.

5th. Mr. Dease certainly refused to deliver to the Scioux a speech written by Mr. Charles Paterson, by which Mr. Dease was directed to give his approbation to Mr. Paterson's proceedings in St. Peter's River in winter 1786-1787. Long before Mr. Dease took the direction of the Indian Department at the post of Michilimakinac & Mr. Dease did not certainly consider it a part of his duty to call Councils & deliver Speeches directed by any Trader in this post. Mr. Dease never in the smallest degree interfered in the usual Commercial intercourse of the Indians and Traders of this post, they did not require his permission to speak to them on every subject that related to their Trade. Mr. Dease understood it to be Lord Dorchester's orders that the Traders should confine themselves to what mearly concerned their Trade without further interferance.

6th. Captain La Motte accompanied by a Mr. Pollard, Merchant, had in the Month of July last applied to me for the loan of a few Goods out of the Indian Store, which he would shortly replace, as he expected daily a boat with Goods from Detroit, that wanting them at that particular time was extremely injurious to him and that lending them out of the Indian Store could be of no prejudice to the Service, as they should be long returned before wanted. He also mentioned his having been pillaged and taken prisoner by the Indians, by which he suffered much in his health the preceeding autumn. As I knew him then to be a half pay Captain in the Detroit Department and a person who had long been employed in the King's Service and suffered much when taken prisoner with Lieut Governor Hamilton on his Expedition from Detroit to the Illinois Country and persuaded that the Service here could not in the least suffer by it as I had reasons to believe his goods were on the way to this post and moreover having then no instructions to the contrary, I did not think myself in the least culpable

in directing the Storekeeper to let him have the small quantity he demanded for which he gave his receipt and promised to restore them, and with both which he soon after complied as has appeared by Mr. Dixons evidence. After his receiving these things he might dispose of them at what price he thought proper, or even bestow them, for which he would not in the least think himself responsible. I can with confidence affirm that there has neither been a public or private transaction of mine with the Indians since my arrival at this post in June 1787 that did not rather tend to promote than injure its Commerce. Soon after my arrival here I called the Merchants together, and as people well acquainted with the nature of the Commerce of the post requested they would instruct me how I could best serve them in my capacity. In all the Councils both public and private held with Indians, in the articles of peace concluded between them, in my instructions to Mr. Ainse on his going into the Indian Country, after recommending their attachment to the King's service, my next object was to consult the interest of Commerce, by insisting on the most friendly attention to the Traders, and a due punctuality in paying their debts dealing honestly with them as the surest means of recommending them to their fathers notice and kindness. These facts can be easily substantiated by many people here and by my Journal for that period and by the minutes of the different Councils. In the year 1787 in pursuance of my instructions from the Superintendant General I arrived here in the middle of June and had the mortification, the greatest difficulty in procuring quarters either for myself or the people employed in the department, for them I was obliged to pitch my tent, and had recourse to the kindness of the Inhabitants for myself and obliged to remove from house to house four times, thus situated and a stranger to the post and the Indians frequenting it, who at that time came in from all quarters and were continually very importunate, I thought myself very happy in the assistance of Mr. Ainse the Interpreter a person strongly recommended to me for his influence among the different Indian nations and his abilities in managing them, to him I communicated my instructions at the same time

giving him a discretionary power to manage the interior part of the department to the best advantage for His Majesty's Service, while I attented public Councils &ca. These circumstances duly considered will evidently account for my want of punctuality in my public accounts. Before the reduction of the Department I had sufficient assistance on these occasions. Here I found myself alone, a stranger & deprived of that assistance. In regard to Mr. Ainse returning to the Indian Country I thought it necessary, for reasons already mentioned Captn Scott has not approved of which prevented me from being as communicated on taht subject as I should have been.

On the 30th ultimo Captain Scott president of this Board received a Letter from Capt. Wm. Houghton of which the following is a true copy (see page —)

These are grievous charges to a person of the least sensibility and how very well supported will appear by Mr. Houghton's own evidences and even from what he advanced himself and tho' he very early in July 1787 condescended closely to watch my front and back door, and probably since continued the same practice, what he has been able to collect to my prejudice has been already produced to this Board Vizt.—

That early in the morning of the 3d of July 1787—To this charge I answer that the back way into my House was as frequently used as the front one, that it was no crime in me to receive the present from the Indians, which proved to have been three Robes or Blankets and which Mr. Dixon's evidence will prove of being sent to the King's Store, in order to be sent down according to my instructions.

The other Witnesses which Mr. Houghton examined, which consisted of my counter-woman, Taylor and others, from whom he could extract nothing for his purpose, evidently proves that his charges against me are founded on mere suspicion—In regard to the survey of corn, a considerable quantity of Indian corn given in present last fall by the Ottawas and other Indians frequenting the post, was lodged in the acting Commissary's Store, according to my instructions—I mentioned to Capt. Scott to have it issued occa-

sionally to the Indians, that it might be applied to no other use, and the event proved me right in so doing, having received from that Store sixty six bags less than the original quantity given in, the which was given to the King's Cattle by Capt. Scott's order. The hull'd or Sied Corn he reserved for a more pressing occasion, when the Indians should according to custom arrive here in considerable numbers. Capt. Scott knows that at his desire I mentioned the day for holding the Survey and could I be base enough to think of secreting or applying the corn to my own use, I had full time and could easily have removed it. The fact is that without my knowledge my servant had used some bags in which I bought some Indian Corn from Niagara for my own use. In removing that from Mr. Meldrum's to our Store I can easily prove that Sied Corn was never used in my family nor given to any but Indians—I believe the Interpreter Mr. Gautin might have told Captain Scott that I had not Indian Corn when he applied for that in the Commissary Store, as I am sure he knew nothing of my having procured some from Mr. Meldrum, he being then in Canada, but to the best of my recollection I never mentioned to Captain Scott that I had none.

On the 7th of last June after having fitted out a party of twenty-eight Ottawas and Chipeways to bring in some Indians who murdered and plundered two Negroes last winter—I as customary invited the Chiefs to dine with me, just at dinner time I was informed that there was not a sufficiency of Rum in the house to compleat the present I intended to give these Indians in the evening, I accordingly sent to the acting Commissary for a barrel of Rum which, to the best of my recollection was rolled in while we were at dinner—This Rum I neither saw nor tasted till I came to the Council House, when Capt Scott asked if it was mixed, I answered that I could not tell, mentioning the circumstance of its having been brought from the Store while I was at dinner with the Chiefs, and my not seeing it till in Council. On this Mr. Houghton went out and brought a tumbler, broached a Keg and declared it was mixed —On this proceeding it is unnecessary to make any comment, there is no person conversant with Indian Affairs that does

not know that the Indians get very rarely pure Rum, either from the Indian Department or even from the Merchants.

Appeared before the Board Mr. Robert Dixon who being sworn answered to the questions made to him by Mr. Dease as follows—

Q. Whether he recollects that the Chipeways on the 3rd of July, 1787 early in the morning brought to his House a present of Furrs and what they were.

A. Yes, probably three or four Blankets.

Q. Do you recollect what became of them.

A. Yes, he received directions from Mr. Dease to have them carried to the King's Store, which was done telling him that no presents were to be appropriated to private use, but were entirely for the use of Government, and were to be sent down by the first opportunity.

Q. Does he recollect what instructions he received when he went to meet the Chipeways with provisions.

A. Mr. Dease told him to tell Mr. Cadot to take care of the presents intended as presents to Government, that they should not be traded.

Q. Does he recollect whether the Indians went in by the front or back door.

A. He recollects it was the front door.

(sign'd)

Robt Dickson

The court closed this 8th day of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight.

Compared and certified from the original in the clerk's office of Michiliminackinac today in presence of the court assembled, the twelfth day of July, seventeen hundred eighty eight.

Thos. Scott, Capt & president,
Dan Robertson, Lieut 53d Regt,
W. Ottley, Ensign 53d Regt,
Alexr Henry,
William Grant.

The original was sent by Lieut Robertson by Detroit

(signed) L. Carignant, Gfe.
A. Holt.

DEFENSE OF MR. DEASE.

QUEBEC May the 1st 1790.

Mr. Deases Answer to the Charges given in against him by the Traders of Michilimakinac in the year 1787.

I am happy that I am indulged with this opportunity of appearing in my Defence before Gentlemen of your respectable Characters.

The mortification that I have experienced from the painful reflection that my conduct as an officer had been arraigned, and my integrity questioned can only be conceived by those who have a just sense of the value of an honorable reputation.

Almost nineteen years of my Life spent in his Majesty's Service, and sixteen of them as Deputy Agent in the Indian Department with the fullest approbation of my Superiors and without the least reproach, induced me to hope that a Character thus established would have shielded me from the shafts of malice.

It was my lot in the execution of an important Commission intrusted to me by the Superintendant General of Indian Affairs to differ in opinion with part of the Commercial Society formed at Michilimakinac, their minds had been soured by heavy losses sustained in Trade, occasioned by a War among the Indians, and by an injudicious system of commerce and well known mismanagement; their Creditors were importunate and naturally enquired into the reason of their ill success, it became necessary to find excuses to appease them, and the Indian Department was thought a fit object to which their failure might be ascribed—hence arose their complaint and Memorial containing the Charges against me, however it is with pleasure I can say that only a part of that Society signed the Memorial, others, and by far the most respectable rejected it with contempt.

The appointment of the Members of the Board of Inquiry, the manner of making the Charges and the mode adopted by the board in the investigation of them must appear to the Honorable Committee to be extremely improper & injurious, and of which I have just right of complaint. By their Memorial and the proceedings of the Board it will appear

that they have joined me with an inferior officer in their accusation and examination, for whose conduct I cannot be responsible. On the good sense and candor of the Hoñble Committee I confidently rely to make the necessary discrimination.

And to their candor I also submit the unprecedented conduct of the Board of Enquiry in exceeding the limited authority committed to them and extending their examination to matters that happened posterior to their complaint against me which was dated the 10th of August 1787 not two months after my arrival at Michilimakinac.

And I might also with justice complain of the president of that Board, not only in the appointment of the Members who composed it, and of his acting in the three capacities of Accuser, Witness, and Judge, but I may also add that with much difficulty I was allowed a few hours only to offer my observations on the evidence that had been received against me during nine or ten days.

It will be unnecessary to do more than barely to mention to the Hoñ^ble^ Committee, one more cause of complaint to shew that in the whole of the proceedings from the commencement of the complaint to the transmission of the papers from the Board of Enquiry to this City, I have been treated with a degree of cruelty & prosecution unknown and unparalleled. Upon the first information I received of the complaint being made against me to Captain Scott as will appear by the Memorial of my accusers to His Excellency Lord Dorchester dated the 14th of August, 1787 and by an extract of my Journal annexed marked No. 2. I applied to Captain Scott and requested a Court of Enquiry to which he then consented, but my accusers refused submitting to it, well knowing that I had then several Evidences to produce.

See papers annexed No 1 & part of Extracts from my Journal marked X.

Upon this refusal I entreated Captain Scott to take the depositions of those witnesses as they were on the point of going into the Country, but this he refused, alledging that he had doubts whether he had authority to administer an oath. On the enquiry which took place ten months after, they were absent, and if to be had could not be admitted consistent with the rules adopted by that Board who con-

ceived themselves appointed only to collect and receive evidence to criminate, but not to exculpate.

At this distance from Michilimackinac, if those Witnesses were now there it would be impossible to produce them before this committee, I am therefore deprived of an Opportunity of fully refuting by incontestible evidence every shadow of criminality imputed to me, and am compelled to submit my conduct to this Honorable Committee on the evidence offered by my various accusers but a reliance on the candor and impartiality of the Hon^ble^ Committee before whom I now appear, and a consciousness of my own integrity and of having faithfully discharged the duties of my office and trust reposed in me, give me confidence in meeting the charges made against me, however maliciously conceived or unfairly attempted to be supported.

To give the Hon^ble^ Committee a just idea of the charges against me, and what led to them, it will be necessary to trouble them with a short narrative of the transactions prior to the time of my being sent up to Michilimackinac.

In the year 1785 the commerce of the interior Country had long been in a ruinous condition, and much obstructed by the wars that prevailed with the several Nations of Indians.

The traders had in vain attempted to restore peace among them, they found their endeavours fruitless & themselves unequal to the task, and therefore applications were made to the Superintendant General of Indian Affairs Sir John Johnson, by the body of Merchants trading to Michilimackinac, complaining that their commerce was ruined by the war and praying his interposition to settle peace among the different tribes, to effect which desirable purpose they recommended that the large quantity of six Canoe loads of Goods were necessary and should be sent into the Country to be distributed among them as presents which consisted of at least six times the quantity that was distributed to them at the Council or that were sent by Mr. Ains of which they complain to have ruined their commerce. See paper annexed marked No. 3, 4, & 5.

Sir John took their petition into consideration, and being desirous to gratify them, he sent on their recommendation Mr. Ains in the summer of 86 (who was then high in the

Estimation of the complaining Societé, and much in the confidence of the Government) into the distant parts of the Indian Country to invite the contending Indians to a Council to be held at Michilimackinac to settle a peace amongst them.

And by letter dated the 1st of October 1786 he was pleased to order me from Niagara to repair to Michilimackinac to take charge of the Indian Department there, and he was further pleased in case of his being prevented from attending the great Council to be held at that place for the purpose of settling the peace, to do me the honor to commissionate and authorize me to hold the Council and establish the desired peace amongst the Nations. And he invested me with full discretionary powers to take such steps and to adopt such measures as appeared to me necessary to accomplish that desirable business, as will appear by the said Letter hereunto annexed No. 6.

See paper annexed No. 6.

In obedience to these orders and Instructions I repaired in the month of June following to Michilimackinac and in the Month of July I held the Council with the Indians, and with great trouble settled the peace as far as the Deputies sent down by them would admit of, but more was to be done, it was necessary to reconcile the different tribes to whom the Deputies belonged to the Terms that were acceded to by the Deputies at the Councils, and at their pressing importunity and solicitations I pledged myself in Council to send Mr. Ains to them the same summer with presents to confirm what had been done in Council & in pursuance of that promise in the month of August on the 23rd day I dispatched Mr. Ains into the Indian Country with presents and a Letter of Instructions for his conduct * Mr. Ains in obedience to my orders repaired to the Indian Country, but even before his departure the Merchants or Indian Traders instituted their complaint to Capt. Scott dated the 10th of August 1787, on the next day Capt. Scott sent for me and showed me the Traders complaint, upon which I expressed my surprize and requested an immediate Court of Enquiry to which Capt. Scott consented and alleged that it would be necessary to have two civilians of whom I might name one, and the Traders the other, who in conjunction with

See paper annexed No. 7.

* as appears by a Letter of Instructions annexed No. 8.

some of the officers of the Garrisons should compose the Court. I then requested a copy of the complaint which was refused.

The complainants conscious of my being able to prove the falsity of the charges made against me at that time, upon being informed by Capt. Scott of his intentions to institute a Court of Enquiry objected to it and withdrew their complaint and transmitted a copy of it with a Memorial to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, dated the 14th of the said month, a copy of which is annexed.

In this situation deprived of the benefit of an Enquiry, I immediately applied to Capt. Scott and requested that he would take the depositions of Witnesses I then had, and offered to produce to him fully to prove the falsity of the charges, but this Capt. Scott then also refused alledging doubts of his competency to administer an Oath, I complained to him of the hardship of my case in being deprived of the benefit of those Witnesses who probably would never be in my power to produce again, which unfortunately has been the case.

His Excellency Lord Dorchester upon Receipt of these papers upon the 1st of November 1787 issued an order to Capt. Scott, and directed him as is expressed in the order to form a Board of Enquiry to enquire into the truth of the matters contained in the complaint.

This order arrived at Michilimackinac the following Spring when Capt. Scott formed the Board consisting of himself as president, Daniel Robertson, his Lieutenant, Ensign Ottley his Ensign, and William Grant and Alexander Henry two of the General Society of Traders, Louis Carignant Clerk, and A. Holt one of the complainants was employed by the Court to take down the English Evidence.

The Court thus established on the 24th of June 1788 proceeded on their Enquiry and examined the Witnesses offered who it will appear were chiefly Clerks and Engagés belonging to the General Society.

A few days before the Court met Mr. Ainse on his return to Michilimackinac was by Capt. Scott's order made a prisoner and brought into Michilimackinac, and he underwent a long examination before Capt. Scott.

Having thus stated the facts that induced the order for the Board of Enquiry, it will be necessary that I should make a few remarks upon the Charges that are contained in the Complaints that concern me.

The Hon^ble^ Committee have perceived that I had been at Michilimackinac only about 7 weeks when the complaint was instituted against me to Capt. Scott, That I did not go there merely for the ordinary purpose of being Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs at that post, but that the great purpose of my mission was of the utmost importance not only to His Majesty's Interest, but to that of the Traders and Commerce in the Indian Country.

That I was there the Representative of the Superintendant General Sir John Johnson who had invited the Indians by his Messenger to meet him.

That I went clothed by my instructions with ample powers from him and with orders in case he should be prevented by accident or unforeseen Business from attending to take all such steps as I should find necessary to accomplish the desirable business.

That thereby a general confidence was placed in my Judgement and a trust reposed in my discretion, the great object to be attained, and to *me* only was given the power of pursuing such measures and taking such steps as I should find necessary to effect it.

In this point of view I am to be considered; whether I made an improper use of the discretionary powers vested in me, or in what manner I executed the trust committed to me, belonged to the Superintendent General to determine to him Report was made and I did not experience his disapprobation.

But whether my conduct was such in that transaction as to displease the Indian Traders, to merit their censure, to give just cause for their complaints and afford good ground for the criminal charges they have preferred against me is for this Hon^ble^ Committee to enquire into and determine.

It is to these charges as far as they relate to me, I am now to answer, and after the Exhibits I have produced, and the Representation I have already made, I flatter myself that the Hon^ble^ Committee will require short answers to remove

from their minds all imputation of guilt and improper conduct in those transactions.

The charges contained in the Letters of complaint to Capt. Scott are general.

1st.—The first is that the merchandize destined as presents for the Indians have been traded against their interest, and that the Magazine which ought to be established for the protection of commerce is made a Store for commerce in opposition to their Store.

In support of this charge they have offered no kind of proof that can possibly refer to me, and therefore all remarks on it by me are unnecessary.

2nd.—The second charge is that as the peace was established among the Indians it was unnecessary to send more Goods into the Indian Country, that although they were to be sent under the specious pretext of presents yet they would be traded to their great prejudice.

The complainants by this charge undoubtedly allude to my intention of sending Mr. Ains into the Indian Country with presents to the Indians in August 1787 to confirm the peace among the Nations that had been agreed to by their Deputies at the Council held the preceding month, what reasons they had for their suspicions that they would be improperly disposed of or that they would be traded with to their prejudice I know not, nor is it to me to account for the disposition of them in the Indian Country.

But it behoves me to show the necessity and usefulness of the measure, and also my instructions to Mr. Ains on his departure with them for his direction in the distribution of them to the Indians, and for his pursuing the object of his Mission.

I have already remarked to the Hon^{ble} Committee that at the General Council to establish the peace with the Indians at Michilimakinac the Deputies from the different contending nations attended, that Terms of peace were agreed upon as far as their power extended; but that to conclude the business, it was necessary the different Nations should accede to and notify the Terms the Deputies had agreed to.

That the Deputies importuned and solicited me until I made

See Minutes of Council Marked ×.

them a promise in Council that Mr. Ains should return into the Indian Country that Summer for that purpose.

The promise was made in the presence of Capt. Scott and of all the Traders who chose to attend the Council who were invited by me to be present at it.

I appeared there to represent by special authority the Superintendant General. The promise I made was sacred, and with Indians especially binding, they had departed under the conviction that I would perform it, the object of compleating the peace was important, the Trust had been committed to me, and my duty required me to execute it, the trifling injury that one Canoe load of Goods (which was only one sixth part of what they recommended to Sir John Johnson as necessary) sent into the Country as presents would do the Traders urged by them as a reason for my breaking my solemn promise made to the Indians was insufficient to prevail on me to deceive the Indians and thereby render abortive all the measures that had been taken to effect the desired peace.

I had a right from the powers given me to judge of the usefulness and necessity of the measure, I exercised that Judgment as I thought most advancive of His Majesty's Interest and that of the commerce in general, and altho' it met with the censure and dissapprobation of a few interested Traders, yet I presume it will meet with your approbation.

Mr. Ains was appointed and sent by me to distribute the Goods and to reconcile the Indians to the desired peace, I found him on my arrival at Michilimakinac high in the confidence of the Superintendent General who had sent him out with presents the preceeding year, and much esteemed by the Traders, he was desirous of returning to his family that Summer, but I detained him and employed him in that business. The instructions I gave him must speak for themselves, a copy of them are annexed, and how he executed them he will explain to the Hon^ble^ Committee.

In Paper No. 8.

3rd. The third charge is that the distribution of the Goods sent up for the Indians had not been made agreeable to the intentions of Government, that the Interpreters had received their presents and had traded them to the Indians in such a manner as to occasion discontent amongst them.

There has been no proof offered of the truth of this Charge to the Board of Enquiry, neither was there the least foundation for the charge. The presents were distributed to the Indians at the Council in such proportion as was thought necessary and proper and they were perfectly satisfied with what they received and with the promise that Mr. Ains should return into the Country in the course of the Summer, as to the Trade that was carried on with them I know nothing of it, neither did I hear of any discontents among them on that account.

If they meant to support this charge by the proof they offered of my paying Dixon and Reid with Goods for services they rendered at that time; it may be proper for me to submit that transaction to the Committee.

When I arrived at Michilimakinac with the Goods committed to me I found it necessary in executing the object of trust committed to me to employ those persons as Clerks and Interpreters and assistants—as such they became indispensibly necessary to my purpose.

No funds were established for the payment of these persons.

I had received an official Letter from Mr. Langan dated the 5th of March 1787 which informed me that no contingent account would be allowed but expressed a supposition that a small proportion of the presents would be sufficient for the purpose.

See extract No 9. subjoined.

The Honble. Committee will view me in this Transaction as executing a Trust of Importance committed to me, and a discretionary power vested in me to adopt such measures as I should find necessary, I found an absolute necessity of having their assistance.

No other funds or means were provided, or in my power to make them compensation. No contingent account would be allowed, I had been told by the Secretary to the Department, but that a small proportion of the presents it was supposed would be sufficient for such purposes, and as at that time I had received no orders or instructions to the contrary.

I conceived myself justifiable and acting perfectly consistent with my duty in paying those persons in Goods for their services rendered to Government.

I shall only add one more remark on this charge which is that it had ever before been customary in the Department to include charges for services of this nature in the contingent account, and they had been payed by Government. This was a debt contracted for the use of Government in the execution of the business I was sent upon and it belonged to the Government to pay, and to suppose this application of a small proportion of the Goods that were destined for that service was improper in me, or that any possible injury would result to Government from such application of them, a supposition that could only exist in the minds of persons possessed of narrow and contracted principles, and who entertained the malicious prejudices of my accusers.

4th. The fourth charge is that I prevented some of the Traders from speaking publicly in Council to the Indians and thereby injured their commerce.

That I did object to their making public speeches to the Indians is a fact I avow and that I acted perfectly consistent with my duty in making that objection I can scarcely conceive will admit of a question with persons who have any knowledge of Indians or Indian Traders, but if I had permitted the several Traders to have made such speeches as their different interests would have necessarily prompted, I should have thought myself highly culpable, and I might with Justice have been charged with neglecting the duty intrusted to me, I was there, responsible for my conduct in the great object committed to me, and to have admitted an interference of the Traders might have been injurious to myself and highly disrespectful to the Superintendent General whom I represented.

I had invited them to attend the Council and many of them did attend. Whether I opposed or injured their Interest or the Interest of the Indian Commerce at large let the Minutes of Council, my instructions to Mr. Ains pronounce & the extracts from my Journal to them I refer.

5th Charge. That goods were lent to be traded at the Posts for a low price, to which they could not conform without a considerable loss—

The only person to whom Goods were lent or appeared on the hearing before the Board of Enquiry, was Capt. La Motte,

to whom a very few articles were lent for a few days and then returned by him into the Store, as is fully proved.

But that they were lent for the purpose of being traded at a low price as is stated by the complainants or that they were traded at a low price, to the injury of their commerce there is not a shadow of proof.

The fact was, and so I stated it to the Board of Enquiry, where it was acknowledged.

That, Capt. La Motte had been plundered & taken a prisoner the preceeding autumn by the Indians that his health thereby was much impaired, that I had known him to be long employed in His Majesty's Service and to have been taken a prisoner with Lieut. Governor Hamilton, and then to have suffered a long imprisonment, he was then a half-pay Captain—Under these circumstances he applied to me for the loan of a few articles for a few days, with the most positive assurances that his goods were on the way from Detroit and that he would replace them, I considered his hard case and directed the Store-keeper to let him have the small quantity he wanted, which he gave to him and took his receipt for them, Mr. La Motte was punctual in returning them as appears by Mr. Dixon's Testimony and for this one act a general malevolent charge is made of lending Goods for the purpose of being traded at a low rate to the Injury of the Traders—

How justly the Hon^ble^ Committee will determine with respect to this transaction, the Committee will be pleased to consider the character and distress of the person, to whom the Goods were lent, the confidence from my knowledge of him I could justly place in his promise.

That no possible injury could result to Government from the benevolent Act, but an essential service rendered to a meritorious individual were motives with me that induced the measure, more especially as it had been frequently done in the Department, and I had then no instructions to the contrary—

The last charge made by the Complainants is that I bartered and exchanged some Goods with Meldrum, Todd and Mitchell—

In answer to this charge it will be only necessary to recall

the Hon^ble Committee's Attention to the important Mission I was intrusted with, and to make a very few observations upon the nature of that Barter and the necessity for it.

I was at least a thousand miles from any supplies of Articles indispensibly necessary for the use of the great Council I was to hold with the Indian Nations—

Those Articles were not to be procured at Michilimakinac in any other mode than by Barter, the King's Service required them, I sought for them and found them in the possession of the above persons, a Barter was proposed and as was fully proved before the Board by the Complainants Witnesses, an equivalent for the King's Goods so bartered was received and deposited in the King's Store and applied to His Majesty's Service—

I shall not trouble the Hon^ble Committee with only one Remark on this charge.

I had not at that time any instructions inhibiting the measure.

But if I had received the most positive Instructions to the contrary, I should have thought that the character I then appeared in, and the great trust and power I was then vested with, would have justified me in incroaching upon those instructions so far as I conceived His Majesty's Service required and the more especially as I was directed and authorized by the orders of the Superintendant General "to take such steps as I should find necessary to accomplish that desirable business.

The only charge that now remains is the very extraordinary one made by Capt. Houghton long after the Board had convened.

This charge was fully answered by me in the hasty Defence that I was allowed to delivered in to the Board, to that and the Testimony of Dixon which was given on that subject before the Board I must beg leave to refer the Hon^ble Committee from which it will appear how well Capt. Houghton was founded in charging me with Actions in my Department "highly unbecoming the Character of a Gentleman and the office I held under Government"—

It would have been supposed that a Gentleman who bore the Rank of a Captain in the King's Army would not have

made such heavy charges without more evidence than his bare suspicions to support them, I could wish for the sake of that respect which ought to be paid to a person that bears the Honorable Rank of a Captain in the King's Army that I could impute this hasty and rash step of Capt. Houghton to an honest zeal for His Majesty's Service, but an unfortunate dispute that subsisted at that time between Capt. Houghton and me obliges me to attribute it to a less Honorable motive.

But I shall trouble the Honorable Committee no longer on that charge that must appear to them to have been founded in resentment and to have received no colour of support from the evidence of the zealous institutor of it, or even from the Domestics of my Family who were dragged forth to his aid—

Thus I have briefly, but as I conceive fully answered the several charges that apply to me from the complaints made to Capt. Scott & from the Evidence offered before the Board of Enquiry.

And it only remains in justice to myself that I add a few general remarks on the whole of this transaction.

The respectability and importance of my accusers who signed the Letter to Capt. Scott. and the memorial to His Excellency Lord Dorchester will best appear by a comparison of their names with those who signed the Memorial & petition to Sir John Johnson which is annexed and I believe not one of their names will be found to be honored with a place in that List, neither on the contrary will one of those Gentlemen who requested the interference of Sir John Johnson, and who were Merchants of Reputation, whose names and characters are well known to the Honble Committee appear to have given their countenance or assent to the Letter of Complaint. To this latter Class of Gentlemen I had the honor of being long well known, it was at their sollicitation and importunity that the Council was held, where I had the honor of representing the Superintendent General, and it was to them if to any Merchants I was in the least accountable for my conduct—

They had in the paper No 3. 4 & 5 annexed, recommended not only the measures to be pursued to establish the peace,

but also had pointed out the quantity of Six Canoe loads of Goods as necessary for the purpose. And that Mr. Ains should be one of the persons to be sent into the Indian Country with the presents.

It must charitably be supposed as I believe was the fact that my accusers had not been consulted & were Strangers to these Transactions, to suppose otherwise would raise a difficulty to account for their conduct with respect to me, and wholly to the depravity of Human nature under the influence of interest.

A Resort must be had to explain their motives, I was a stranger to them, I had only been seven weeks at Michilimakinac and the greater part of that time wholly employed in holding the Councils and making the peace with the Indians. These are also annexed No 7. & from which the Hoñ^ble^ Committee will perceive how well I merited the charges of neglecting and opposing the interest of Commerce with them.

From this short representation of the Institutors of the Charges the Hoñ^ble^ Committee will form an Estimate of their consequence, and from a View of the evidences names and their occupations who were produced to support those charges they will see what weight their Testimony ought to bear in the scale of Justice & honor. They will be found to consist of some of themselves, their Clerks & Engagés.

I have already complained of the mode of instituting the Board of Enquiry, and of the unfairness with which from the Origin of the Complaint, the whole was conducted, no further Remarks need be added to convince the Honble Committee that I have thereby been deprived of Rights and priviledges that as an officer of Government and an Englishman I was entitled to. I was criminated by, and before interested and partial persons, and I was denied the priviledge of producing my Evidences to exculpate me.

The consequences by cruel experience I have severely felt a foul stain was thrown upon my reputation in August 1787, and no opportunity offered to me to wipe it out untill this day, and even now without a possibility of having the advantage of that testimony which was offered and rejected in 1787.

I shall only submit to your candid consideration whether in all the charges made, or proofs offered against me there appears one instance either of peculation or the most distant prospect of advantage that could result to me from adopting it, and whether it could be probable or even possible that I should hazard a fair reputation sustained eighteen years in His Majesty's Service and betray the trust and confidence placed in me on so great an occasion without some greater incitement—If I have erred it was an error in Judgement, but I have the satisfaction within my own breast to feel that my whole conduct was governed by the rules of honor, and that I discharged my duty with fidelity and a strict regard to His Majesty's Interest and that of the Commerce according to the best of my understanding, and that I did not use the discretionary power reposed in me in any other manner than I conceived the important business required and my Judgement told me was necessary.

In this light I chearfully submit my conduct and representation into your hands.

(signed) JOHN DEASE.
D. A. T. A.

QUEBEC, May the 1st 1790.
[Q 48 part I page 174]

DEFENSE OF MR. JOSEPH AINSÉ.

Indorsed |

Defense of Mr Joseph Ainse, dated Quebec 1st May 1790.

Province of Quebec } To the Honorable Committee of Council

On the inquest of the complaints made by some merchant traders of Michilimackinac against the men employed in the Indian Department.

Defense of Mr Joseph Ainse.

The experience of more than twenty-six years in travel and trade among the different Indian nations to the extremities of this Province, having obtained for Mr Ainse the confidence of Government, as well as of these Na-

tions, (and the knowledge) of nine of their languages, besides English and French, he accepted, for zeal, the sole employment of Interpreter, of which he thought he would be able to acquit himself with honor. In this capacity and for a fixed salary, during approbation, his employment & life were at no time certain, he has faithfully interpreted what the Government or the nations wished to make heard. This is of what his essential duty as Interpreter consisted, not having any command nor administration from the Department which is under the inspection & orders of Sir John Johnson, Superintendent, & his deputies at Michilimackinac.

It is true that besides his employment as Interpreter he, by the direction of the Agents of the Department, received a certain number of bales of goods, in 1786, under the condition of employing them partly to provide for the considerable expense of transporting the rest, by giving them as presents to the Indians distant more than eight hundred leagues in the lands to the west of Michilimackinac, to conciliate the Indians who were in cruel war among themselves, to engage them to peace and trade and to bring the Chiefs of each village to Michilimackinac to make there a solemn treaty.

And after having successfully accomplished this complicated enterprise, and economising the expenses—which however had formerly cost a larger sum for inferior objects, for want of having employed the means to evade or diminish the expenses—it was required by a letter of M^{r} John Dease, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Michilimakinac, dated the 19th August 1787 to return into the same distant villages, because peace had been concluded on this condition, so much desired by the nations, and to employ the means which he would find necessary to keep them in peace & due attachment to Government.

He received for this second Journey another number of bales of goods, to dispose of so as to furnish food & the expenses of the voyage & to make the presents that he would find necessary, according to circumstances, in the Villages where he was sent.

M^{r} Ainse could only render account of his conduct according to the orders which he could show to have been given him as Interpreter and as a contractor for these voyages & for the employment of these goods simply according to the directions of Mess^{rs} Byrne in 1786 & John Dease in 1787, in their capacities as Superintendents at Michilimakinac where they were acting as deputies for the Superintendent General of this Department. He was incompetent to judge of their authority and could not be responsible for their conduct nor their superior orders which they had or had not.

Having received no orders as Interpreter which forbade him to make such voyages, on the conditions and objects for which they had been made; M^{r}

Ainse has, in good faith, filled these views, the directions, even opinions of the true Agents of the Department in effecting the peace and commerce which the complainants really enjoy, by an example of zeal and economy of the expenses which it would have infallibly incurred if he had not employed the means, which his experience had Justified, in favor of the Department.

As the complaints in question do not touch the essential duty of M^r^ Ainse in his capacity as Interpreter and that they tend, without naming nor distinguishing the accusers, only to show the abuses in general, past abuses which they qualify, themselves, as inevitable in the nature of things, to conclude, that instead of settling as formerly or such as the urgent case requires, *it is more advantageous,* say the complainants, *that no goods be sent to the Indians by Government;* it is evident that they are less suing to punish a crime or an infraction of some previous regulation, than soliciting a new rule for the future, which would exclude the Government from employing any means of economy by sending to a distance its goods for presents to the villages where it would be impossible to treat for peace or national affairs. This is a proposition which easily discloses the speculation of the complainants, and that M^r^ Ainse can not explain by their zeal for the interest of Government.

The complaints are contained in a letter dated Michilimakinac 10^th^ August 1787, signed by Mess^rs^ Etienne Campion, Charles Paterson & other merchant traders of the said post, addressed to Captain Thomas Scott Esq^r^ Commandant of the said place.

M^r^ Ainse proposed to follow the order of it, to answer to the contradictions contained in them, although he may not be named nor particularly accused in order to apply precise means of justification, which he flatters himself Your honors will transmit, with clearness & Justice, to His Excellency Lord Dorchester.

The first head of complaint is that the intention of Government has been absolutely frustrated &c—

M^r^ Ainse can only conceive that this complaint is against him because he has been justified by no order which he would have contravened as Interpreter, and that when the enterprises which he had made under the direction of the Superintendants of Michilimakinac had been accomplished, they openly testified their satisfaction with them.

The Complainants acknowledge that in 1785 many traders at Montreal, convinced of the damage which they were caused by the misunderstanding of many Indian nations, addressed a request to Sir John Johnson, Superintendant General of the Department, asking him to send to the country of the militant nations, the goods necessary to conclude a solid and durable

peace. Now it was a question of sending some presents to the nations & making peace.

In 1786 Captain Byrne then Commissioner of the Department had, without doubt, some instructions or some orders which intimated to him the intentions of Government. Whether he had them or not, he proposed to Mr. Ainse, not simply to interpret the languages, but to employ all the means possible to transport, to the distance of nearly eight or nine hundred leagues, into the different villages of the nations at war, thirteen bales of King's Goods, forming half a Canoe load, although the memorial of the traders had stated that it was necessary to send not less than six canoe loads to bring about the object in question.

But the difficulty was to avoid drawing on the Department for money, to meet the expenses of the voyageurs, food, travelling, transport of present, and taking the Indians from one place to another, as the real intention of Government, as Mr. Ainse was given to understand, was to economise—

The only means were to engage various Traders to take route with Mr. Ainse, carrying with them other goods which they bought from the General Society, the complainants, & which were delivered by Mr. Campion, their director.

Mr. Ainse took his goods & sold them to Messrs Cardin, Chevalier, Gignere & others who were leaving for their private trade, and he had the happiness of bringing, under these conditions the thirteen bales of King's Goods, which he distributed entirely, as presents to the different nations in their villages. And a proof of this is that it would have been impossible to go among the nations, to stop parties of as many as three hundred Warriors on their road, & bring them to treat for peace at Michilimackinac, if he had not distributed some presents which frequent & multiplied as they were would soon have absorbed the thirteen bales.

The considerable expenses he found avoidable by these means, & sustained by the Kindness of those Traders who willingly ran the dangerous risk of going to trade with the nations at war—

Consequently it had cost Government nothing in comparison with the extraordinary expenses which would have been incurred by any other means.

The letter dated the 16th August 1787 which Mr. Ainse, on his return from his first voyage, wrote to Sir John Johnson Superintendent General & that he sent to Monsr. Dease for him to forward, rendered account of all that he had necessarily done among each nation as well as the means & presents by which it had been brought about. He hoped from that time to have merited the approbation which had been shown to him by the Superiors of the Department.

Three days afterwards Mr. Ainse received the letter, from Mr. Dease, of the 19th August 1787, which required him to return among the same Nations to keep them to the peace, which they had concluded at Michilimackinac.

Considering that this was an approbation of his first voyage, Mr. Ainse received the value of two Canoe loads of King's goods under the condition of managing so that the Department would not have to draw upon Gov^{t} for the expenses of the voyage. He was to use these Goods partly to pay these expenses & the rest to make some presents to the Indians in their Villages. These Canoes were equipped under the eyes of Captain Scott Commandant & of Mr. Dease, & under those same Merchant Traders who actually complained of him.

Not having any objection to make, Mr. Ainse accepted the commission of this second voyage, under the express condition that he could employ a clerk, who would keep account of the Goods, of which one part would be destined to trade to meet the expenses of the voyage & the rest to give as presents to the Indians. Mr. O'Neil was chosen & engaged as clerk. Mr. Ainse entrusted a part of the goods, which were charged to their account, to different Traders, at a charge that would furnish him with what he would require & on their return to Michilimakinac enable him to meet the expenses of this second voyage.

Far from wishing to harm the trade of the Complainants, in partnership among themselves, Mr. Ainse was of opinion that Mr. Rocque one of the Traders who should have assisted to meet the expenses of it had entered into partnership with Mr. Campion Director of their large Society then in the River St. Peter for the part of the King's Goods destined to supply the means with which it would be necessary to meet the expenses of the voyage on their return to Michilimakinac.

Indeed they entered into partnership among themselves to share half their profits in bales of furs.

Mr. Rocque rendered the bales, at Michilimakinac on his return, which were openly sent to Mr. Dease Commissioner in favor of the Department who should have the product of them to meet the expenses of the voyage.

A few days afterwards Mr. Ainse arrived at Michilimakinac with the presents which the nations had given to him, and which he sent likewise to Mr. Dease.

As Mr. Ainse waited the returns due by Cardinal & Honoré, there arrived at Michilimakinac Mr. Campion director of the large Society of Complainants who procured the furs made by the said Cardinal & Honore, & to his great surprise was informed by the engagés of Mr. Campion that he had succeeded in preventing them from taking their returns Michilimakinac, in fine

that he had exchanged them for those goods with which Cardinal & Honore had exchanged their route & the fidelity which they owed to their enterprise towards Mr. Ainse, who trusted to their return to meet the expenses of the voyage. Did Mr. Campion, who had been in partnership with Mr. Rocque for a part of the same King's Goods destined to meet the expenses, owe him this trick? Is it not then with the worst grace imaginable that the same Mr. Campion who on the one side pretended to aid in economising the expenses of a laborious enterprise for the general good, and on the other side knew of means for appropriating the principal expenses; nevertheless he placed himself at the head of the Complainants to have some abuses corrected, saying that his commerce & that of the traders suffered through the Gov^{t} sending some goods to the distant Nations.

Although Mr. Ainse had thus failed to render the account to Mr. Dease, still his clerk could prove to have held them & it is with unequalled satisfaction that they acknowledged that in spite of unexpected losses he had not cost Government any sum of money for having transported & really given the half of two canoe loads of King's Goods as presents to the Nations in their Villages after having taken them & defrayed the expenses on their return to Michilimakinac. On this first complaint it is just to conclude that the intentions of Government has not been frustrated, although Mr. Campion had undertaken to frustrate them, since the Department had not been charged anything by Mr. Ainse for the expenses of transport, food & other necessities.

The second complaint is that the Goods destined for presents had been traded against the interests of the Complainants.

They have acknowledged that it was certainly necessary to send some goods to the nations to bring about peace for the good of commerce in general.

These objects have been undoubtedly obtained without a penny spent by Government. The Agents of the Department had not destined the number of bales of the second trip all as presents for the Indians in their villages but only about half & the rest were to meet the expenses in these distant Countries so that the presents made in return by the Indians could remain to the interest of Government.

And if a part of these goods have been traded for the food or expenses of the voyage the Complainants have suffered no real damage, since in bringing about the peace they have gained the free trade which these Goods have procured for them.

The only loss which they can plainly show reduces itself to the fact that Mr. Ainse preferred the interest of Government to that of the Complainants; he has by his knowledge & talents prevented the Government from having to pay

one penny of the expenses of these voyages, which would have been very considerable, no one had been injured by buying from the Complainants or their General Society at an arbitrary price which they willingly fixed on the Goods which they themselves had taken to the posts nearest the villages, if the Government had not sent them or if it had not sent more as they held by their complaint.

Mr. Ainse's crime is then in having co-operated to render the Department independent of the speculations of the Complainants at the risk of making them his accusers & by defying them to do by themselves, what he had done cheaper for the general good & especially for the good of the service to which he is attached.

He has wasted his health, undergone a serious illness on the voyage & used a part of his goods to feed the chiefs of the nations which he had brought & taken back; and he would flatter himself that after having saved the expenses, entered the presents, made by the Indians, into the Kings' Store. Sir John Johnson Superintendant General came, in person, into the Council of about six hundred Indians at Michilimackinac, as he had promised him,to conclude the peace, correct the accounts of these voyages & indemnify or recompense his deputies for what they had done for the good & real advantage as he had desired it.

The third complaint tends to insinuate that the Indians were very discontented when they returned to their villages.

This allegation is incompatible with that which is stated a few lines below. There they acknowledged that the peace was concluded & that it is useless to send any goods to the Indians & a moment afterwards they suppose that the Indians were discontented.

The allegation and the pretended discontent are both dated the same day the 10th of August 1787 at Michilimackinac, at the time when the peace had been concluded & Mr. Ainse left to begin his second voyage as he had been desired in an open Council, held to the knowledge of the Complainants.

The treaty of peace in writing destroys the idea of this pretended discontent. In 1785 the nation of the Courtes Oreilles (short ears) sent four messengers from Michilimackinac to Sir John Johnson at Montreal with a belt of wampum received from Lord Dorchester to ask that Mr. Ainse might return among them; this was granted them & he went there in 1786.

Hardly had he returned among the Scioux than in 1787 the Courtes Oreilles & the Sauteux made the same request of Mr. Dease by a belt received from General Haldimand.

At the same time all the nations of Lake Superior and the Country to the West asked in Council & when treating for peace that Mr Ainse would

return among the Scioux and Sauteux, near the mouth of the Mississippi, to keep the nations, which he had pacified in the heat of their war, to the punctual execution of the peace which he had procured for them.

In 1788 the Courtes Oreilles & the Sauteux made the same demand, in the presence of all the Officers of the Garrison, by a belt of wampum from General Haldimand.

Finally in 1789 having received no answer they gave another belt to Lord Dorchester, asking Captain Dease & Parr in open Council, to write to Lord Dorchester & Sir John Johnson in this respect; this they promised them & they openly declared that it was the last belt they would give as they had waited three years for an answer.

Such are the proofs of the discontent of the Nations, which Mr. Ainse offers to call in testimony, if necessary, & if the peace which he has caused to be concluded is not the complete proof desired against this allegation.

The fourth complaint is on the deprivation, which the Complainants have suffered of the liberty of talking publickly & in general to the Indians.

In the beginning of December 1786 Mr. Paterson was at theRiver St Peter holding a Council with a band of about forty Scicitons, one of which he made a Chief by giving him a coat & a flag & making a man named Fresniere interpret for him. Thereupon the two great Chiefs of the Scicitons & Tinctons conceived a great Jealousy, & stopped on their way to Michilimackinac to strike the Sauteux of which they killed some.

Mr. Ainse cannot dispense with reproaching Mr. Paterson & of making mention of it in his letter of the 16th August 1787, which contains in brief the Journal of his first voyage, of which he rendered account to Sir John Johnson, Superintendant General.

In the Spring of 1787 at Prairie du Chien Mr. Paterson held another Council with the Scioux, in a house, telling them there some things above their comprehension & their policy, raising the Commerce too high to the prejudice of the respect due to the Department. In short, that he was going to have two forts built, of which one was already built on the River St. Peter to the South West of the Mississippi although its North East bank will be a boundary of Canada.

These works are of the greatest importance to Government. Mr. Paterson has never been justified in holding such councils, the ordinary permits granted to Traders forbids them, because it is of consequence that the Indians know these things from the most experienced and prudent officers of Government.

The request of the Complainants of the 14th August 1787 to His Excellency Lord Dorchester acknowledges that the inquest was made at the request of Mr Dease who considered himself interested in the complaints, but

that the Complainants had however consented to submit themselves to the opinion of the persons chosen to make it.

This confession proves that Mr. Dease made no mystery of his having, in power of a letter from Sir John Johnson of the 1st Oct. 1786, sent some presents to the distant nations & using such measures as he found necessary to bring about peace, he had made arrangements with Mr. Ainse to disribute a part of the King's Goods to different traders to pay the expenses of the voyage. And as Mr. Ainse did it openly & to the knowledge of the Commandants in 1786 & 1786 as well as of the complainants under the direction of Messrs. Byrne & Dease, Deputies of the Superintendant General, all the evidence contained in the proceedings commenced at Michilimakinac the 24th June 1788, after the voyages were made and the peace obtained, are indifferent to Mr. Ainse's cause, because he has never denied having distributed the goods & having employed them to meet the expenses of the voyage for the discharge of Government. He himself traded no goods with the Indians, but went to their villages, told them the paroles of Government & made them such presents as he could from the small amount of Goods which had been sent to manage these things with—

In short Mr. Dease had power from Sir John Johnson by his letter of the 1st October, 1786, to do for the best, the words, so far as Mr. Ainse can recall them were in English—

"You will take such steps as you may find necessary."

Mr. Dease had given the contract to Mr. Ainse with strong powers; he had given all his accounts to Mr. Dease, in person, who could not help approving very much of the disinterested conduct of Mr. Ainse & that alone is a certain means for his Justification.

If nevertheless the Government find it necessary to enter into an examination of the particulars of the contract Mr. Ainse would in this case be disposed to make a large number of persons heard as witnesses, whose experience in like voyages would add very very much to the merit which he has made towards Government—

By these deeds and the good report which Your Honors have made to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, Mr. Ainse flatters himself he has discharged & promptly rendered the service which called him to Michilimakinac—

Quebec 1st May 1790

(signed)

AINNSE

[Q 48 p II page 403]

77

Observations by the Attorney and Solicitor General on the papers and proceedings of a Court of Inquiry held at Michilimakinac the 24th of June 1788 respecting abuses committed by persons employed in the Indian Department, and particularly the conduct of Messrs. Dease and Ainsse submitted by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord Dorchester, Governor to a Committee of the Hon'ble Members of the Council of Quebec the 24th of December 1789.—[1790.]*

N. B. Observe in the references to Witnesses that O'Neille and Rocque &c are examined each more than once and on different days.
As per the minutes also Messrs. Dease and Ainse.

After the most attentive perusal of the Complaints of the Traders of Michilimakinac of the 10th of August 1787 and the proeedings and proofs adduced in support of them before the Court of Inquiry, with the Defence made by Messrs Dease and Ainse on that occasion, and their several defences given into this board the 1st instant all which contain a voluminous mass of writing that might have well justified our taking a longer time to digest it properly, especially under the pressure of other business, yet seeing the delay occasioned since the order of reference by the sitting of the Legislative Council and other interruptions, we have endeavored since the last adjournment, to draw from the whole such conclusions as we apprehend the papers, proofs and proceedings will fully warrant.

But previously we must observe that the imputation thrown upon the board of Inquiry and its very respectable president of partiality and injustice in refusing to hear exculpatory proof and other matters alledged against them (*a*) is so far from being supported by any kind of evidence, that it rests upon the allegation of Mr. Dease himself, and in some material instances is contradicted by the Minutes of the Court, particularly in that where he complains of having with difficulty obtained a few hours to make his observations upon the evidence that had been received against him

(*a*) Vide Mr. Dease's Defence dated 1st May 1790.

*The date 1789 is undoubtedly an error in copying, but as it could not be verified absolutely except by writing to London, Eng., and as the reply had not arrived at the time it was necessary to go to press it seemed best to call attention to the apparent discrepancy in this way. [Editor.]

during nine or ten days, whereas it appears upon the face of the Minutes page 90 at the close of the proceedings of the 3d of July, that the Court at Messrs Dease & Ainse's request notified them that they would be ready to hear what they had to offer, on the Saturday following, and it was not till the 8th of the same month, 5 days after, that Mr. Dease's defence in writing was presented. The Complaint of the Courts refusal to hear exculpatory evidence, also seems contradicted, for it appears by the minutes, not only that Messrs Dease & Ainse were present during the Enquiry but Cross Examined the Witnesses, and at a sitting on the 7th of July several Witnesses were adduced by Mr. Ainse and examined, and one in like manner by Mr. Dease upon the 8th of July to substantiate a part of his defence; the conclusion therefore is totally against this assertion, because if three or four Witnesses were examined, as many more might have been as they chose; nothing appears to show either a request to hear Witnesses farther, or any offer of the kind, nor is there a word in Mr. Dease's written Defence inserted in the minutes, that indicates the absence of any necessary witness or the wish or desire to bring forward proof, on the contrary the very nature of the defence sett up both now and formerly for these Gentlemen, excludes the idea altogether of any foundation for such heavy charges against the board of Inquiry.

The Complainants and the Witnesses are next arraigned and their respectability questioned (*b*) but it is to be observed of the former, that they are at the head of the General Society at Michilimakinac and carry on the business there, and therefore being best acquainted with the nature of the abuses complained of were the fittest to bring forward and support an Investigation of this kind. The Gentlemen concerned in Trade residing at Montreal and subscribing the petition to Sir John Johnson to procure a peace among the Indians, are no doubt extremely respectable, but nothing proves the necessity or possibility of their subscribing to a Letter wrote and delivered on the 10th of August 1787 to Capt. Scott at Michilimakinac, or the petition to His Excellency Lord Dorchester of the 14th of the same month, nor has anything appeared to shew that the Complaints made

(*b*) Mr. Dease's Defence 1st May 1790.

as affecting the Indian Trade and the Interest of the Crown has been discountenanced or disapproved by them, but it is neither the character nor the consequence of the Complainants that is material in this enquiry; the truth or falsity of the facts alledged is the sole object, and an object well deserving attention.

The witnesses appear to be, as well as the persons employed by Messrs Dease & Ainse in the Indian Department as Interpreters, Clerks and Servants, as those of the General Society, and in fact they seem both the proper witnesses upon such a business from the share many of them had in it, and their acquaintance with and residence in the Country, where the scene of action lays; nothing appears to impeach their credibility and as far as we can judge, in general they do not appear to have had any disinclination towards these Gentlemen nor to have gone beyond what they themselves have avowed.

The first charge in the Complaint is a general one, that the Goods destined for presents to Indians have been traded with, and that the King's Store established for the protection of Trade has become a trading store in opposition to the Complainants. They state that they suffered loss by the trade carried on with the Goods sent the preceding year into the Indian Country, tho' in a much smaller quantity than that projected for that year and that the Interpreters Clerks & Servants already engaged & paid in Kings Goods for the purpose of trading in the Indian Country, made them view it as a trade already established. (*c*)

(c) Vide letter to Capt Scott 10th August 1787

That the King's Goods have been traded with to a very considerable extent and that Clerks, Interpreters & Servants have been employed and paid in such goods admits of no doubt whatever, from the ample testimony adduced on the subject by a variety of credible witnesses, (*d*) and by the avowal of Messrs Dease & Ainse themselves. Peltries to the value of £500 Halifax currency were sold in Summer 1787 by Mr Ainse to Mr Todd and paid for in his Drafts on Montreal; these were the proceeds of Mr Ainse's Journey to the Indian Country in winter 1786 out of a small equipment of Goods sent as presents to invite the In-

(d) Vide Evidence of Oneille Read Dixon Rocque Rainville Chevalier Gignere

dians from the most distant nations to the peace of Michilimakinac in 1787.(*e*)

(*e*) Vide Evidence of Andrew Todd Mr Ainse's declaration or examination

The Interpreter and others were paid for their Services in goods from the King's Store, and part in Money.(*f*)

(*f*) Vide Evidence of Gignere Rocque Rainville Pleinandon.

In August 1787 equipments to private individuals are made from the King's Store by Mr Ainse with the knowledge of Mr Dease to the extent of £32, 208 livres 10 Sous and regular Invoices of them handed to the board, sworn to and ac knowledged. Upwards of fifty (50) bales of the King's Goods are carried into the Indian Country in these equipments and with Mr. Ainse himself & others employed by him, & Clerks, Interpreters and Servants are hired, & their Wages paid to them chiefly in King's Goods; the goods in these Equipments are sold at a fixed price and notes of hand payable to Mr Ainse taken for them, one excepted for 7 or 8000 livres to Mr Dixon the clerk of Mr. Dease, by Mr Ainse's order, while the maker owed not a shilling to Mr Dixon (*g*) Mr Ainse appears also to have kept a regular store for himself and to have commissioned or bought goods and equipped or fitted out traders for the Indian Country, at this store the King's fusils were sold. Goods were sold in the Indian Country by Mr Ainse even upon his return in Spring 1788 so sur-abundant had the outfits been or so few the presents given by him.(*h*)

(*g*) Vide Evidence of ONeille Dixon Rocque Rainville Wm Ainse's examination Mr Deases Do

(*h*) Vide Evidence of ONeille & Mr Ainse's examination

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to hear of Complaints from the persons concerned in the Indian Trade, for here was a formidable rival armed with the property and the influence of the Crown among the nations; and accordingly we see Mr. Ainse not only exciting the Indians to drive off his opponents but making use of his influence to procure their trade for his particular friends & traders, and even going as far as to assert in himself a particular right of exclusive trade with a party of Indians, abusing them for dealing with anyone else. Such conduct must have and did produce bad effects, Mr. Campion's situation insulted and threatened with death by intoxicated Indians, intoxicated by liquor given them by Mr. Ainse & full of his authority to have goods on credit or to send him, Campion, down the River, must have been very disagreeable & alarming they fired into his tent in his fire & even be-

tween his legs; sung their death song and laid hands on his baggage; he was obliged to appease them with Rum. Mr. Ainse denies to Mr. Campion what he told the Indians, the Indians assert the truth and refer to Mr. Rocque who was present, the fact is proved upon the enquiry & Mr. Ainse himself then admits it, but did not mean they should do him harm (*i*). He ought to have known what was to have been expected from Indians on such an occasion & how differently he should have talked to them. But it appears from Mr. O Neils testimony that he boasted of his intention to settle (arrange) the General Society that year 1787, no wonder then they had cause to be afraid as stated in their letter of Complaint.

(*i*) Vide Evidence of Gignere La Point Campion Aird Rocque Oneil & Mr. Ainse himself & his witness Mr. La Gotterie

The second charge in the complaint announces a fatal experience which convinced the Complainants that the distribution of the Indian presents had not been made agreeable to intentions of Government and therefore became a subject of discontent among the Indians.

The Interpreters received their presents in their Country, engaged them to come to Michilimakinac by flattering promises and after a long and painful Journey they saw their hopes frustrated and were treated in such a manner that they returned very dissatisfied. (*k*)

(*k*) Vide Letter to Capt. Scott 10th Augst. 1787.

On this head we have to remark that a system of trade and giving presents in a due distribution seems inconsistent. When a latitude to trade is given or usurped by the Servants of Government with the goods intended for presents, it will follow that the trade will increase and the presents decrease and as it appears that so great a proportion of the goods sent to the Indian Country both in 86 and in 1787 have been traded, it follows that the Indians giving & expecting presents, especially after a long journey and upon an important occasion, may have been disappointed. Several witnesses speak of the dissatisfaction among the the Indians on this account (*l*) It appears however from the minutes of the Council in 1787 produced by Mr. Dease that they were satisfied with the restoration of peace, and the trouble that had been taken to procure it, but one of the Witnesses (*m*) observes that the Indians were too political to tell him who was employed for the Indian depart-

(*l*) Vide evidence of Mr. Aird, Frenier, Cadot, Cazelet, Alma. Oneil & Rocque

(*m*) Cadot

ment, their dissatisfaction. Mr. Ainse received presents in the Indian Country in 1786, what he gave does not seem clearly accounted for, nor does it appear what presents he gave or received in 1787 in the Indian Country, the extent of those delivered at Michilimakinac at the Great Council in July of that year ought to have been in a due proportion to the presents received from them the preceeding year, if not then fully requited, to the distance of their Journey and the importance of the business they came upon, but the transactions in the Indian Country in 1786 might not be fully known to Mr. Dease nor to the Commandant of the post.

The third charge complains of the Traders being deprived of the privilege accustomed to be allowed to them of speaking in Council to the Indians on the subject of their trade, and that Goods were lent to be traded at a low price out of the King's stores, which they could not conform themselves to without considerable loss (*n*)

(*n*) Vide letter to Capt Scott 10th August, 17

In some of the Councils held by Mr. Ainse in the Indian Country it appears in proof that the Traders of the Society were not called, and indeed the recommendations there given by Mr. Ainse to trade with his friends seems to speak the reason.

It also appears in proof that Mr. Dease refused to allow them to speak to the Indians at Michilimakinac in Council, but his reason or the propriety of the measure we cannot judge of (*o*). That Goods were both lent and exchanged is both proved and avowed—Captain La Motte had a loan, Meldrum, Mitchel, Winter and Todd had exchanges from Mr. Dease out of the King's Store, John Kirby had an 8 gallon keg of Rum & a like of Shrub, which Mr. Dease stated to be his own, and one La Marche had from him 15 yards of cloth (*p*), but in his situation, in our idea, it was incumbent upon him to have proved both the rum, shrub & cloth to have been his property— As to the price of the goods sold or exchanged, we are no judges, nor is there anything in the evidence that can enable us to say, whether they were over or under-rated—We can only observe that Mr. Ainse told one of the Witnesses he would fit him out on better terms than any Merchant would do (*q*).

(*o*) Vide evidence of Rocque, Campion, Ovid, La pointe, Blakely & Rainville

(*p*) Vide evidence of Dixon, Reed, Mitchell Meldrum Kirby & La Marche

(*q* Rocque

To these three charges Messrs Dease and Ainse have taken separate grounds of defence and the former relies on the candor of the Committee to make the proper discrimination between him and his inferior officer for whose conduct he says he is not responsible.

The latter says he acted by authority of the former, fully acquainted him of all he did for the service before his departure in August 1787 and accounted to him upon his return for his gestion and the proceeds with which he was satisfied, (*r*) this is not contradicted by Mr. Dease. The returns of 1786 sold by Mr. Ainse to Mr. Todd for £500 in summer 1787 were not made known to Mr. Dease, but the outfits of 1787 were made with his knowledge; indeed he could not consistently with his duty be ignorant of them, these with the loan to La Motte and the several exchanges, the payment of clerks, Interpreters and Servants were all made in July & August of that year after the arrival of Capt. Scott the Commandant of the Post.(*s*) Yet not a syllable is disclosed to him of all this extraordinary business(*t*).

(*r*) Vide both defences dated 1st, May, 1790 & Mr. Ainse's examination in the minutes.

(*s*) Vide evidence of Dixon Reed Rocque O'Neil

(*t*) Vide Mr. Dease's examination & defence at the Court of enquiry and also that of 1st May 1790.

To excuse himself Mr. Dease has recourse

1st. To the Superintendant General's letter to him of the 1st October 1786—

2nd. To a partial extract of an official letter from Mr. Langon the Secretary to the Indian Department & 3rdly. To this very extraordinary plea—that he had no instruction to the contrary (*u*)

(*u*) Do. Do.

The Superintendant's letter desires Mr. Dease to repair with all speed to Michilimakinac from Niagara in Spring 1787 to take upon him the management of the Indian Department at that post, and in case he, the Superintendant Gener l should fail in his intention of meeting the Indians appointed there, he instructs Mr. Dease to take measures for concluding the wished for peace, which was the object of the meeting. Nothing in this letter appears to us to warrant what followed. It is true there seemed to be some ground for sending Mr. Ainse again into the Indian Country upon a promise to or request made by the Indians at the Council in July 1787 according to the minutes produced by Mr. Dease. But it is not the sending him there that is so

blamable tho' contrary to the opinion of Capt. Scott who was a member of that Council where the request or promise was made; but the abuse of the King's Goods made in trade upon that occasion and the payment of a variety of persons in goods out of the King's store, who were employed without authority.

The authority of this letter is greatly labor'd but it will not admit of such a latitude of Interpretation; else the whole order and system of the Indian department would be set aside, which never could be the meaning of the Superintendent General. As little will the extract from Mr. Langan's letter cover these strange transactions. The extract is partial and the whole ought to have been produced, Mr. Langan surely does not leave out the concluding words of his sentences as the extract exhibits. but even in that mutilated extract, the presents mentioned to not apply to the goods sent as presents to the Indians (to the Indians) but evidently to those received from them, nor was this letter a sufficient warrant for the deputy-agent supersede the positive orders of the Commander in Chief.

But all this is short of the plea, that Mr. Dease had no instructions to the contrary of what he did. He is asked by the Court whether he received from Capt. Scott, the Commandant Lord Dorchester's instructions or orders relative to the Indian Department dated 4th of April 1787 a short time after his arrival, to which he answers "that he could not remember." Capt. Scott is called upon by the Court and swears to his having deliver'd to Mr. Dease a copy of these Instructions within a week after his arrival at the post, which was on the 15th of June; these instructions we have requested a copy of from the Commander in Chief and herewith produce them to the board. They will be found to correspond in many particulars to those delivered the 27th of March preceeding to the Superintendant General, on which they are founded, and as there is an article in these last vizt. No. 9, in the following words vizt. "You are to give the agents or deputies such orders or directions as may be necessary for the proper discharges of their Duty and the fulfilling the object of these instructions." It would be an imputation upon the Superintendant general

to suppose that such parts of these instructions as were necessary were not forwarded to the Deputy-Agent at Michilimackinac the same spring they were received, and as early as those of the Commander in Chief through General Hope to Capt. Scott.

A review of these General Instructions, particularly the 8th 11th 12th 13th 17th 19th and 21st articles will show the importance of this negation upon the several points proved in course of the inquiry, and it may be proper in a military point of view to trace it up and see where the blame lays, but it is still of higher importance to know how, when, and to whom these proceedings sales of goods and expenditures in the Indian Department have been accounted for. (*v*) Mr. Dease pleads his long services in the Department, where were his instructions as a deputy at Niagara? Was there nothing in them that prohibited sales, exchanges, loans, payment of Clerks & Servants out of the King's Stores Without prohibition these measures are unjustifiable unless specially and particularly authorized.

[*v*] Vide Reed's evidence & beginning Rocque also Dixons.

It is not the least remarkable trait in this enquiry that tho' Capt. Scott the Command[t] wrote in Sep[t] 1787 to Mr. Dease for an account of the Goods sent to the Indian Country with Mr. Ainse, he sent him only a partial account not including the outfits or Equipments, all of which he had knowledge of and even a state delivered to him in writing two days previous to Mr. Ainse's departure in August and altho' the Goods were delivered out by his own order from the King's Stores (*x*). Yet for bringing forward this letter and proving the instructions delivered to Mr. Dease, Capt. Scott is called partial and prejudiced, accuser, Judge and Witness, very ill-judged reflections (*y*). As to the choice of members to sit upon the Court Martial, it is supposed there were not many more Officers in the Garrison, the establishment being usually as we are informed one Company at that post. Mr. Houghton would have been thought a more partial member than either of the three other officers, his accusation may appear to be stronger against Mr. Dease than his testimony or the support of his Witnesses, but still, from what passed on his Survey of the Indians store regarding the Corn in bags claimed by Mr.

(*x*) Vide Mr. Dease's defence and examination at the Court of Inquiry Mr. Dixon's evidence, Mr. Ainse's examination.

(*y*) Vide Mr. Dease's defence dated 1st May 1790.

Dease and the rum offered to the Indians so much reduced with water as to induce the officers to refuse a Certificate for that present, with the circumstance of sixteen gallons of spirits lent to one man and 15 yards of cloth to another no way accounted for, his suspicions were not altogether without some foundation.

An imputation is thrown upon the Court of Inquiry for exceeding the period fixed in the Complaints of the Merchants and extending the investigation to objects which happened subsequent to the 10th of August 1787 (z). To this we have to observe that the enquiry was directed to those complaints generally, and particularly to the conduct of Messrs Dease and Ainse since the former came to the post. The order is dated November 1787 and the Court sat in June 1788 the Complainants predicted fears for the future injury they were likely to sustain by the measures they saw carrying on in August 1787, these were so many strong warnings to Mr. Dease, for he was apprised of them, and ought in consequence to have been the more circumspect. It was not at all out of the sphere of inquiry to take proof of the reality of the complaints so predicted upon a subsequent enquiry, nor ought they to have been omitted on such an occasion to be brought forward for the good of the service and the interests of Trade (1) Mr. Dease's conduct should stand the test of every enquiry come when it will.

(z) Mr Dease's defence 1st May 1790.

(1) Vide Capt. Scotts instructions.

Farther remarks we apprehend are unnecessary, the Honble Committee will judge whether Mr. Dease as he alledges, has been treated with a degree of cruelty and injustice unknown and unparallelled—deprived of rights and priviledges that as an officer of Government and an Englishman he was entitled to, criminated by and before interested and partial persons, denied the priviledge of producing any evidence to exculpate him, and with difficulty allowed a few hours only to offer his observations on evidence received against him during nine or ten days. (2)

(2) Vide Mr. Dease's defence 1st May 1790

We would willingly make a discrimination in this business, but it seems impossible, there is such a necessary connection between the two that they cannot be separated, Mr. Dease being the superior is the more immediately accountable and responsible, but Mr. Ainse has shown nothing to

excuse himself, nor have either discharged themselves in our opinion, of the very heavy charges which lay against them—

Quebec 25th May 1789

(signed)

ALEXR GRAY Atty. Gen.
J. WILLIAMS Solr Gen.

[Q 48 II p 440]

PROCLAMATION.

Num. 1198. Supplement to the Quebec Gazette.

(signed) DORCHESTER, G;

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, Greeting: Whereas our Province of Quebec stands at present divided only into two Districts, and by virtue of two certain Acts or Ordinances, the one passed by our Governor and the Legislative Council, in the twenty-seventh year of Our Reign, and the other in the present year, provision is made for forming and organizing one, or more new Districts; Now wherefore Know ye, That Our Governor of Our Said Province, by the advice and consent of Our Council of our said Province and in pursuance of the Acts and Ordinances aforesaid, hath formed, and doth hereby form, the several new Districts herein after described and named, to wit, the District of Luneburg, bounded on the East by the Eastern limit of a tract lately called or known by the name of *Lancaster*, protracted Northerly and Southerly as far as Our said Province extends, and bounded Westerly by a North and South line intersecting the mouth of the river *Gananoque*, now called the *Thames*, above the rifts of the Saint Lawrence, and extending Southerly and Northerly to the limits of our Own said Province, therein comprehending the several towns or tracts called or known by the names *of Lancaster, Charlottenburg, Cornwall, Osnabruck Williamsburg, Matilda, Edwardsburg, Augusta* and *Elizabeth Town:* And also one other District to be called the District of *Mecklenburg*, extending within the North and South bounds of Our said Province, from the Western limits of the said District of *Lunenburg*, as far Westerly as to a North and South line intersecting the mouth of a river now called the *Trent* discharging itself from the West into the head of the Bay of *Quinty*, and therein comprehending the several towns or tracts called or known by the names of *Pittsburg, Kingstown, Ernest-Town, Fredericksburg, Adolphus Town, Marysburg,*

Sophiasburg, Ameliasburg, Sydney, Thurlow, Richmond and *Camden;* and also one other District to be called the district of *Nassau,* extending within the North and South bounds of Our said Province, from the Western limit of the last mentioned District, as far Westerly as to a North and South line, intersecting the extreme projection of Long point into the *Lake Erie,* on the Northerly side of the said *Lake Erie* and also one other District to be called the District of *Hesse,* which is to comprehend all the residue of Our said Province, in the Western or inland parts thereof, of the entire breadth thereof, from the Southerly to the Northerly boundaries of the same; and also one other District to be called the District of *Gaspé,* and to comprehend all the part of Our said Province on the Southerly side of the river *Saint Lawrence,* to the Eastward of a North and South line intersecting the North-easterly side of *Cape Cat.* Which is on the Southerly side of the said river, of which all Our loving Subjects are to take due notice and govern themselves accordingly. In Testimony whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Our said Province to be hereunto affixed.

Witness Our Trusty and Well-beloved Guy Lord Dorchester, Captain-general and Governor in Chief of Our said Province, at Our Castle of *Saint Lewis,* in Our City of Quebec, the twenty-fourth day of *July* in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and of Our Reign the Twenty-eighth.

(signed) D.
(signed) Geo: Pownall Secr'

[Q 39 p 122]

APPOINTMENTS.

Quebec, 24th July 1788.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to make the following appointments:

District of Hesse.

Justices of the Court of Common pleas.

Duperon Baby
Alexander McKee,
and
William Robertson.

Esquires.

Justices of the Peace.	Alexander Grant, Guillaume La Motte, St. Martin Adhemar, William McComb, Joncaire de Chabert, Alexander Maisonville, William Caldwell, and Mathew Elliot,	Esquires.
Sheriff,	Gregor McGregor Esq^{r}	
Clerk of the Court of Common pleas and Clerk of the Peace, and Sessions of the Peace.	Thomas Smith Esq^{r}	
Coroner,	George Meldrum, Esq^{r}	

District of Gaspé.

Justices of the Court of Common pleas,	Felix O'Hara, Charles Robin, and Isaac Mann, Jun^{r}	Esquires.
Justices of the Peace,	Hugh O'Hara, Daniel McPherson, Theophilus Fox, Franc Belcour De la Fontaine, Joseph Arbour, Charles Robin, William Vonden Velden, Josiah Cass, John Arsenaux, Pierre Morin, Pierre Loubert, Charles Landry, Thomas Poisette, Henry Rimphoff, Samuel Lee, Mathew Stuart, and Robert Adams.	Esquires.
Sheriff,	Thomas Mann, Esq^{r}	

Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and Clerk of the Peace, and Sessions of the Peace,	William Vonden Velden, Esq^{r}
Coroner,	John Jefferies Esq^{r}

NOTE: That the Members of His Majesty's Council are in each of the Commissions as His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and are of the quorum in each District.

Quebec: Printed by W^{m} Brown in Mountain Street.
Á Quebec: Chez G. Brown; au milieu de la Grande Côté.
[Q. 39 p 134.]

Schedule of Causes before His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas for the District of Montreal wherein the Parties Plaintiff or Defendant reside within the new Districts.

Names of the Parties.	Place of abode.	Attornies.	Ground of action.	Time of Issuing.	Time of Returning.	Sum.	Remarks.
Caldwell and Elliot vs. McKillip & Jacobs	Detroit / do.	Walker /	Account	1787. Augt. 17th.	1788. Jany. 2.	£534.15.3.	Execution fi-fa issued upon Judgement obtained but no return as yet made thereon by the Sheriff.
William Taylor vs Antoine Lassalle	Montreal / Detroit	Powell / Walker.	Account.	24	Jan 2	4657.13.0½	The Papers &c ordered to be remitted to the Parties the Court conceiving itself incompetent to take cognizance of the causes since the formation of the New Districts in one of which the Defendts reside.
William Taylor vs George Lyons	Montreal / Detroit	Powell / Walker.	Account	25	Jan 2	6217.8.7	
Robert Cruickshank vs John Martin	Montreal / Detroit	Powell /	note of hand.	Sepr. 29th.	July 1st	323.4.2½	Execution fi-fa issued upon Judgement obtained and a return of nulla bona made thereon by the Sheriff of this District.
John Askin vs Guillaume La Mothe	Detroit / do.	Walker / Foucher	Account	Octr. 4th.	July 1	221.15.4	The Papers &c ordered to be returned to the Parties on account of the Defendts place of residence being out of this District.
Charles Blake vs James Connor	Montreal / Carleton Island	Davidson / Walker	Account	Octr. 22nd.	Jany 2	44.6.8	Execution fi-fa issued upon Judgement obtained and a return thereon made by the Sheriff of this District that the Defendant has no goods & chattels &c therein.
Charles Blake Atty vs James Connor	Montreal / Carleton Isl	Davidson / Walker	Protested Bill of Exchange	Octr 23.	Jan. 2	83.6.5	Excun. fi-fa issued upon Judgement obtained and a return of nulla bona made thereon by the Sheriff of this District,

Names of the Parties.	Place of abode.	Attornies.	Ground of action.	Time of Issuing.	Time of Returning.	Sum.	Remarks.
Benjamin Hardison vs James Abbot	Fort Schlosser / Detroit	Walker / Davidson	Account	1787. Octr. 26	1788. Mar 10	29.14.1	The cause at issue.
Gregory & McLeod vs William St Clair & Co	Montreal / Detroit	Walker / Powell	Account	Nov. 2	July 1	654.14 8	Ex fi-fa issued upon Judgement obtained, but no return made as yet thereon.
Richd W. Wilkinson vs. Philip Chrysler	New Settlements	Powell / Davidson	Account	1788 Feb 14.	Mar 10th	29.17.—	Award filed in consequence of a rule of submission and the Papers ordered to be remitted on account of the Deft residing out of this District.
Terence Smyth vs George Lyons	Montreal / Detroit	Powell / Walker	Account	Ap. 29	Sept 12th	272.5.	Writ & Declaration filed the 12th Sept. no decision as yet given by the court.
Charles McCormick vs Alex. McKee	Montreal / Detroit	Davidson /	Account	May 13th	Sept 12th	1402.12.6	Writ and Declⁿ filed the 12th Sept. inst no decision as yet given.
Isaac Dalson vs Major Mathews	Detroit / Montreal	Powell / Davidson	Trespass &c	July 1st	Sept 12	2000. — — —	The Defendants in these two Causes have filed a plea to the Jurisdiction to which the Plaintiff has replied, but no opinion given by the Court.
Isaac Dalson vs. Capt Wiseman	Detroit / Quebec	Powell / Davidson	Trespass &c	July 1st	Sept. 12	2000. 0-0	

Signed

J. Reid Clk C. P.

District of Montreal

22nd Sept

1788

(Q 41) part 1 page 6.

REPORT.

The Twentieth Report of the Land Committee } Read the Twentieth Report of the Commitee in the words following, viz—

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Lord Dorchester Governor General of His Majesty's Provinces in North America &c &c &c.

The Committee appointed by your Excellency to examine petitions for the Waste Lands of the Crown, now lying on the Council Table,

Humbly Report

"The Petition of Captain Caldwell late of Lieut. Colonel Butler's Rangers praying for a grant of lands to his Sons William and James, of a certain marsh at Detroit"—

"The Committee on the information of Major Mathews humbly set forth that the marsh pray'd for, is situated at the entrance to the River of Detroit, on the North side of Lake Erie, it is about two miles in front, by six in depth, and is only fit for Grazing Cattle.—It lies between a small grant made by Indians to some officers of the Indian Department, who served in the War in that Country, and a later grant from the same, of six leagues which Captain Caldwell procured at considerable expence to himself and which he gave up to Government for the purpose of extending the settlement occupied by Disbanded Rangers and meritorious Loyalists—If it is your Excellencys pleasure to grant the land pray'd for, the Committee conceive that the improvement of the marsh would be of public benefit.—When Major Mathews laid out the Settlement for Rangers & Loyalists the marsh was left out, unfit for Improvement."—

By order of the Committee

(signed)

"Hugh Finlay

in the Chair"

Council Chamber
Bishop's Palace
Quebec 13th Octr 1788

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the Minutes of Council, concerning the waste lands of the Crown from the 24th of July 1788, to the 22nd of October following.

Council Office, Quebec, 29th October 1788.

Ed. Geo. Pownall, J. Williams C. C.

Endorsed:—*Quebec* Minutes of a Council concerning the waste lands of the Crown from the 24th of July to the 22d of October 1788, inclusively.
In Lord Dorchester's No. 92 of 6 Novr 1788.
[Q. 39 p 83]

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Committee appointed by His Excellency Lord Dorchester the 21st of October to consider the Memorial of certain Inhabitants of Detroit, and to confer with Mr. Robertson of that place, at present in Quebec (who had declined the appointment of Judge) and learn from him, and by other means, the local peculiarities of the District of Hesse, and Report a Statement thereof, with the requirements for the promotion of its prosperity.

Council Chamber
Bishops Palace
Quebec 24th October 1788.
Present
Messrs Finlay Grant
Collins and
Baby De La Naudiere

Mr. Robertson present read a Memorial from divers Inhabitants of Detroit dated 12th Sepr. as follows:—

"To His Excellency the Right Honorable Guy Lord Dorchester, Captain General, and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Quebec, &c. &c. &c.

"The Memorial and Representation of the Merchants Traders and Inhabitants of Detroit."

"Respectfully shewe th"

That your "Memorialists having just received advice of the formation of a new District here, with the appointment of Judges and Justices for the same,

are seized with an infinite alarm for the security of their properties, under an arrangement which they see pregnant with the most destructive consequences. Upon a subject therefore with which their interests, are so intimately connected, Your Memorialists take the Liberty of applying to Your Excellency with that freedom of Representation, and confidence of relief, which the justice and benevolence of your character inspires."

"The Inhabitants of this corner of His Majesty's Dominions have long felt the hardships and expence of being obliged to resort to Courts distant many hundred miles, for the obtaining payment of just debts, which in many cases become so burdensome, that the trouble, expence, and uncertainty of recovery was nearly equivalent to a denial of Justice. This could not escape Your Lordships penetration, especially when the increasing population of the Country rendered their situation more peculiarly grievous, and therefore to afford relief on that head we attribute the present establishment.—But while we acknowledge and are sincerely grateful, for the goodness and justice of your intentions, permit us to say that this system will be infinitely worse to us than the evils it is meant to prevent.—The safety of property and consequent prosperity of Commerce, depends in the first instance on the establishment of Equitable and wholesome Laws; but however good these may be in themselves, they will prove essentially deficient if there are not men of Professional abilities and integrity to dispense them.—"

"Jurisprudence is a Science perhaps of all others the most intricate, indeed peculiarly so under the complicated state of the Laws of this Province, and it can be only a regular course of study and application joined to abilities, that a competant knowledge of it can be acquired. It is also indispensibly necessary to the due administration of Justice that no Judge have an apparent or probable interest in the event of his decisions; for under the imperfect state of human nature it cannot be supposed that the most consummate integrity would remain proof against being biassed by a continuance of the operation of private interest and local attachments.—To the Characters as Fellow Citizens of the Gentlemen appointed as Judges we pay every respect and admit them to be as eligible as any to be found in the District under similar circumstances; but we object to them for other reasons, not less conclusive, and which we are persuaded Your Excellency will see the Justice of. —Two of them are extensively interested in Trade, and discussions respecting property connected with it, must nine times out of ten affect them either immediately or circuitously. The influence of probable interests and attachments becomes more extensive and dangerous in proportion as the community is confined; hence it is more to be apprehended here than in a large and populous place, and it would not be at all impossible that under the idea of

conciliating the good will of the Judges the Trade of the District should gradually and at last wholly center in the Bench. The Professions of Judge and Merchant combined in the same person are wholly incompatable. To do justice to either particular the first would require his whole time and attention, and if that cannot be bestowed one or perhaps both becomes a sacrifice. A Judge ought to be independent of the favor or frown of any one, which can never be the case whilst his subsistence and Emoluments are derived from another profession, and that depending so materially on the good offices of Individuals. The next objection being the want of professional abilities to the whole Bench. However good their understandings may be, yet it cannot be considered any reflection on them to say, they must be deficient in that knowledge of Law necessary to so important a station; and if wanting in that respect, which they will themselves admit, how can they expound or apply it to the numerous cases that must occur. The instability and uncertainty of decisions have often been complained of; While such therefore was the case where the Judges followed no other profession, and from time to time had acquired knowledge and experience, what may be anticipated from those who have other avocations, that will necessary employ the bulk of their time? We are sorry to observe in the addition to the Commission of the Peace some persons who are entirely illiterate, which must Diminish the respect due to the Laws and consequently prevent the beneficial effects, resulting from a well informed Magistracy. Touching upon persons or characters is ever an inviduous and delicate subject, especially when it falls upon those who are in their proper stations valuable members of the community, but cases may occur where to be silent would be criminal. This we apprehend to be the case in the present instance and beg leave to assure Your Excellency that in our representations we are guided by the strictest truth advancing nothing but what we can substanciate. Much of the Commercial prosperity of the nation is at stake in this District, perhaps as much as in all the others combined, and from the hazardous nature of the trade a proper judicial establishment is essentially requisite to give any security to it.—But that security can alone be obtained by the appointment of at least one person of professional abilities and character with a salary depending neither on perquisites nor the voluntary contributions of Individuals.—Perhaps under the present situation of our Mother Country it may be thought ill timed to require what would add to her burdens; but what we ask is for her safety as much as our own, and which would be eventually repaid to her abundantly through the channel of our trade when protected by a proper Court within reach.—If however a Professional Character as a Judge cannot be granted at present what temporary expedient can be proposed? To answer

this, is we are fully sensible a most difficult task; but we beg leave to suggest with all due deference and submission, as an approach towards obviating the dangers and inconveniences to be apprehended from permanent Judges connected in Trade or following at the same time other occupations—to form a Court of Arbitration composed of such a number of Justices of the peace with intelligent Merchants and Inhabitants, as being divided into classes, would enable them without inconvenience to their affairs to sit by weekly or monthly rotation, invested with competant powers to compel the attendance of Evidences, and to carry their Judgements into Execution.—The parties to have the right of objection to any member sitting in their cause upon assigning proper reasons.—There is local experience to enable us to decide here upon the utility of an institution nearly similar; and this idea when modelled, and improved by Your Excellency we think might answer valuable purposes to us.—We presume not to say however, whether this would be proper for that part of the District comprehending the trade of Michilimakinac and Country beyond it, those who are most intimately concerned in that Commerce are better qualified to propose what would be most suitable to their situation. —By granting relief in such way as Your Excellency's wisdom shall seem most adviseable and proper.

Your Memorialists shall ever pray.—

(signed) Wm. McDonald.

Detroit 12th Sepr. 1788. and 33 others

[Q 41 part I page 91]

Questions put to Mr. Robertson by Mr. Finlay,	Mr. Robertsons answers
Did all the English Residents in Trade at Detroit sign the Memorial to Lord Dorchester just now read, touching the administration of Justice in the District of Hesse?	Yes.
Is there many Canadian Merchants settled there?	I know of but one—Mr. Baby.
Why did not Mr. Baby and the	Mr. Baby having been appointed a Judge

French Inhabitants of Detroit, join in signing the Memorial?

of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse, under the late Ordinance, did not think it proper to sign the Memorial There are many Indian Traders Canadians in that Settlement who take Goods on Credit from the importers and carry them into the Indian Country, but they are not considered as Merchants, a few of them were then on the spot; the rest of the inhabitants are not concerned in trade being for the greatest part planters, who consider themselves but very little concerned in Courts of Law.

What may be the yearly amount of British Manufactures sent from Detroit into the Indian Countries, and how much may the annual consumption of British Goods be within the Settlement?

About £60,000 is sent yearly into the Indian Countries and the annual consumption in the Settlement, amounts to above £20,000.

Do the Merchants in Detroit import their goods directly from Britain?

They send their orders to an Agent at Montreal, who imports them under their marks and on their account and risk on Commission.

Do the Merchants at Detroit send their furs to the London market?

They send their Furs and peltries to their Agents at Montreal, who ship them to London to be sold on account of the Detroit Merchants, and their net proceed is placed to the credit of their accounts current by their correspondents at Montreal.

How was the Court of Arbitration mentioned in the Memorial from the Detroit Merchants to Lord Dorchester modelled?

A General Arbitration Bond was entered into, and every person who signed it bound himself to abide by the decisions of the arbitrators, (they sat in Rotation). Those who submitted their differences to the arbitrators could not be compelled to abide by their decisions; yet the dread of

the consequences of refusing to submit to those determinations gave force to their awards; for those who would not obey could not recover debts, and the commanding officer refused to grant them passes to go for their Canoes to the Indian Country: yet still there were people who refused to abide by their decisions not from unreasonableness nor the injustice of their awards but from a want of inclination to pay their debts. It was agreed by those who signed the general arbitration bond to pay each an equal portion of the expense of any suit of Law which might be carried on against any of them in consequence of their decisons in this Arbitration Court. People who lived in Detroit were compelled to submit or live there as out Law'd.

What is meant by the *uncertainty* which attended the resort to the Court at Montreal, as mentioned in the Memorial?

I cannot undertake to say what is meant by the word *uncertainty* in alluding to the Courts at Montreal, unless it means that the frequent appeals from the Courts of Montreal (as I have heard) give the Merchants in Detroit room to apprehend there would still be more frequent appeals from the Judgment of Men not bred to the Law, and where those of the Bench have other avocations.

What are the names of the illiterate Commissioners of the Peace alluded to in the Memorial?

Tho' Mr. Maisonville and Math. Elliot can mechanically sign their names they can neither read nor write, Cap^{n} Caldwell has not had a good Education, There's no other objections to people in the Commission, Cap^{n} La Motte is not a popular character, Mr. Adhemar is settled at St. Vincents in the American States, I imagine the gentleman in the former Commission are fully sufficient to do all the business,

but if more are considered necessary, Mr Askin, Mr. Leith, Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Sharpe are men of liberal education and highly respected in the Settlement, there's likewise Mr. Park and Mr. Abbot but I am sure none of them would act with those mentioned as exceptionable in the new Commission.

How many souls do you reckon in the Town and Settlement round Detroit?

Tis' computed that 4000 depend on Detroit including the River Raisin about 30 miles below it; where there's about 40 Canadian families settled. People have sat down on Lands on many other rivers pretending right under Indian Grants; and some there are who claim a right from being the first occupants.

Questions put to Mr. Robertson a Merchant of Detroit by Mr. Baby.

Do you know if the old inhabitants of Detroit have been consulted about the request actually before us?

Answer, that those of the town and the surroundings have been informed.

For what reason have they not signed or not joined in this representation?

Answer, that he did not know but that he knew that the most of them could not write.

Are you of opinion that this request is in conformity with their desires?

Answer, Yes I think so.—

Do you not think that it would be more equitable to know more particularly their intentions in so interesting an object before proceeding to an establishment for the administration of justice?

Answer, that he can certify nothing in this respect.—

Do the Merchants not employ a great number of Canadians to go as clerks and engagés in the parties sent to trade?

Answer, Yes.—

Do you not think that it often raises disputes among the Canadians and their citizens?

Answer, that it happens from time to time but mostly among the Canadians themselves.—

Can you tell us if in general the Merchants of Detroit possess lands in the place?

Answer, that many have in this case.—

Questions addressed to Mr. William Robertson, Merchant of Detroit, by Mr. Grant.

Answers thereto.

Question 1 } How long have you resided at Detroit in the District of Hesse, and what business have you principally followed?

Ans. 1 } I have resided constantly at Detroit for upwards of six years past, nearly two of them employed in conducting a Merchantile concern there for another House, and upwards of four years on my own account in the same line.—

Question 2d. } What laws do you think would promote most effectually the Commercial Interests of the District of Hesse?

Answer 2d. } As almost all the trade of the District is in the Hands of the English at least Mr. Baby, is the only exception at Detroit, That Law it is presumed would in all commercial cases (under certain local modifications) be the best adapted to promote the end for which all laws should be made; the general good of those who are to be governed by them, but as the tenures of the Land are founded on and derived from the French Law, and have been conveyed and sold agreeable to that Law, (or at least intended to be so) no change, ought or could in my opinion be made without affecting, or even violating the Principles of Common Justice.—

Question 3. To what amount is annually imported into the District of Hesse, British Manufacturers or her colonies, and by what channels?

Answer 3rd. There is at present annually imported into the District of Hesse, to Detroit, Michilimackinac and the North West, Goods to the amount of upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, all imported (except rum and a very small quantity of wampum) from Great Britain through Montreal, and thence forwarded to Detroit by way of the Lakes and to Mickilimackinac and the North West by the communication of the Grand River; and by the same channels the produce of these Goods, is reconveyed and reverts to Great Britain.—

Question 4 Are the Lands cultivated about Detroit and what are they fittest for? Wheat, Indian Corn, Flax, Hemp, &ca? Or are the lands fit for Agriculture on the north east side of the Straight? What timber fit for ship building or fit for exportation are there on those Lakes?

Answer 4. The climate of Detroit is uncommonly good, and particularly friendly to European constitutions; the Soil of the Settlement of Detroit (that is what has been long in the hands of the French) is said to be inferior in richness to the adjacent uncultivated Land, but even it produces Wheat, Indian Corn, Peas, Oats, &c., in abundance, and almost without culture, manure of those Arts which enrich the soil, and augment the harvests in Britain—Hemp grows in many places spontaneous, and so does Hops, and it is said that Flax would also succeed, but none of these have been tried or attempted to be raised but in a very trifling degree. The soil on the North East side of the River is represented as very good, there is abundance of timber for the building Houses and Ships in the different parts of the Country, and along the River towards Lake St. Clair; there is also fine red cedar, on the Islands of Lake Erie where the timbers of vessels are usually cut; in

regard to the exportation of timber however fit it may be, were it in another place it is presumed the Cataract of Niagara will prove an unsurmountable bar to any enterprize of this sort, and Land carriage is out of the question.—

Questn. } 5. { What number of inhabitants is there in the District of Hesse, and are there many more expected as settlers?

Answer } 5. { The District of Hesse according to the Late Patent, comprehends a very large, and even (if I recollect) an undefined territory, and therefore to this Question I cannot give a satisfactory answer, but the Settlement of Detroit comprehending the Inhabitants settled on the Rivers and Creeks near it, are computed at about four thousand, and they are increasing fast; There have been if I mistake not regular returns transmitted of their numbers to Head Quarters, and from them I presume their numbers will appear less than the popular computation because those who take them omit all those, any way distant, as on the Rivers, Creeks &c, In regard to those in other places, I cannot say what the number may be, and what I here say of the rest, is only the opinion generally received; they would encrease much faster were their Land assigned them by Government as at Niagara—indeed most of the Lands are already claimed by individuals, as I have had the honour to mention more fully in my Letter to the Chief Judge.

Question } 6. { What number of cultivated farms is there at present about Detroit, and what do they principally produce?

Answer } 6. { I cannot exactly charge my memory with the number of farms, but they extend along the bank of the River, a computed distance of four miles below the fort and twelve above it, and about

the same distance on the opposite bank, beside the new Settlement at the mouth of the River at the entrance of Lake Erie; I have already observed what the soil was fit for, what it principally produces is wheat, the farms are three acres in front and forty deep, this is the usual lot.—

Questn. 7 In what manner has civil and criminal Justice, been hitherto administered at Detroit and by what authority?

Answr. 7 The Courts of Montreal have till the late creation of a new District had authority to administer Justice there, although we have not from the extreme distance and the intervention of a long winter, (incident to the climate) ever reaped any benefit from being within its jurisdiction; nor on mature deliberation will it ever be expected that we can. I have already spoken before the Honorable Committee of Council as to the nature of the Committee of Arbitration; and as to the administration of criminal justice, uone has been administered within the District since my residence.

Question 8 What Court of Civil and criminal jurisdiction ought in your opinion to be established in the District of Hesse? When ought they to sit, and how often and at what times and seasons of the year? how ought they to be organized or officered?

Answer 8 A Court of Common Pleas and of Quarter Sessions (I humbly conceive with proper Judges and the most respectable Magistrate, that could be found to preside in them) would be sufficient for the Judical purposes of the District, In cases of felony &ca. no doubt a special Commission must be given for trying them. The proper residence or seat of those courts should obviously be at Detroit. As to the frequency of meeting it ought to be left at first in some degree to the discretion of those who should preside in them; and as soon as could be done and experience obtained, what times and

seasons would be most conducive to promote the end of their institution that is the ready and convenient dispensation of public Justice. A report of the same ought to be made to the Governor of the Province and the periods fixed independant of the future discretion of either Judges or Magistrates. As Michilimackinac is distant from Detroit four hundred miles, and having few fix'd Inhabitants, it is rather like a Mart or Fair, where the business of the year is transacted in about two months, during which time the Judge for the District might be thought necessary to go there annually; however the gentlemen concerned in that Trade can give the best information.

Ques. 9 } Are there any public buildings in Detroit Michilimackinac or other parts of the District, and what are they?

Ansr. 9th } By this Question I understand Churches, Jails, Hospitals, &c. &c. of which there are none I understand at Michilimackinac, and there are none at Detroit unless the two French Churches, for the English never had a Church in the Upper Country that I heard of. It is presumed that the Barracks of Detroit and Fort Lernouth, the Government House where the Commanding Officer usually resides, the Council House where the Indians assemble and deliver their Speeches the Block Houses at different Angles of Detroit within the Pickets and the water side, the Naval Dock Yard and the necessary buildings, belonging to it, without the Pickets on the east side of the Town, it is presumed these do not in strictness come under this description.

Quesn. 10 } How was the Indian

Ansr. 10 } In regard to the mode of carrying

Trade carried on before and since the late war?

What passes were necessary for the Traders to obtain? who granted them, and were they readily and by what means were they obtained?

on the Indian trade, before the war I cannot speak from observation, not having gone to Detroit till the year 1782. It was then carrying on as I understood it had been for some time before that period and as it has been carrying on since, I mean as to the kinds of Goods and channels of supply, the necessary passes were always granted by the Commanding Officer of the Troops, or Lieut. Govr. when there was one. The war made it necessary to be circumspect in giving passes, and the exercise of this circumspection was become so great that the whole trade towards the Miamis and Country verging on the Ohio &c was confined to a monopoly of two or three particular friends of the Commandants on whose loyalty he could depend, as well as that of those whom they recommended; It happened by degrees to be discovered that none but those who bought their goods of them were perfectly loyal or good Subjects.

Whether this was the case with regard to Michilimackinac or not, I cannot pretend to say, but I have heard that there existed too much room for such complaints at that place also; the difficulty of obtaining Passes has gradually lessened since the beginning of 1784 and at present there are none, People may go where they please on advertizing their names three days in case of Debt.

Quesn. 11 } Is the retention of the Posts or towns of Detroit and Michilimackinac essentially requisite to the preservation of the fur trade and commerce of

Ansr. 11 } By relinquishing the Posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac we necessarily relinquish the Sovereignty of that immense tract of British territory, comprehended between that astonishing chain of water

the Western Country? or may not forts be constructed and settlements made on the Eastern side of Lakes Huron and Erie which will equally preserve and protect our Commerce there?

communication formed by the River St. Lawrence and the Lakes to the East and North, and by the noble streams of the Ohio and Mississippi to the South and West. We give up a Country enriched by nature, with the finest soil and climate, accommodated with innumerable navigable Rivers and fitted to become by the exertions of industry under the protection of favourable Laws the noblest and most extensive Colony in the World; and as a necessary consequence of this Sacrifice we give up most assuredly the fur Trade, We abandon those advantages which as a commercial People are the reward of our present possessions. That Forts may be constructed and Settlements formed on the North East side of the Lakes, I readily agree, but that they could protect the Trade (I allude to the fur Trade) when the whole country where the furs are produced would be without their Command, under another Government and in the hands of a rival and Commercial People, I cannot possibly believe or foresee.

Quesn. 12 } How is the Command and Superiority of the Lakes to be preserved? what naval force in your opinion is requisite for that purpose? what ships or vessels are there on the Lakes at present? What force or tonnage? Are there others building and of what force and tonnage?

Ansr. 12 } The Command and Superiority of the Lakes can only be preserved by keeping up a proper naval force on them, what that naval force should be is not for me to Judge; it ought however obviously to be such as would repel such attacks as political prudence should foresee, or might have from circumstances reason to apprehend; In regard to the Kings Vessels on the Lakes, a more accurate account of their strength, burthen, state of repairs &c. may be obtained from the Inspector and Comptroller of the marine Department than any I could possibly furnish;

there are none building or any timber cut or prepared for that purpose that I know of; and it may be added that except the Rebecca the King's Vessels on Lake Erie are mostly unfit for Service without a thorough repair, and I understand from popular report those on Lake Ontario are in nearly the same situation, as to the Merchants Vessels there are five small ones or rather craft on Lake Erie; the Saginah which carries about 8 batteaux load; the Beaver, the Weazel, Industry and the Hope or Esperance which four last carry between four and five batteaux load each and except the Beaver none fit to risk property in; there has been timber cut for a vessel much larger than either of these, some time ago, on presumption that a permission would have been given to build and navigate sooner; and I understand some other preparations are in agitation for the same end. On Lake Ontario there are no merchant vessels as yet, but there is one nearly finished of a considerable burthen.

Ques. 13 What Commercial and other regulations in your opinion are requisite to promote and extend the trade of this District, and secure the property of the Merchants and other Inhabitants?

Ansr. 13 The freedom of the navigation of the Lakes the introduction of faithful administration of such Laws as observation, experience and a knowledge of the climate, situation of the Country, its wants, the nature of its trade, returns and resources should from time to time make necessary for the promotion of the general good and happiness of the People, such Laws and regulations as would call forth and bring into the great commercial Stock of Britain, the whole produce of Canada, repay her care, increase her wealth and augment our own.

Question 14. What number of Canadian Inhabitants are in Detroit and its environs? how employed? what number in trade and to what amount?

Answer 14. The answer to the fifth question is partly a reply to this; and I before observed that excepting Mr. Baby there is no French Merchant in the settlement of Detroit; there are traders sent out to the Indian Country and all the Engagés are also Canadians as well as the most part of the Farmers; they are wholly illiterate, and if we except five or six Canadian families I am justified to say (from an intercourse with, and knowledge of almost every Inhabitant near the Settlement) that there will not be found twenty people nor perhaps half the number, who have the least pretentions to education, or can even write their name or know a Letter of a Book.

Question 15. What Laws have been followed amongst the Settlers of Detroit before and since the Conquest, and how administered in real and personal actions?

Answer 15. Before the conquest if any Laws were followed or administered they necessarily must have been those of France, or what prevailed in the rest of the Province, from the Conquest to the passing of the Quebec Act, I have understood from the people there, it was the English Law that had been considered as the rule of decision, but I believe there have been few instances since the Conquest to the present time of any law whatever having been administered there.

Question 16. Would it not be more beneficial, and more for the security of Property, and to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants, that their causes should continue to be decided in the Courts of the District of

Answer 16. From what has been said in reply to other Questions and the introduction of the Letter, I had the Honor to submit to the Honourable, the Chief Judge, it will appear that no benefit or security to the Inhabitants or property has been derived from the Jurisdiction of

Montreal, or as they have been in the District without constituting that Country into a new District?

the Courts of Montreal to the District of Detroit or Hesse, and that therefore there was no satisfaction could possiby be enjoyed or spring from such a system, unless it could originate from the better prospect of men degenerating from a state of Society for the want of Law and order down through the bleak and rugged path of Barbarity to the re-adoption of a Savage Life.

As to the decision of causes by the court of arbitration, I have already mentioned it before the Honourable Committee & to the Chief Judge, and I can only consider it as a laudable but inefficacious establishment devised by urgent necessity for the exigencies of the place, but which never was intended to supercede but supply the immediate want of a Court of Law, which I consider as absolutely necessary, wherever there are men in a State of Society, and, which is most ardently desired (I presume to say) by every Inhabitant whether Canadian or English, within the District of Hesse.

QUEBEC, 25th October, 1788.

(Signed)

WM. ROBERTSON.

[Q 41 part I page 97.]

The Chairman then laid before the Committee a note from the chief Justice in the following words.

"Friday 24th Octobr. 1788.

"Gentlemen

"The communication enclosed, I received this day and it is so material in the business committed to you yesterday that I know no better use to be made of it, than to submit it to your discussion.

"I am

your most obedient servant

(signed)

W. SMITH.

"To the Committee of the Council of which Mr. Finlay is Chairman on the Memorial relating to the District of Hesse."

The communication referred to in the foregoing note is as follows.

To the Honourable Wm. Smith Esqr. Chief Judge of the Province of Quebec &ca.

Sir, Should the following facts and observations be found to convey any useful information, or suggest such hints as your wisdom may ripen and bring to maturity for the benefit of the upper Country. I shall think myself happy of having been in the remotest degree, instrumental in imparting them.

Wherever there are men, there must be Laws, to regulate their intercourse with one another, and those Laws should be calculated to promote the general good of that Society for whom they are framed. But however wisely adapted to promote this beneficient end, unless duly administered they must become as useless as ore in the mine or marble in the quarry. It is the peculiar advantage that British Subjects enjoy above other Nations to have the best Laws and the wisest and ablest Judges to interpret and dispense them. Whither the Laws of Canada which from a generous condescencion on the part of the gentle conqueror, to the ancient priviledges and usages of the vanquished, and which were intended no doubt to conciliate and incite their affections to ours, and to accommodate both them and us. Whether this System for a Commercial Province, which derives its supplies from, and is dependant on Great Britain, be the best or not, it is not here, my business to enquire or determine. But it is to be regretted that while those Laws are to be the rule of our conduct, and the only security of our property, a large portion of the Province should have been on account of its remoteness from the Seat of Justice in a manner precluded from legal protection. That this has been long the unfortunate case with the Inhabitants of the upper Country is well known. not that they stand more in need of legal caution than mankind in general do. On the contrary if we reflect on the wide extent of British Territory which usually goes under this name; on the number and various character of its Inhabitants savage and civilized, on the facility with which crimes even robbery and murder might be committed, on the temptation to commit them and the certainty of escaping with impunity to other Governments, we shall rather have reason to be surprized that so few instances of fraud or violence occur, and we shall be still more astonished, that a Property in British Goods which exceeds in value more than all the returns of the lower parts of the Province put together should be constantly in circulation in that country for the purpose of purchasing annually furs to the amount of one hundred and fifty, or two Hundred thousand pounds currency; and that this property so situated should have hitherto been risked by the Mother Country

unprotected by Laws. If the Inhabitants therefore of the lower part of the Province whose trade is less beneficial to the Mother Country, than that of the upper, have Courts of Justice to protect their Property and redress their wrongs and proper Judges to administer Law and dispense Justice, it may reasonably be hoped it must be the intention of Government to put His Majesty's Subjects in the upper Districts on a footing with their brethren in this respect. Tho' their case has long been overlooked, they flatter themselves it will now receive a serious consideration from the Legislature of this Province. They acknowledge the goodness of the intention that gave birth to the Judicial Arrangements that were made for their District now called Hesse, they were sorry to be obliged to object to it for the reasons assigned in their memorial to the noble Governor on this subject; And here I must be permitted to observe to you, that the Situation of Detroit in point of Trade is very different from that of the new Settlements below it, It is an old French Settlement, and from it and Michilimackinac all the Trade of the new Districts comprehended under the name of Hesse to the amount of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand pounds Sterling is carried on, and the returns equal to this sum annually pass through these two Posts as a Payment to Great Britain for her Goods. This Therefore naturally points out Detroit as the proper residence for a Court of Judicature to dispense law and Justice to all those concerned in this valuable Trade. I cannot help observing altho' I had the honour to be nominated as one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for this District that no man interested or concerned in Trade ought to have a Judicial Authority in it and for which I have already in conjunction with Mr. Baby assigned my Reasons; I also beg leave to add that none but a Judge professionally acquainted with the Law, would be proper to preside in this Court, or could possibly be adequate to the task or give satisfaction to the people; and I humbly suggest should such a one be appointed, in order to accelerate his proceedings it might perhaps be found proper to invest him with authority to decide all causes for debt that did not exceed fifty pounds York, alone and without any appeal whatever; and to decide all causes from that to two hundred pounds York, without appeal but with a Jury. The reason of wanting no Jury in the first instance is the delay and difficulty of finding Proper persons for the multiplicity of causes that would occur under fifty pounds and which as they would mostly arise on book debts, notes or accounts, could be attended but rarely with intricate or dubious circumstances; if that should however happen ever to be the case, the Judge should (perhaps) have power to order the parties to arbitrate the point. The reason why there ought to be a Jury in causes from fifty pounds and upwards to two hundred, is because they might not only be

supposed to involve more complicated and various matter relating to merchantile customs but even to landed property and because the verdict of a Jury would be more popular and satisfactory than that of a single Judge however upright and just, and would also make him more respected by the people by taking off and removing any imputation or suspicion of partiality which so naturally generates and spreads in small communities. In causes exceeding Two hundred Pounds York altho' also triable by a Jury it might be proper to allow an appeal to the party who should consider himself aggrieved, it would make the Judge and Jury circumspect and preserve the necessary dependance of this Court on that of Quebec, This System no doubt might be found nearly applicable to Michilimackinac, or might be so varied or modified as to be wholly so, and should the Judge make a circuit thither for about a month or six weeks in the summer it might be found fully sufficient for the whole Judicial Business of that part of the District: But as I am not so well acquainted with the nature of the Trade at that Place; I do not wish to be understood to be decided in my opinion.

As almost the whole business of this District (Hesse) is now in the hands of the English, it is presumed that the Laws of England, in all commercial cases under certain local modifications, would be found the best adapted to promote the general good of those who are to be governed by them, which it must be allowed should be the scope and end of all laws. But in the Settlement of Detroit, where all the tenures of the Land are deprived from and founded on the French Law, and have been conveyed and sold agreeable to that Law (or at least intended or understood to be so) no change ought or could be made without violating the common rights of the People; It may be necessary to add, that these conveyances, sales or mortgages of Houses and landed property have been executed since the death of Mr. Thomas Williams who acted as notary and which happened about the end of 1785, a person not duly authorized as he had only a Commission or order from the Commanding Officers for this purpose and for collecting the Lots et ventes, and cens et rentes, which last service took up most of his Time, should these acts be declared void, the greatest confusion and distress would ensue to the people in general, who never suspected or knew this might be the case. It is humbly submitted to Your Superior Judgment, whether it would not be proper and right to render those sales, transfer or mortgages valid so far as they would be so had the Notary been duly authorized, and whether as he is every way a very unfit person, being ignorant of the English and even of the French Language, and from his want of a Scholastic Education unable to execute writings either in a fair hand or intelligible language a proper person ought not immediately to be commissioned as notary at Detroit. For this purpose

Mr. Thomas Smith has been often mentioned with approbation, he is a lieutenant in the Militia, acting for the present as Deputy Surveyor, but without pay or Commission as there is no body else, has been lately very Judiciously nominated Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas there; and from his Education and a knowledge of the two languages, and an opinion and confidence the people have of his principles and integrity, I presume his appointment as notary would be satisfactory for these reasons, to which may added that he is not likely to change his residence or leave the place being married and settled.

I beg leave to put you in mind that His Excellency General Haldimand had caused the Register of Detroit in which regular copies of all sales, mortgages &ca. in the fort and settlement were kept, to be carried down to Quebec where it still remains; It may naturally be supposed the want of this has occasioned much perplexity, confusion and even discord, and much doubt as to the authenticity of some claims, and the existance of others; A supplementary Register was immediately opened for the entering of Subsequent Sales or Mortgages, but while Major Ancrum commandcd it was said to have been stolen from the Notary's office, and has never since been found. After the sales and Mortgages have been very irregularly kept sometimes on detached sheets of paper, and sometimes on a few stitched together. It would be a very great Satisfaction to the people to have the Register back again. You will have the Goodness to remark that the Lands, Sales and Mortgages I now have been alluding to were granted, by proper authority, and all in the time of the French Government. But all the rest of the Country for a considerable distance round Detroit and even along the Lakes is claimed by different people in consequence of grants obtained or purchases made by them from the Indians. Parcels of these have again been sold out by the great proprietors to subordinate purchasers, some of whom are bound to render certain Services, make certain improvements and annually pay so much money or so much grain. As these proprietors exclude the rest of the people from cutting wood and procuring stone on all Lands of this Description, it has unfortunately happened that the only Stone quarry in that country is an Island granted in this way, and the people in the Fort and Settlement have been obliged for some years to buy all the stone and lime necessary for the foundations of their Houses, which are of wood, for their cellars, chimnies, and such purposes, of this proprietor.

The freedom of Navigation on the Lakes to Merchant vessels was very thankfully received, and must be productive of great facility and advantage to the Trade, but it is hoped the Lake ordinance may be rendered still more condusive to this end than in its present form.

I have I fear, Sir, trespassed too long on your time, but I have been induced to be more minute than would have been necessary did I not conceive that the situation and character of the people of Detroit is either very little known, or seen in an imperfect and unfavorable point of view at Quebec, and I am led to this conclusion from the late nomination of several new Magistrates for that District who are altogether unqualified and incapable to discharge the Duties of a Commissioner of the Peace. Nothing can reflect more honor on, or be more essentially useful in a community than a respectable, intelligent and well informed Magistracy, whose character, conduct, and abilities should do honor to that Government from whom they derived their authority, and who might be looked up to by the people, as men worthy of their confidence & respect, & as objects for their imitations—To advance therefore to this useful office, men of an opposite description, cannot fail to bring the Magistracy and the Laws they administer into contempt, a proper respect for both of which is highly necessary to be kept up in every Government, and still more scrupulously maintained in places so remote and Distant. It might seem invidious to descend to a minute examination of the character & capacity of some of those appointed lately as Justices of the Peace for the District of Hesse, it might wear the appearance of personal animadversion, when my intention is only to shew that they are unfit for what they have been supposed equal to; and for this purpose it will be sufficient to say their nomination was received even by themselves with surprise, and by their fellow citizens with evident signs of disapprobation; nor will this be wondered at when the strictest veracity will authorize me to say from five or six years personal knowledge of them, that three of them are very illiterate, and two of three, it is publickly known in their own District can neither Read nor write, unless a mechanical subscription of their name (the only use they ever made of a pen) may be explained to be writing. As no good or Honorable end could be answered to Government, to the public, or to the men themselves by such an accession to the Magistracy, we are fully persuaded from the character of the noble Governor of the Province and from His known and acknowledged zeal for the promotion of the prosperity, peace and happiness of all those committed to his care, that it never could be his intention to delegate authority to such persons, and we are therefore convinced they derived their commissions from the injudicious recommendation of those who did not know them, or did not reflect on the nature and duty of the office of a Magistrate.

In conclusion I wish to be understood in what I have advanced that I have been guided by truth and actuated by a desire to promote the general good of the Settlement of Detroit, & trade depending thereon, a constant residence

there for upwards of six years & a very general intercourse in the way of an extensive business has given me an opportunity of becoming personally known & acquainted with every Inhabitant, Merchant & Trader in that Country, of knowing even their circumstances, situations & sentiments & therefore when I mention facts they may be relied upon as such & where I state opinions (except as to Michilimackinac) I may venture to say I express the general Idea of the people; but tho the facts can be incontrovertibly proved, I do not presume to affirm that the opinions, tho' I hope they will be found nearly just, are perfectly right, as the best metals are not without alloy, so no doubt are they free from error.

I have the honor to subscribe myself most respectfully,

Sir

Your most obedient & very hum^{l} Serv^{t}

(signed)

William Robertson.

P. S. I hope I shall be understood to have pointed out one Judge only as sufficient from an apprehension that the present system of economy would not permit the expence necessary for more, altho' in case of indisposition, sickness or death, it is obvious three would be preferable and be a greater security, that the Course of Public Justice might not be interrupted or suspended by the intervention of casualties.

In regard to the Committee or Court of Arbitration that used to decide causes at Detroit for Debt &ca. I shall only remark to you that is was a local tempory expedient, dictated by extreme necessity and though its decisions were very impartial and fair and generally approved of by the People, yet possessing no coercive authority to carry its judgements into execution, it could not answer the end of a Court of Judicature, at the same time the refractory party was exposed to inconvenience and perplexity and as one consequence of his disobedience could maintain no suit till he complied. That this Court was better than none I readily admit, and tho' I much approve of the late Memorial wherein it is mentioned with approbation. I cannot Join to recommend it but as a measure of necessity.

W. R.

The Chairman then proposed to proceed to framing a Report on the Business committed to this Committee; The day being far spent it was moved to adjourn until Friday next at 10 o'clock.

Adjourned Accordingly

Friday 14th Novem[r] The Committee met according to Adjournment

Present

Mess[rs] Finlay

Collins

Grant

Baby

and

De Lanaudiere

to frame a report to His Excellency Lord Dorchester on the matter referred to them. Mr. Baby informed the Committee that he was formerly acquainted with Mr Monforton who acts as Notary Public at Detroit; he had a liberal education and from what and from what he has heared very lately from Major Mathews is qualified to act in that capacity.

The proceedings of this Committee having been read and the papers and every matter before them relative to the reference, fully considered. The Chairman offered the Draught of a Report; which having been considered with attention by the committee was amended and ordered to be presented by the Chairman to His Excellency Lord Dorchester as the Report of this Committee and that the Journals of the proceedings be thereunto annexed for His Lordship's further information.

True Copy of the Minutes

(signed)

HUGH FINLAY

Chairman

[Q 41 part I page 130]

MR. MCGREGOR TO LORD DORCHESTER.

DETROIT, 1st November, 1788.

MY LORD, According to your Lordship's Instructions I have the Honour to transmit herewith abstracts of the Register of all the Business transacted in my Office of Superintendency for this present year.

The Trust your Lordship have been pleased to repose in me, shall be executed faithfully according to the best of my skill and understanding, for the better advancement of commerce and the preservation of the Interest of the Crown.

I have no Intelligence or Remarks worth transmitting to your Lordship, nor has anything occurred of any material consequence since I have been

honoured with your Lordship's Commission, excepting "two Vessels the property of the North West Company, the owners all residing in Montreal, and their Agent at this Post not being able to take the Oath required caused the Detention of said vessels for a considerable time. If your Lordship should think it reasonable, perhaps it would be necessary for the advancement of Trade, that in case the owner not being present, such vessels so belonging should be allowed to navigate, upon the Agent giving the Securities required, excepting the owners oath, which it appears cannot at all times be had I have the Honour to be with profound Respect my Lord

Your Lordship's most obedt. and
most humble Servant
GREGOR MCGREGOR
Superintendt. Inland navigation

His Excellency Guy Lord Dorchester, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of Quebec, &c. &c. &c.

[Q 41 part 1 page 75—]

RETURN.

Return of the Canadian and British Militia in the Province of Quebec. Officers included.

Districts.	Towns and Districts.	Canadians.	British.	Remarks.
Hesse or Detroit		721	226	At William Henry 40 At Terrebonne 40 not yet enrolled

D.

Endorsed:—In Lord Dorchester's No. 95 of 8th Nov. 1788.

[Q 39 p 141].

LORD DORCHESTER TO LORD SYDNEY.

No. 93.

QUEBEC, 8th November, 1788.

My Lord,

Advices from Detroit of the 4th of October give an account brought in there a few days before by a Trader from the neighborhood of the American Post Vincennes, that fifty horsemen from Kentucke had killed a party of ten or twelve Indians, who had been hunting for the benefit of that garrison, and lived under its protection, that the commanding officer of the post sent to remonstrate against this outrage, but that his message was treated with contempt, in consequence of which the Indians of that Vicinity finding the garrison unable to afford them safety, removed from the post, and were coming in daily to the villages at the Miamis.

These circumstances seem to correspond with an other report from Detroit, of Kentucke being on the eve of a separation from Virginia.

Though some of the above accounts seem to want confirmation I would not suffer the last opportunity at the close of the navigation to pass without communicating them to your Lordship.

I am with much respect and esteem.

Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble servant,
DORCHESTER.

The right Honor[ble] Lord Sydney.

Endorsed :—Quebec, 8 Novem., 1788. Lord Dorchester. Re 2 Jany, 1789, No. 93.

[Q 39 p 107].

LORD DORCHESTER TO LORD SYDNEY.

No 94.

QUEBEC 8 November 1788.

My Lord

The Province of Quebec consists at present of seven districts or counties; Quebec and Montreal in the central parts, Gaspe at and near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, and the country, west of Point au Boudet, divided into the four districts of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse. The Canadians or new subjects occupy the districts of Quebec and Montreal, and some are

also to be found in the districts of Gaspé and Hesse. The three districts of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Nassau, are inhabited only by the loyalists, or old subjects of the Crown. The Commerce of the Country being chiefly carried on by the English occasions a considerable mixture of inhabitants in the towns of Quebec and Montreal, nearly in the proportion of one British to two Canadians, Some of the former are also settled at Three rivers, Terrebonne, William Henry, Saint Johns, and the entrance of Lake Champlain, and a small number are dispersed among the Canadians in the Country parishes; the fur trade has collected some hundreds at Detroit, as the fisheries have at the bay of Chaleurs, and other parts of the district of Gaspé. The proportions of British and Canadians in the two districts of Quebec and Montreal, exclusive of the towns, may be about one to forty, in the same districts, inclusive of the towns, one to fifteen, in the district of Hesse one to three, in the district of Gaspé two to three, and in the whole province, taken together about one to five.

A change of the laws and form of Government, by the introduction of an assembly, is chiefly promoted by the commercial part of the community, in the towns of Quebec and Montreal. The Canadian Habitans, or farmers, who may be stiled the main body of the freeholders of the country, having little or no education, are unacquainted with the nature of the question, and would, I think, be for, or against it, according to their confidence in the representations of others. The Clergy do not appear to have interfered. But the Canadian gentlemen in general are opposed to the measure; they object to the introduction of a body of new laws, to the extent and tendency of which they are strangers; they express apprehensions of much disquietude among the people from the introduction of an assembly, and conceive that the low state of learning and knowledge in the country would lay them open to the pursuit and adoption of wrong measures, and to dangers, which a more enlightened people would not be exposed to. The fear of taxation, I take for granted, is among the motives of those, who are adverse to the change, and would no doubt strongly influence the sentiments of the common people, if they should come to consider the merits of the question. The objections, which appear to exist to a farther introduction of the trial by jury, arise partly from prejudice, and partly from an idea, that the choice would be narrow, and under it difficult to find jurors, totally disinterested.

In addition to these observations, it may be proper to mention, that the population of this country is chiefly confined to the margin of the waters from the western side of the gulph of Saint Lawrence in the district of Gaspe, to the settlements at and above Detroit, a chain of not less than eleven hundred miles; and that, though the ancient settled parts of the districts of

Quebec and Montreal, from Kamaraska to Point au Boudet (comprehending about thre hundred and seventy miles of the above line) may find no great burthen in the expence of a representation, it may be otherwise with the inhabitants newly set down in Gaspe, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Hesse, and that the inconveniences and charges of assembling, from parts so distant, would be increased by the nature of the climate, which renders the roads for several months in the year difficult, if not impracticable.

A division of the province, I am of opinion, is by no means advisable at present, either for the interests of the new, or the ancient districts, nor do I see an immediate call for other regulations, than such as are involved in the subject of the general jurisprudence of the country. Indeed it appears to me, that the western settlements are as yet unprepared for any organization, superior to that of a county. This has lately been given to them, and will, I trust, answer their present wants, if I except Hesse, whose commercial and complicated affairs call for a particular provision, now under the consideration of a Committee of the Council. But though I hold a division of the province at present inexpedient, yet I am of opinion, that no time should be lost in appointing a person of fidelity and ability, in the confidence of the loyalists, to superintend, and lead them, and to bring their concerns with dispatch to the knowledge of government, under the title of Lieutenant Governor of the four districts above named.

Should a division of the province notwithstanding, be determined by the wisdom of His Majesty's Councils, I see no reason, why the inhabitants of those western districts should not have an assembly, as soon as it may be organized without detriment to their private affairs, nor against their having so much of the English system of laws, as may suit their local situation, and condition. But in this case particular care should be taken to secure the property and civil rights of the Canadian Settlers at Detroit, who, I am convinced, would not chuse to emigrate, though good lands might be given them in the lower parts of the province. But should they chuse to move, it would be attended with much inconvenience, as would their being left insulated, and attached to the district of Montreal.

With respect to proper limits for the new government, in the event of a separation, I would recommend those described in the annexed paper, which will comprehend all the settlements of the loyalists on the river Saint Lawrence above Point au Boudet, and those also lately laid out for them on the south side of the Uttawas river.

I am with much respect & esteem, Your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant, DORCHESTER.

The Right Hon^{ble} Lord Sydney

Endorsed: Quebec 8 Novem 1788 Lord Dorchester No 94 R 2 Jany. 1789. (One Inclosure)

[Q 39 p 109]

REPORTS.

Administration of Justice in the District of Hesse.

The Reports of the private committee and of the committee of the whole council concerning the administration of Justice in the District of Hesse, read, as follows, viz.:

The Report of the Private Committee.

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Lord Dorchester Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, and Governor General of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, &c., &c., &c.

The committee appointed by your Lordship in Council to consider the Memorial of divers Inhabitants of the District of Hesse, touching the administration of Justice there, and to confer with Mr. Robertson of Detroit then in Quebec, having maturely considered the said Memorial, and duly weighed the information given by Mr. Robertson in his answers to the questions, proposed by the Committee, together with his letter to the Honorable Chief Justice Smith, and being by other means instructed.

Most Humbly Report, that the great importance of the extensive Commerce carrried on through the passes of Detroit and Michilimackinac with the numerous Nations of Indians, inhabiting the Western and Northern parts of this Province, calls for immediate attention from Government; the annual circulating stock employed by the Merchants concerned in that traffic, amounting, at a fair computation, to upwards of Two Hundred thousands Pounds Sterling of the Manufactures of Great Britain, chiefly, and the returns for those articles being yearly shipped to England in Beaver, in Peltries, and in furs.

It appears to the committee that Judicial regulation is requisite for the conduct of such extensive Commercial dealing, to direct the Traders and people employed in its different Branches; and they humbly submit to your Lordship, whether it is not indispensably necessary forthwith to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the Resignation of Messieurs Robertson & Baby? And in order to induce Gentlemen of Law-Abilities, and possessing knowledge in the custom of Merchants, to undertake an employment to which all their time with much studious application must be given, whether it will not be requisite for your Lordship to annex Salaries, or such certain and permanent provision for their support, as the dignity and importance of their stations require. Fees alone, in the opinion of the Committee, will not for many years be adequate to the expence that must necessarily attend the office of Judge in that very important Commercial District, where, as yet, the necessarys of life bear a high price. The Judges of Hesse may probably have

a yearly journey of upwards of three hundred miles to make, from Detroit Michilimakinac, there to remain two months during the time of their great annual Mart. Michilimakinac is the Emporium where Equipments are made, and from whence canoes are yearly dispatched by the Traders, to very remote Regions extending to the Westward and Northward, on Commercial speculation.

The Committee further humbly submit to your Lordship the propriety of nominating Mr. Thomas Smith of Detroit to the employment of a Public Notary; he is well recommended by Mr. Robertson and others:—and they humbly recommend that Your Lordship's Commission may issue to Mr. Montforton, who at present, and for several years has officiated in the Capacity of a notary under the appointments of the Lieutenant Governors or officers commanding at Detroit.

We are persuaded that your Lordship in your goodness will not allow the hardship which the Land-holders in the Settlement of Detroit suffer from being deprived of the Archives or Register of their Title Deeds, to continue: their tranquility depends on its safe and speedy return, for the security of their property.

The Committee will proceed to consider of such Bill or Bills as would in their conception promote the prosperity of the District of Hesse; but apprehending it to be necessary, in the mean time to lay before Your Lordship their opinion founded on the information they have received from Mr. Robertson, and by other Channels, they must humbly submit this report, that Your Lordship may order therein as to your great wisdom may seem meet.

By order of the Committee.

(signed)

HUGH FINLAY
Chairman

Council Chamber
14th November 1788

[Q 41 part I page 87]

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TO

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